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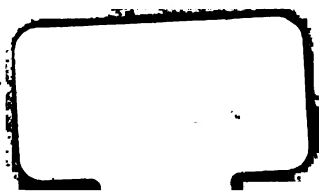
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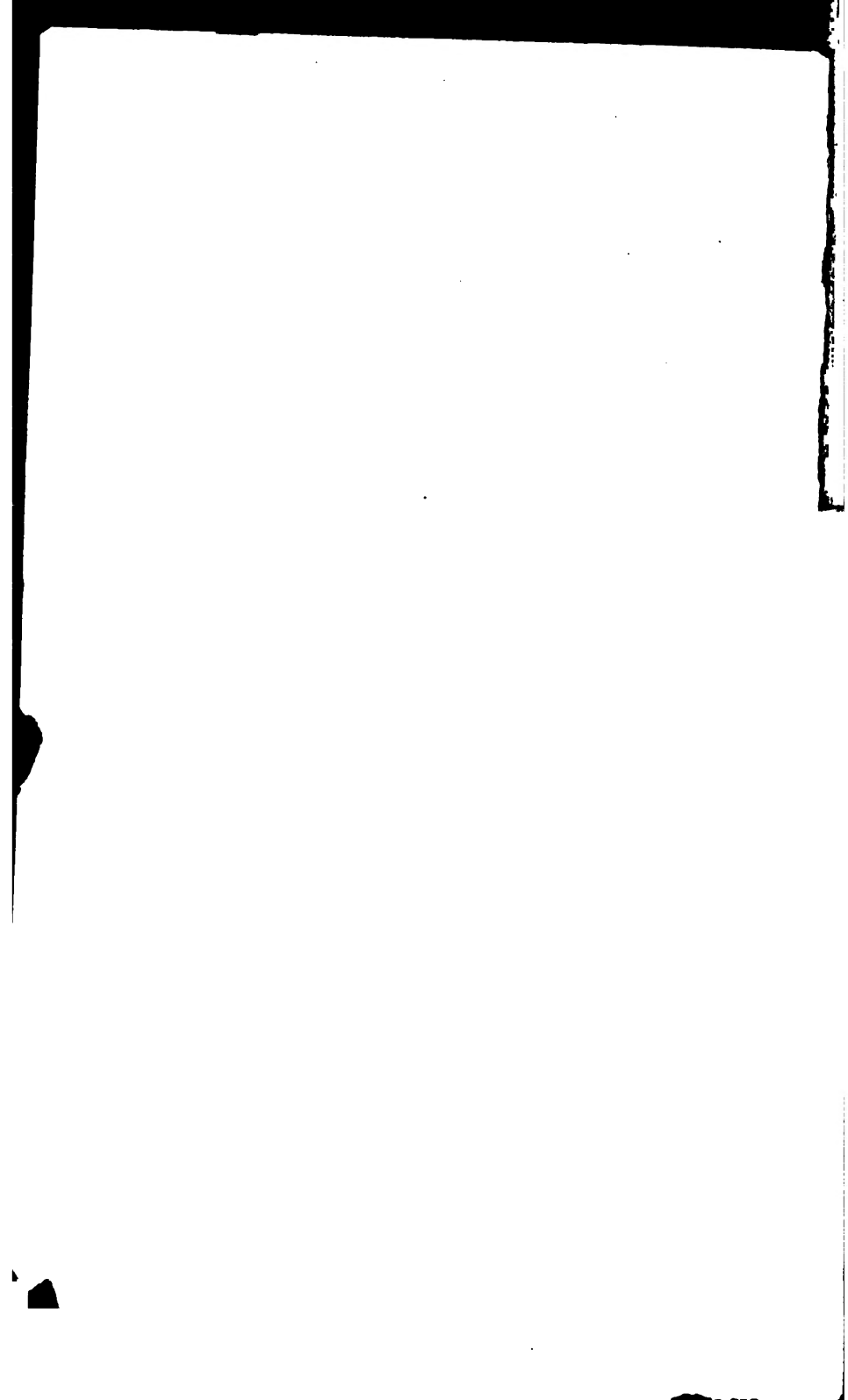
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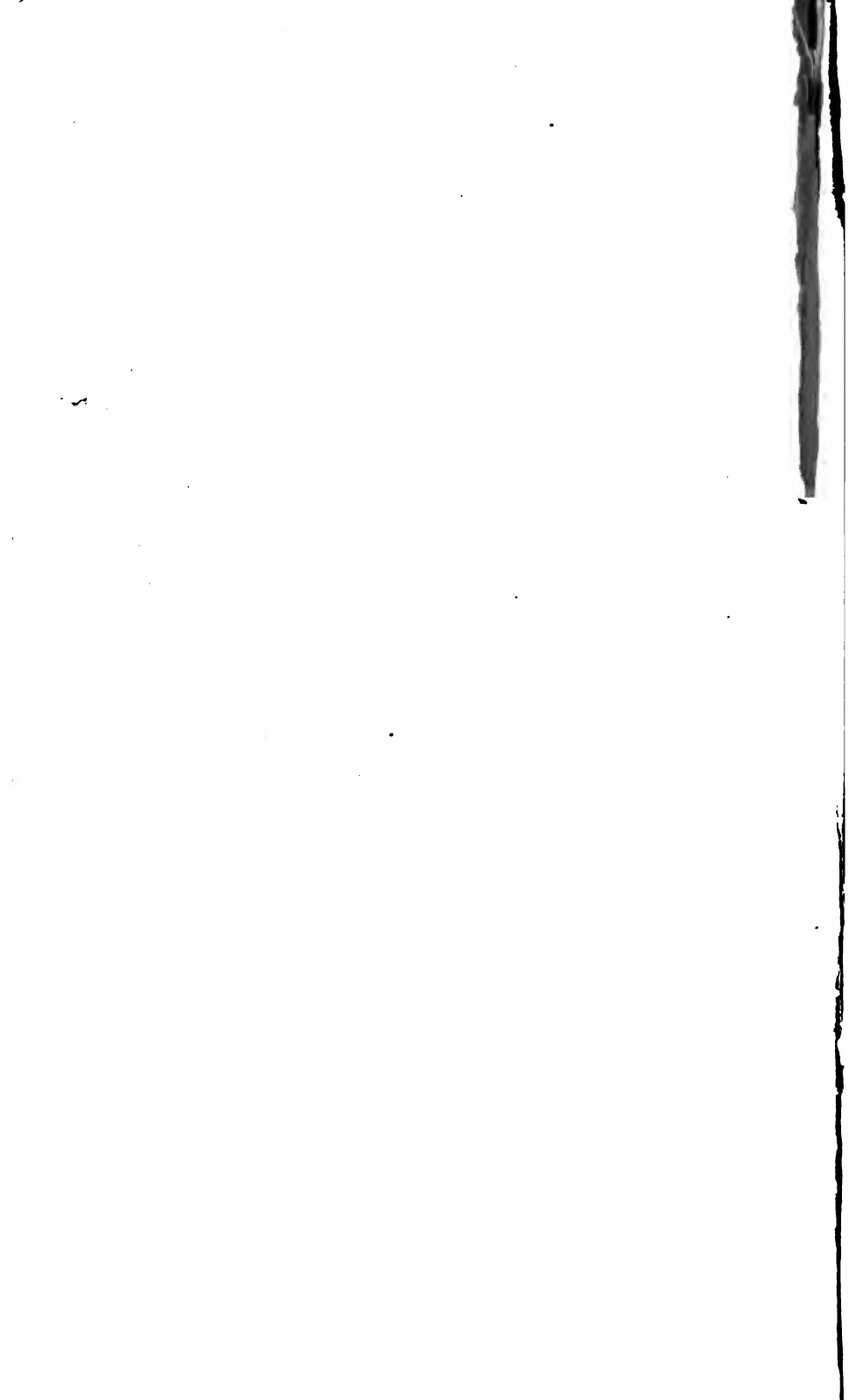
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1911
(Perth)
C.F.



HISTORY OF PERTH.



THE
TULSA COUNTY
A. L. L. L. L. L.
TULSA COUNTY



FIRTH from the N. E. bank of the TAY

W. H. P.

THE
HISTORY OF PERTH,

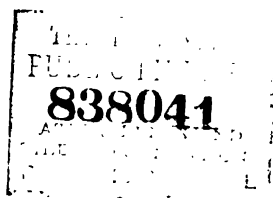
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY THOMAS HAY MARSHALL.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING THE "INVENTORY OF THE GABIONS,"
AND THE "MUSES THRENODIE," BY HENRY ADAMSON.

PERTH:
JOHN FISHER, 25 HIGH STREET.
G. GALLIE, GLASGOW; C. ZIEGLER, EDINBURGH; AND
J. ALEXANDER, 17 OVERGATE, DUNDEE.
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P R E F A C E .

It has been matter of much surprise that a History of Perth, worthy of the name, was not executed long ago. Whether I have supplied such *desideratum* must be left to the public to determine. If, however, industry, research, and a desire to be impartial, are constituent parts of the qualifications necessary to do so, then I consider myself so far qualified to draw up an account of the past and present condition of the "Fair City." A cursory glance at the following work will enable the reader to judge whether it bear the marks above stated.

I do not wish the history now offered to the world to be regarded, on the one hand, as a mere compilation, nor, on the other, as wholly an original work. It partakes, I conceive, of both characters; and to be candid, I confess to have freely used the labours of others, in so far as they bear upon the History of Perth; whilst, at the same time, I have spared no pains to search out, in multifarious books, records, and archives, for such additional matter as might give to it the impress of originality. In this latter walk I flatter myself to have been somewhat successful.

It requires to be stated, also that for the opinions expressed on controverted historical questions, I am altogether responsible. I advocate no partizan views—no attempt is made to represent political or religious parties in any other light than that truth imperatively demands. I differ indeed on some points from my predecessors; yet, I hope not without sufficient reasons being shown for so doing.

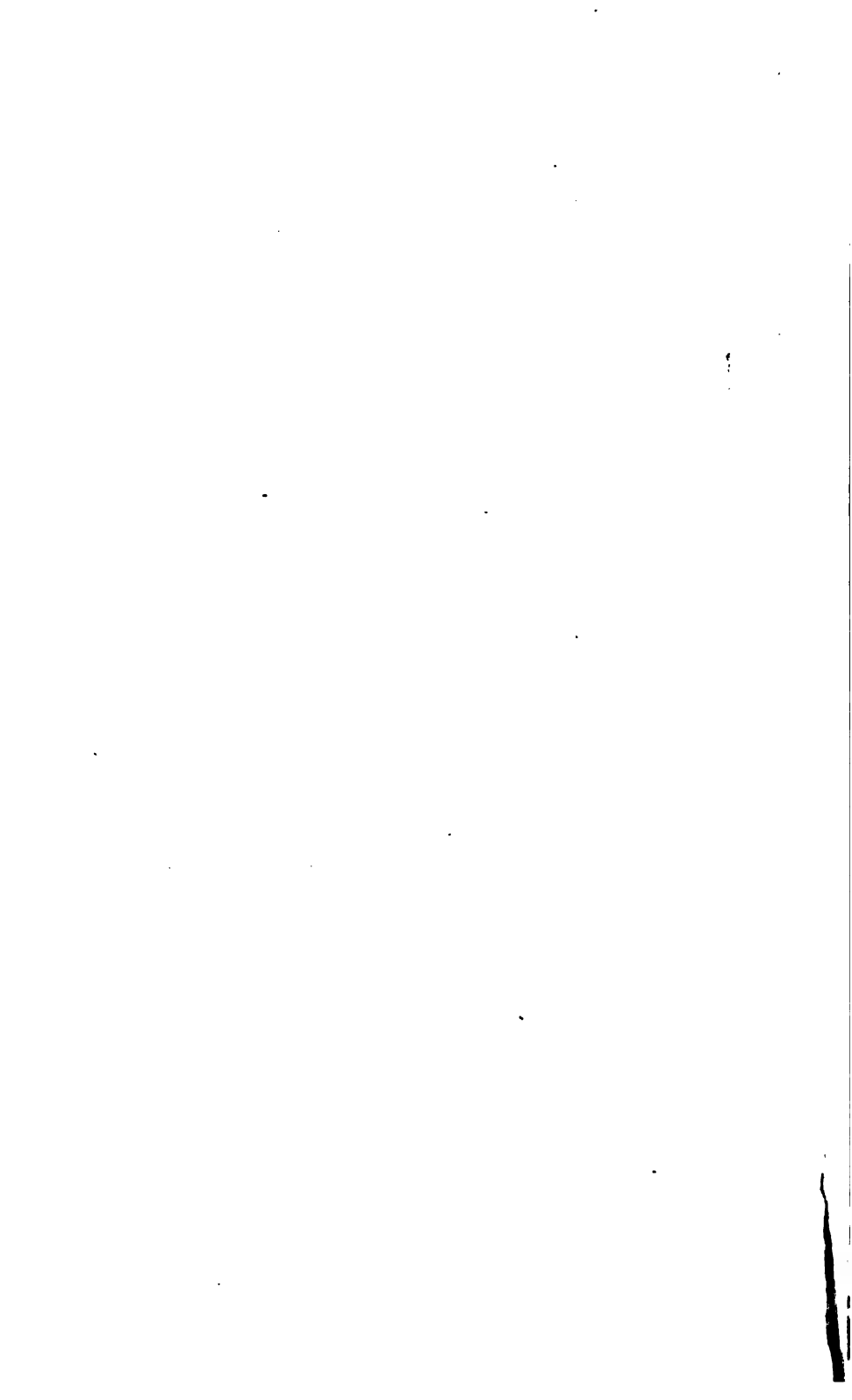
I beg leave to return my sincere thanks to those who have rendered me any assistance in the prosecution of my labours. To many I have been so indebted. No where have I met with a refusal to aid me in seeking for information. In fact all parties have shown an urbanity and kindness in this respect for which I shall ever feel grateful. My thanks are especially due to the Lord Provost, in allowing me free access to the Town Council Records; to Bailie Dewar, for the use of his name in procuring books from the library of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, and the privilege of perusing the manuscripts belonging to that institution; to the curators of the Perth Library, for at all times allowing me such books as I wished to consult in preparing the History of Perth; to Mr Robert Buist, session clerk, for the trouble he has taken in procuring such extracts from the Parish Registers as I have required; and to Mr John Ferrier, for the use of the valuable manuscript notices relating to the history of Perth in his possession.

One word in reference to a work entitled "A New History of Perth," and announced nearly twelve months ago as preparing for publication. In two of the local newspapers it has been stated, that the work now submitted to the public would be an imitation of the one I refer to. Now, in perusing the prospectus issued by the projectors of that publication, it will be found that their New History of Perth is, "in its principal features," to be "a reprint of the Muses Threnodie," with a digest of Mr Cant's notes; and one thing is obvious that "The History of Perth" compiled by me is altogether on a different plan from that. It yet remains to be seen which history is the imitation.

PERTH 1849.

A List of the Principal Authorities consulted in preparing the following work.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, published by authority. | Memorials of English Affairs by Whitelock. |
| Skene's Acts of Parliament. | Account of the Proceedings at Perth—the debates in the secret council there. |
| Regiam Majestatem, the auld Laws and Constitutions of Scotland, by Sir John Skene. | Pitcairn's Criminal Trials. |
| Blind Harry's Life of Sir William Wallace. | Earl of Cromarty's account of the Gowrie Conspiracy. |
| Carrick's Life of Do. | Panton's Do. |
| The Bruce, or History of Robert I., King of Scotland, by John Barbour. | Muses Threnodie, with notes, by Cant. |
| Fordun's Scotichronicum. | Statistical Account of Perth, by Rev. James Scott. |
| Caledonia, by George Chalmers. | Do. by Rev. Dr. Thomson. |
| Buchanan's History of Scotland. | Reports of Public Institutions connected with Perth. |
| Tytler's History of Do. | Memoriabilla of Perth. |
| History of the Reformation by Knox. | Traditions of Perth, by George Penny. |
| Life of John Knox by Dr. M'Crie. | Scott's History of the Reformers. |
| Spotiswood's History of the Church of Scotland. | Book of Perth, by the Rev. J. P. Lawson. |
| Keith's History of Do. | Hand-book of Do. |
| Aikman's History of Scotland. | Town Council Records. |
| Godwin's History of the Commonwealth. | Manuscripts of the Literary and Antiquarian Society. |
| Chambers's History of the Rebellion of 1745. | Incorporation Records. |
| Arnot's History of Edinburgh. | Report of Municipal Commissioners. |
| Tales of a Grandfather, by Sir Walter Scott. | Ferrier's Memoirs of Rev. W. Wilson. |
| Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe. | Chambers' Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen. |
| Brown's History of the Highlands. | Biographia Britanica, &c. &c. &c. |
| Cromwelliana. | |



THE HISTORY OF PERTH.

CHAPTER I.

FOR want of adequate materials, the origin and early history of nations, cities, and families cannot be clearly traced ; but little light can be thrown upon them, by those unsafe guides, etymology, tradition, and conjecture. It need not, therefore, excite our surprise if the most careful enquiries concerning such subjects end in disappointment.

Perth forms no exception to these general remarks. Founded in a rude age, when the use of letters was unknown, and, far less, public archives were established, it may be expected that much pertaining to its early history will remain enveloped in obscurity.

Scotland, at the time of its invasion by Agricola, was inhabited by the Caledonians, who were divided into a number of distinct tribes, totally independent of each other, yet having a common origin, and agreeing in language, religion, and manners.

Perth was situated in the country of the Horestii,* and, during the sway of the Romans, in the province of Vespasiana. The most ancient name we find applied to it, is Bertha : various etymologies of it have been given, some of them absurd, and most of them unsatisfactory. Buchanan, in his History of Scotland, says the town was designated Perth in memory of a noblemen who gave the land to King William, after the inundation in 1210, on which to build it. This derivation is untenable ; for, as will afterwards be shewn, Perth stood on the present site long prior to this time. Some derive the name from the Gothic or German ; Bertha, in the latter language, signifying celebrity, splendour, or what is deservedly illustrious ; others from the Gaelic word *Beartha*, which means clear, fine, genteel, fair ;

* It comprehended that part of Scotland lying between the Forth on the south, and the Tay on the north. From the natural strength of their country, the Horestii are supposed to have derived their name.

and others with a greater degree of probability on their side, derive it from the word *Aber-tau*, signifying a confluence of water, the junction of rivers, the fall of a lesser river into a greater, or into the sea. To which, or whether to any of these etymologies the name should be attributed, we will not determine.

The etymology of the designation, St Johnstoun, and by which Perth was generally known during a long period in Scottish history, is not so difficult of solution. It appears to have been so called from the church and bridge being dedicated to St John the Baptist, and chosen patron or tutelary-saint of the town.

The origin of the town is no less dubious than that of the name. The current tradition has for centuries been that it was built by Agricola, after his victory over Galgacus, the leader of the Caledonians. Adamson in his "*Muses Threnodie, or mirthful mournings on the death of Mr Gall,*" gives it at considerable length; the purport of what he says, with additional circumstances from Tacitus and Fordun, is as follows:—

"Enæus Julius Agricola, in the third year after Vespasian had sent him to be governor in Britain, viz. about the year of the Christian æra 81, led a numerous army round by the pass of Stirling into the country on the north side of the Forth. New nations or tribes were discovered, which the Romans wasted all the way to the Tay. The people fled before them, so that Agricola, in his progress, had full leisure to erect many forts or castles.

"He had been nearly five years endeavouring to establish the Roman power in Scotland, when he was recalled by Domitian. At first the natives had been in use to demolish, in the winter, the summer-camps or fortresses; but these, as well as the winter residences, were at last rendered impregnable.

"When Agricola and his army first saw the river Tay and the adjacent plain on which Perth is now situated, they cried out with one consent, *Ecce Tiber! Ecce Campus Martius!* Behold the Tiber! Behold the Field of Mars! comparing what they saw with their own river, and to the extensive plain in the neighbourhood of Rome."

* In the "*Memorabilia of Perth*" it is stated, that the Romans first saw the plain on which Perth stands, and the Tay, flowing in its majestic course to the German Ocean, from the top of the Cloven Craigs, over which the great north road now passes. We have no doubt that tradition has long given the honour to the spot above mentioned as being the place where the Roman army uttered the well known exclamation, "*Ecce Tiber! ecce Campus Martius!*" In it, however, we do not concur; for in tracing the route of Agricola, it will be seen that on

The Italians, many ages after, were in use to give to the Tay the name of New Tiber; and Fordun gave the name of Tyber-more* to an extensive moor which lies west from the town of Perth.

"As the field at Rome was by the early Romans consecrated to Mars, so their descendants found in the field adjoining the Tay, an old temple, which the British or Welch writers say was built many ages before, by one of the British kings, and dedicated to Mars. The Romans performed worship there to that heathen deity, in hopes that their expeditions would thereby be favoured in the new country into which they were come.

"Agricola pitched his camp in the middle of that field, on the spot where Perth stands. He proposed to make it a winter-camp; and afterwards built what he intended should be a colonial town. He fortified it with walls, and with a strong castle, and supplied the ditches with water by an aqueduct from the Almond. Also, with much labour to his soldiers, and probably to the poor natives, a large wooden bridge was constructed over the river at Perth."

That the foregoing account of the origin of Perth is literally true will not be said; yet it is so far corroborated by credible historians. The Venerable Bede considers the *Victoria* of the Romans to have been on the site of modern Perth; and Richard of Cirencester, whose book has thrown great light on the antiquities of Scotland, is still more explicit on the point. When speaking of the Horestii, he says "Their towns were Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria, the last of which was more illustrious than the rest. It was built by Agricola at the river Tay, twenty miles from the exit of that river into the sea."

leaving Fife he kept the south side of the Ochill Hills, until the course of the Devon showed him an opening northwards; so following the rivelet which forms Glen-eagles, and leaving the Braes of Ogilvie on his left, he passed between Blackford and Auchterarder, towards the Grampian Mountains, which he saw in the distance. An easy march soon brought him to Ardoch. From Ardoch, he came eastward to the Tay—probably over the same ground as did the Roman road afterwards made by him—in the direction of Strageth; and after crossing the Earn, passed on the north side of Innerpeffry, proceeding in a straight line across the Moor of Gask. At Culmalundie the road diverged a little to the north-east, passed by Lochty on to Ruthven, then crossed the Almond, near its confluence with the Tay, where was erected the Roman station of Bertha. If such was the route by which Agricola came to the Tay—and it seems very probable that it was—then it must have been when he and his army were on the banks of that noble river they were reminded of the scenes of their native Italy.

* Modern etymologists differ with Fordun as to the etymon Tyber-more. It is said to be derived from the Gaelic, and signifies "the well in the muir."

To render the early history of the town still more obscure, Beoce, in his history of Scotland, relates a story of Perth not being the ancient Bertha, but a new town built by King William, further down the river, after Bertha had been swept away by an inundation of the Tay, in 1210. The king, it is also said, transferred the rights and privileges of the old city to the new one. Buchanan, and later writers, have given currency to the statement of Beoce, and led many to believe that there existed a town called Bertha, previous to Perth being built, at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay. Fordun, however, a much earlier writer than Beoce, and generally admitted to be a historian worthy of greater credit, gives a detailed account of the inundation which happened in 1210, and speaks of Perth as a place "which of old was called Bertha." One thing also, appears certain, that the town was designated Perth long before 1210; for there are hundreds of Charters dating from 1106 to 1210, calling it by that name, still extant. Houses and streets, too, are also described in these charters prior to 1210, the same as they afterwards were. Add to which, that in recent times the remains of old streets have been found six or eight feet below the present surface, and old houses still existing in a dilapidated state have their ground floors a number of steps down from the street: making it evident that the town in former times had been much lower than it now is, and been raised at different periods to guard against future inundations. Two charters especially place the matter in such a clear light, we are induced to give them at length. The first appears to have been granted betwixt the years 1189 and 1199, and the other during the reign of Alexander II.

CHARTER OF WILLIAM THE KING, TO HENRY BALD, CONCERNING A
LAND IN PERTH.

"William, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all good men of his whole realm, clergy and laity, greeting.

"Know all, who are, or shall be, me to have given and consigned, and by this my present charter, to have confirmed to Henry Bald, that land in my Burgh of Perth, which James, the son of Simon, and others, my Provosts of Perth, have delivered to him, according to my precept,

"To wit, that land which is in front of the street, which leads from the church of St John Baptist to the Castle of Perth, on the east side,

opposite to the house of Andrew, the Son of Simon. (*Illam scilicet, quæ est in fronte vici illius, qui tendit de Ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptista, usque ad Castellum de Pert, ex orientali parte, contra domum Andreæ filii Simonis.*)

"To be held to him and his heirs, of me and my heirs, in fee and heritage, freely, peaceably, fully, and honourably. Rendering thence yearly to my Chamberlain one pound of pepper at the feast of St Michael.

"Witnesses, Hugh Chancellor; Philip de Valoines, my Chamberlain; Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan; William de Hay; Alexander, Sheriff of Stirling; Roger de Mortimer; Philip de Lundin. At Perth, 14th day of April."

CHARTER BY HENRY BALD, GOLDSMITH, TO THE MONASTERY AT SCONE.

"To all who shall see or hear these letters, Henry Bald, Goldsmith of Perth, wishes salvation.

"Know all of you, me to have given and consigned, and by this my present charter, to have confirmed to God, and to the church of the Holy Trinity, and of St Michael of Scone; and to the abbot and canons serving God, and to serve him there; in pure and perpetual alms, my two booths, with the gallery placed above them, within the Burgh of Perth; in that land which William, of pious memory, King of Scots, granted to me for my homage and service. (*Duas bothas meas, cum solario superposito, in burgo de Perth; in terra illa quam Gulielmus, piæ memoriæ, Rex Scotorum, mihi dedit pro homagio et serveto meo.*)

"To wit, these two booths which are in the front of the street which leads from the church of St. John Baptist towards the Castle of Perth, on the east side, opposite to the house of Andrew, the son of Simon; those two booths, to wit, which are towards the north; (*scilicet, illas duas bothas, quæ sunt in fronte vici illius, qui tendit de Ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptiste, versus Castellum de Pert, in orientali parte, contra domum Andreæ filii Simonis; videlicet, illas duas bothas versus aquilonem.*)

"To be held and retained for ever, freely, peaceably, fully, and honourably; rendering thence yearly to the Chamberlain of our Sovereign Lord, King of Scots, one pound of pepper at the feast of St. Michael, in lieu of all service; and to the monks of Cupar, yearly,

one half stone of wax, at the purification of the blessed Mary, in name of alms.

"And that this my donation may be ratified and incontrovertible, I have confirmed this present page by my seal. And as my seal is not valid, the common seal of the Burgh of Perth is, at my desire, appended.

"Witnesses, Walter de Newton, and Henry de Abernithie, Knights; Galfrid de Perth, Clerk of our Sovereign Lord, the King; Henry, his son; Galfrid, Provost of Perth; Richard de Leycester; John, son of Lenna; David Jape; William de Dundee; James, son of James, son of Hutred; William Sper; Richard de Lenna, and many others."

The charter, moreover, granted by William in 1210, confirmatory of the privileges of the burgh, makes no mention of a change of situation. Other charters might be brought forward bearing on the same point; but sufficient evidence, we conceive, has been adduced to shew that the story of Boece is nothing more than a fabulous tradition, totally unsupported by facts.

But though the question of Perth having stood on the present site before the inundation of 1210 is thus satisfactorily disposed of, there remains for consideration, but which is more difficult of solution, viz., whether the place still called Bertha is derived from one of the same name, or so designated on account of the story of Boece, or has retained it from the time it was occupied as a station by the Romans? A Roman station undoubtedly there was at Bertha; the Roman road from the camp at Ardoch can be traced to it, and which, by means of a wooden bridge over the Tay about the same place, was continued to the camp at Keithock, near Brechin, where it terminated.*

Our own opinion is, that Bertha was the original name, and not a borrowed one. The supposed etymology of the word renders this very

* Concerning the Roman station here, and the remains which have been found at it, the Minister of Redgorton, in Sir John Sinclair's Statistical account of Scotland, has the following remarks. "Another piece of antiquity is the continuation of the causeway, leading from the Roman camp at Ardoch, which crosses the Tay, at its present conflux with the Almond. At this place, there are the remains of a Roman station, regularly formed into a square surrounded with a deep fosse, which has for some years been gradually washing away by the overflowing of the Almond. There have been dug up here several urns, filled with human ashes, a Roman laoh-rymatory, and also a pig of lead weighing about two stones, with Roman letters on it. The foundation of a wooden bridge which had been thrown over the Tay at this place, still remains, and consists of large oak planks, fastened together, coarsely jointed, and surrounded with clasps of iron."

probable, it signifying a confluence of water—the junction of rivers ; and in all likelihood it was so called prior to the invasion of Britain by the Romans. But it has been said in reply to the above view, though there was a station at Bertha, yet, as no vestiges of a town have ever been discovered there, it must be considered only as an appendage to the winter camp, or colonial town, built at Perth ; and the probability, therefore, is, that the name was derived from the more important place. Another conjecture is, that the whole plain, in the centre of which Perth stands, and of which the present Bertha is the northern extremity, had the same designation applied to it. Moreover, they conceive that this supposition is strengthened by the tradition which generally obtains that the aqueduct from the Almond was made by the Romans, and after supplying the ditches around the walls with which they had fortified Perth, fell directly into the Tay. Hence, they add, in this way may the similarity of the two names be accounted for.

That Perth was a Roman settlement scarcely admits of a doubt ; for, wherever Rome extended its sway, it founded colonies, and placed them under the municipal institutions of the empire. That they, too, during this period made considerable progress in civilization can as little be questioned. The fall of the Roman empire, however, in the fifth century, consequent on internal dissension and the irruptions of the Goths, Vandals, and Huns, materially affected their condition. They became subject to new influences ; in fact, from the elements now at work, society retrograded—the towns fell into general decay, and Europe gradually reverted into nearly its original barbarism.

The history of Scotland, so far as it can be ascertained, from the fifth to the end of the ninth century, is nothing but a continued series of sanguinary conflicts between barbarous races and tribes, the more powerful displacing the weaker of their possessions, whilst everything indicated that its inhabitants were in the most rude and barbarous condition.

It is the opinion of some writers, that during the Pictish and Gothic periods, Scotland had no towns—fortifications and cities being the peculiar objects of the people's hatred ; and that it was only when the English, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings settled in Scotland that the miserable villages at the foot of the religious establishments, and the castles of the barons, rose to be towns of importance. The flourishing state of trade, however, at that early period seems to militate against such an assertion. We conceive the time allowed by these writers is by far too short to account for the great prosperity to which Scotland had attained at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The

greater probability is, that at the period of the migration of the Flemings its trade and commerce was considerable, and that the occasion of their coming here was to exchange their cargoes for the productions of the country. The truth is, that even amidst the chaos and disorder of the dark ages, "there remained considerable remnants of the Roman civilization:" and that when Europe began to grope its way, through the influence of the Christian church, to something like social order, it was at those places where the Romans had had settlements that a commercial spirit first began to develop itself. It is appropriately observed, "The name of the empire, the remembrance of that great and glorious society, agitated the memories of men, especially of the town senators, the bishops, the priests, and of all those who had their origin in the Roman era. Many of the barbarians themselves, or of their barbarian forefathers, had been witnesses of the grandeur of the empire: they had served in its armies, or fought against it. The image and name of the Roman civilization had an imposing effect upon them, and they experienced a desire to imitate it, to bring it back, or to preserve some portion of it."*

The causes which probably led to Perth becoming a place of importance so early as the twelfth century, was its proximity to the religious establishment at Scone, and the direct communication afforded by the river Tay to foreign countries. Add to which, as the Scottish Kings were crowned at Scone, with their residence at Perth, and the parliaments and general councils of the nation held frequently at one or other of these places, there is no doubt that its trade was greatly promoted by the numbers of the clergy and nobility who resorted thither.

David I. was the first Scottish monarch that conferred on Perth important privileges; these were confirmed by William the Lion, in 1210. It is generally admitted, that till 1482, when James removed the seat of government to Edinburgh, it was the Metropolis of Scotland.

A national council was held at Perth in 1160, by Malcolm IV., occasioned, it is said, by a confederacy of six Earls against him. Their leader was Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, who, with five others, conspired against the person of their sovereign. They assaulted the tower in which he had sought refuge, but were repulsed. The clergy, however, interposed, and brought about a speedy reconciliation between the king and his subjects.

Other national councils were held at Perth by William the Lion;

* History of Civilization in Europe.

but nothing worthy of notice occurred in them. Numerous ecclesiastical councils were held in these early ages at Perth : one was held so early as 1020. One under John de Salerno in 1201, who, as cardinal legate, confirmed the agreement that the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow had made with the Abbot of Kelso, that the latter should present vicars to the several churches which belonged to the monastery of Kelso, in their respective dioceses.* Another in 1206 ; and a fourth one in 1211, by William, the Bishop of St Andrews, and Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Pope's legates.

A general council of the Scottish Church, was called at Perth in 1221, by a legate from Rome, to obtain aid for the prosecution of the holy war. Another papal agent, it would appear, traversed the country, soliciting money for the same object, but which he spent as quickly as it was received. The church at this period showed her grasping disposition in various ways. A bull of Pope Honorius, in 1225, allowed the Scottish prelates to hold a provincial council without the mandate of a legate, or the summons of a metropolitan. Construing the papal act in favour of their own powers, they called ecclesiastical councils without the Pope's permission or knowledge. But they abused the privilege thus obtained in oppressing the country. At a council held by them, among other canons, they ordained that the parish priest should be entitled to pasture his cattle in any place of the parish he pleased.

In 1242, David, the Bishop of St. Andrews, called a provincial council at Perth. The canons enacted by it were ratified by the estates ; and being confirmed by the king, continued to be the ecclesiastical law of Scotland till the abolition of the papal authority at the time of the Reformation.

This period of the history of Scotland is distinguished for contentions between the clergy of the Scottish church with the court of Rome on the one hand, and the Kings of Scotland on the other. To dilate on their respective pretensions does not belong to our subject ; we, therefore, can only refer cursorily to the general councils which were held in the midst of these disputes. One was held at Perth in 1269. A bishop of the Scottish church called this council, and presided over it. Another of a more important character was held in 1275. Bagimont having been sent by the Pope to collect the tenth of all the benefices in Scotland, for the relief of the Holy Land, held

* One of the canons of this council prohibited all secular employments from Saturday at noon till Monday morning.

an ecclesiastical council at Perth, where the clergy, with the exception of the Cisterians, who were exempted, agreed to pay the tenth of their benefices, upon oath, and under the terrors of excommunication. They felt keenly, at the same time, the oppressive nature of the demand, and induced Bagimont to repair to Rome, to solicit some abatement of the tax. He returned to Scotland without having accomplished the object of his mission: the coffers of the holy see had to be replenished, so that no arguments could persuade the Pope to relinquish the claim he had made on the Scottish church.

But amidst the intrigues and usurpations of the Romish church, an event happened which has been well denominated "one of the deepest among those national calamities which chequer the history of Scotland." We refer to the death of Alexander III.

Margaret of Norway succeeded to the crown, she having been acknowledged at a meeting of the estates of the realm, held at Scone, 1283-4, as heir to the crown "failing any children, whom Alexander might have; and failing the issue of the late Prince." The King of England projected a marriage between his son, Prince Edward, and the young Queen of Scotland. The latter, however, on her passage from Norway to Scotland was seized with a mortal disease, and died at Orkney in September, 1290. She was only in her eighth year. This new national calamity, for so it may well be designated, cast a gloom over the whole nation. No provision had been made for the succession of the Scottish crown beyond the offspring of Alexander, as Lord Hailes appropriately remarks, "the nation looked no further, and perhaps it durst not look farther."

Under these circumstances the Scottish crown was claimed by different competitors. Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, assembled his followers and suddenly came to Perth, where many of the nobility joined him. But Scotland, if she had been true to herself, notwithstanding there being various claimants of the crown, might have been saved the devastations and bloodshed which followed, if the money and power of England had not introduced traitorous counsels. Edward, on perceiving the divisions among the Scottish nobility regarding the succession to the crown, immediately threw off the mask; and openly demanded of the Scots "their hearty recognition of his title of Lord Paramount of Scotland." By secret intrigues, and the money and promises he distributed among the nobility, new candidates were induced to come forward as competitors for the crown; and no less than eight appeared, along with the clergy and nobles of Scotland, at Norham Castle, all of whom acknowledged the superiority of Edward, "agreeing to receive

judgment from him as Lord Paramount, and consenting that he shall possess the kingdom to whom he awards it." Thus was basely surrendered the independence of Scotland, and to complete her humiliation the whole castles and fortresses of the kingdom were placed at Edward's disposal. In the summer of the same year he visited Scotland, and proceeded as far as Perth, and thence to Dunfermline, St Andrews, Kinghorn, and Linlithgow; and at these places called upon persons of all ranks, earls, barons and burgesses, to sign the rolls of homage, as vassals of the King of England. After several delays, on the ground that great difficulties stood in the way of finding the nearest lineal descendant to the crown, Edward at last bestowed it on John Baliol, who claimed the crown as the descendant of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon. Baliol was accordingly crowned at Scone upon St Andrew's day, and soon after passed into England and finished the last scene of his own and Scotland's degradation, by doing homage to the King of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Baliol soon found, however, he had got only the nominal possession of the kingdom: he was made to feel that Edward considered him but as one of his creatures set up to forward his designs, and who, when found to be of no farther use, could easily be set aside.

The King of England showed in various ways that he really considered himself as holding "direct dominion" over Scotland: by summoning Baliol to appear in England, to answer complaints preferred against him in administering the affairs of his kingdom, and distributing lands and pensions amongst the clergy and barons. Baliol's spirit sunk under the annoyances to which Edward subjected him. Undecided in character, he vacillated between abject submission and weak endeavours to assert his independence. At last the party who then ruled in the Scottish parliament, determined to rid their country of English influence and control, prevailed on Baliol to dismiss all the Englishmen whom he maintained at his court, excluded himself from power, by placing him in a sort of captivity, and appointed four bishops, four earls, and four barons, to manage the affairs of the country. These guardians, in the name of Baliol, drew up an instrument renouncing all fealty and homage to Edward. Of course such a proceeding was the signal for war on the part of both countries. Edward assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and laid siege to Berwick, which he soon got possession of, and delivered over to a brutal soldiery. Seventeen thousand persons, were put to the sword. For two days the city ran with blood like a river; and the churches, to which the miserable inhabitants fled for sanctu-

ary, were violated, robbed of their ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry. His Battle of Dunbar speedily followed, of which the King of England was victor: all Scotland now lay prostrate at his feet. The progress through the country was that of a triumphant conqueror; and town after town quietly submitted to him. He halted at Perth, where he remained three days, and kept the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist, "with circumstances of high feudal pomp and solemnity, feasting his friends, creating new knights, and solacing himself and his barons." Baliol was shortly afterwards deprived of the crown of Scotland, under the most humiliating circumstances: he meanly submitted, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the barons of England, to be stript of the royal robes, and have the crown and sceptre taken from him; and then standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, perform a most debasing feudal penance. He delivered his eldest son, Edward, to the king of England as a hostage for his future conduct. The former, with his father, were shortly after sent to the Tower of London, where they remained for three years in confinement. Though anticipating a little some of the events we are now narrating, we may mention the ultimate fate of John Baliol. Through the mediation of the Pope, he was allowed to be set at liberty, on condition of residing on his estate of Baillien in France. To shew in what light Edward regarded this mean spirited person, he ordered, before Baliol embarked at Dover, his trunks to be searched, and whatever was of value to be retained. The menials of Edward detected a crown of gold, the great seal of Scotland, many vessels of gold and silver, and a considerable sum of money. Edward kept the whole of these except the money, which was given back. The crown was hung up in the shrine of St Thomas the Martyr.

From Perth, Edward went northwards as far as the province of Moray; and on his return to hold his parliament at Berwick, carried away with him, from the abbey of Scone, the ancient and fatal stone *

* The *Lia-faile*, called also *Clach na cineamhainn*, (fatal stone) is traced to a remote origin. Legend supposes it to have been the pillow of Jacob; and to have been brought from the Holy Land to the sacred island. This memorable stone is that whereupon the kings of Ireland used to be inaugurated, in times of heathenism, on the hill of Tara. It was at a very early period brought from Ireland to Dunstaffnage; from thence to Scone in 842, by Kenneth II. The ceremony of inaugurating the kings of Scotland was peculiar. The regal chair, or sacred stone, stood before the cross, in the eastern division of the chapel. Upon this the sovereign sat—the crown was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand;

upon which for centuries the Scottish kings had been crowned and anointed. This, along with the sceptre and crown, were deposited in the Cathedral of Westminster, as trophies and memorials of his conquest of Scotland.

It is affirmed by historians, that Edward, in his progress, sought to destroy every record and monument connected with the antiquity and independence of the nation. Accordingly, he carried away the charters

he was invested with the royal mantle, and the nobility, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A Highland bard, clothed in a robe of sky blue, stood before the sacred stone, and recited to the king, as he sat on it, the genealogy of the kings of Scotland, from the foundation of the monarchy. It is also recorded, that every noble and baron brought so much earth in his boots, that he might see the king crowned standing on his own land, which earth was afterwards thrown on the Boot-Hill, or *omnis terra*. When the fatal stone was removed to Westminster Abbey, Edward caused it to be placed in a new chair, to which was added a step, when the whole was settled near the altar, before the shrine of St Edward. By the treaty of Northampton, it was stipulated that the stone should be returned to Scotland. For this end writs were issued by Edward III., which were never executed, and whatever doubts may have been entertained, it still remains in Westminster Abbey. It is strange that the prophecy should still continue to be fulfilled, which, there is no doubt, is of celtic origin. The following is an English translation :—

“ Except old saws do feign,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign
Where they this stone shall find.”

The English chroniclers, however, reverse the prediction, and affirm that the *Stone* was removed to Westminster to be kept as a memorial of the subjugation of Scotland. Hardyng alludes to the subject in the following manner :—

“ This stone was called the regale of Scotland,
On which the Scottish kynges wer *breecheslesse* set
At their coronement, as I can understande.
For holynes of it, so did they of debts,
All their kynges upon this stone was sette,
Unto the tyme King Edward with long shankes
Brought it awaye agai’n the Scotch unthanked ;
At Westmonestery it offered to Sancte Edward,
Where it is kept, and conserved,
To tyme that kinges of Englande afterward
Should coroned be, under their *fete* observed ;
To this entent kept and reserved,
In remembrance of kynges of Scottes alway,
Subjects should be to kynges of Englande ay ! ”

of the Abbey of Scone, and tore the seals, in the hope that he had obliterated every document deposited there that could militate against his claims as Lord Paramount. But though the greater part of the nobility basely submitted to the authority of Edward, yet in the breasts of not a few of the lesser barons, knights, and squires, there burned the bright flame of patriotism,—they shewed that the desire of national independence was still fondly cherished, and that they only waited an opportunity of displaying that personal prowess by which alone it could be restored.

The most prominent place among these is due to William Wallace, second son of Sir Malcom Wallace of Ellerslie. As our subject, however, is limited to the delineation of the "Fair City," we must, after so long a digression, strictly confine ourselves to events connected with it. The first time that Wallace appears to have been at Perth—or St Johnstoun, as it was at that period generally called—was shortly after the taking of the Peel of Gargunnoch by the Scots. He and his followers had taken up their quarters in Methven wood, and hearing that a body of English troops were to leave St Johnstoun on the day following, in order to proceed to Kineleven Castle, under the command of Sir James Butler, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Scots by the cruelties he had inflicted upon them, were determined to intercept them. At the sametime, Wallace was anxious to learn what was the strength and condition of the garrison of the town; so, disguising himself as a borderer, he got admittance to the mayor, under the name of William Malcomson, who was so much taken with the agreeable manners, conversation, and account that Wallace gave of himself, that all suspicion was allayed as to the object which brought him to St Johnstoun.

Blind Harry tells us of Wallace having fallen in love with one of the "fair maids of St Johnstoun," who gave him information as to the English, the feeling of the inhabitants towards them, and the strength of the place. The minstrel makes Wallace use the following language in reference to the possession of the town by the English :—

"Oft on the night he would say to himsel',
'This is far worse than any pain of hell,
That thus, with wrong, thir devils should bruik our land,
And we with force may not against them stand.
To take this town my power is too small;
Great peril als upon myself may fall.
Set it on fire! it will undo mysel'
Or loss my men. There is no more to tell:

The gates are close, the dykes are deep withall ;
Tho' I would swim, forsooth so cannot all.
This matter therefore I will over slide ;
But in this town I may no longer bide."

Wallace having ascertained the intended removal of the troops already alluded to, hastened back to his retreat in Methven wood. In the morning, Sir James Butler, with about a hundred choice soldiers, were proceeding to Kincleven to reinforce its garrison, when, from behind a rock that projected over the road, they were suddenly assailed by the Scots. This unexpected attack threw the English commander into confusion ; and before his troops could get rallied, a fresh charge put them into complete disorder. The strength and valour of the Scots rendered the advantage which their enemies possessed in point of numbers of little avail. Wallace had nearly sixty warriors under his command, most part of whom had distinguished themselves on former occasions. Sixteen of the English had already fallen, when Wallace personally encountered Sir James Butler. The conflict was of short duration ; the English commander was by no means a match for the young hero ; and on the enemy seeing their chief fall, they immediately fled towards Kincleven, in the greatest consternation and disorder.

Their discomfiture having been observed from the battlements of the castle, those within hastened to let down the drawbridge, to receive and shelter their flying countrymen. But the Scots, however, had overtaken them by the time they had reached the bridge, so that the vanquished and their pursuers crossed it, and entered the castle together. The small garrison of the English could render little assistance to their countrymen ; and the consequence was, that the whole, with the exception of two priests, and some women and children, were put to death. Wallace and his associates found here a rich booty in money, with a large stock of provisions and other articles, which they were greatly in need of. The pillage was conveyed by night to Shortwood Forest, and concealed under ground, to be ready against future emergencies. Wallace and his compatriots had sometime before resolved, that so long as they were unable to garrison the castles and fortresses which fell into their hands, they should be demolished. Kincleven, accordingly, was burnt to the ground. From the secluded situation in which it stood, and the lateness of the hour at which it was fired, it was morning before the inhabitants of the surrounding country discovered what had happened. The females who had been allowed to depart carried to St Johnstoun the melancholy account of the

disaster which had overtaken their friends. The governor, Sir Gerald Heron, on hearing of the dreadful slaughter of his countrymen, and the total destruction of Kincleven Castle, immediately repaired to the scene of the rencounter. A strict search after the booty taken from the castle was made. Nothing, however, could be discovered, save the favourite steed of Sir James Butler, which had been left behind in one of the enclosures. On this his wounded son was placed, and the whole party returned, fatigued and dispirited, to St. Johnstoun, leaving one hundred and twenty of their companions dead behind them. Of the Scots seven were killed, and the rest more or less wounded.

In a few days afterwards, Wallace is said to have returned to St Johnstoun, disguised as a priest, to visit the female whose acquaintance he had formerly made. She had engaged to betray Wallace into the hands of the English; but repenting of the information given his enemies, told him of his danger. Wallace, ever fertile in expedients, put a dress of the female's over his own, and thus equipped went boldly to the south gate or port, and told the guard that their great enemy (meaning himself) was locked in the house, ready to be captured. Eager to lay hold of Wallace, they went immediately to seize their prey, whilst he got free egress to his hiding-place at Elcho.

Blind Harry tells us, that when they found themselves thus duped, two of them pursued Wallace through the South Inch, who, when he saw the Englishmen, turned and gave the foremost one battle, and cut him down by the first thrust of his sword. The other fled, but was soon overtaken, and had his head cleft in twain by the indomitable Wallace. Other accounts say, that his foes, enraged at the disappointment, set off in pursuit of him, taking along with them two blood hounds, to assist them in discovering his retreats.

We find Wallace again at Perth after the defeat of M'Fadyan, in Lorn. Leaving Ardochattan, Wallace brought his army to Dunkeld; at this place he arranged, with the assistance of Sir John Ramsay and Sir John Graham, a plan for taking Perth. A great number of trees were cut down at Dunkeld; and Sir John Ramsay superintended the bringing of them to Perth by water. Wallace and his followers having surrounded Perth: they filled the ditches with earth and stones, and then placed the trees across them, to get an easy passage to the walls. Ramsay and Graham attacked the turret bridge or gate, while Wallace and the main body endeavoured to make a breach in the walls, about the middle of the town. The English fought with desperation, well knowing the bravery and energy for which the leader of the

Scots was distinguished, and that they would receive no mercy at his hands if he got possession of the town. The assault of the Scots, was soon crowned with success. Wallace, followed by a thousand men, scaled the walls. The turret gate was also taken, so that when the Scottish commanders joined their forces on the streets, the slaughter of the English was immense : upwards of two thousand were killed ; and Sir John Stewart, the governor, seeing that the town was lost, made his escape to Dundee in a barge, with sixty men.

The victory of Wallace was not a barren one : a rich booty fell into his hands ; and after garrisoning the town, he placed it under the command of a patriotic squire, named Ruthven, who had assisted him at the siege with thirty followers. The latter was also made Sheriff of Perth.

According to Blind Harry, Wallace besieged and took Perth two different times after this period ; but as historians take no notice of his so doing, the accounts of the minstrel seem rather questionable ; besides, there are no events of the least interest connected with them. We purposely, therefore, omit giving particulars.

1298. The next important incident in the life of Wallace, connected with Perth, was his resignation of the office of Governor of Scotland. He was induced to take this step from the opposition which had sprung up among the nobility against him. His great name after this does not again occur in any authentic record, as bearing any command in the wars against Edward ; and although with a few of his friends he ceased not to attack the English as opportunity offered, yet, they were more of the nature of private adventures, than regularly organized plans for ridding his country of its oppressor.

After the unfortunate battle of Falkirk, Scotland was again wholly in the possession of Edward. He reduced all its fortresses ; but considering Perth an important post, he fortified it, and rebuilt the walls in the strongest manner.

In 1305 Wallace was betrayed by Sir John Monteith : he was carried to London, condemned and executed, as a traitor. The cruelty and torture to which he was subjected reflects but little credit on the character of Edward. Wallace was dragged at the tails of horses through the streets to the foot of a high gallows at Smithfield. After being hanged—but not to death—he was cut down, yet breathing, his bowels taken out and burned before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge ; his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle ;

his left arm was sent to Berwick ; his right foot and limb to Perth ; and his left quarter to Aberdeen.

"These," says an old historian, "were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banner and confanons, which they had once proudly followed." But he might have added, as is well remarked by Mr Tytler, "that they were trophies far more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him ; and if Wallace had already been, for his daring and romantic character, the idol of the people—if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, through every change of circumstances, the independence of his country, now that the mutilated limbs of this martyr to liberty were brought among them, it may well be conceived how deep and inextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge."

Wallace was indeed a patriot in every sense of the word ; the commercial prosperity of Scotland was what he loved next to its entire freedom from a foreign yoke. A letter which was discovered by Dr Lappenberg, among the ancient records of the city of Hamburg, and first published in Carrick's life of Wallace, establishes this important fact. The following is a translation :—

"Andrew Murray and William Wallace, commanders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland, and the community of the same kingdom—To the prudent and discreet men, and well-beloved friends, the Mayors and Commonwealths of Lubeck and of Hamburg, greeting, and perpetual increase of sincere friendship.

"To us it has been intimated, by trust-worthy merchants of the said kingdom of Scotland, that, as a mark of your regard, you have been favourable to, counselling and assisting in, all matters and transactions relating to us and said merchants, though [such good offices] may not have been preceded by our deserts, and on that account we are the more bound to tender you our thanks, and a suitable return. This we have willingly engaged ourselves to [perform towards] you, requesting, that in so far you would cause your merchants to be informed, that they will now have safe access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland with their merchandise, as the kingdom of Scotland, thanks to God, has during the war been recovered from the power of the English. Farewell. — Given at Badsington, (Haddington,) in Scotland, this eleventh day of October, in the year of grace one thousand twelve hundred and ninety-seven.--We have moreover to request, that you would

condescend to forward the interests of our merchants John Burnet and John Frere in their business, in like manner as you may wish us to act towards your merchants in their commercial transactions. Farewell."

We cannot resist giving a place, also, to a description of the strength and personal appearance of Wallace, as related by a very old lady to James I. It is translated from Hector Boece, by the learned editor of Morison's edition of *Blind Harry*, who, after some preliminary remarks, thus introduces it :—

"The date is the year 1430. At that time, James I. was in Perth; and perhaps having heard *Henry the Minstrel* recite some of Wallace's exploits, found his curiosity excited to visit a noble lady of great age, who was able to inform him of many ancient matters. She lived in the castle of Kinnoull, on the opposite side of the river, and was probably a widow of one of the Lords of Erskine, a branch of whose family continued to be denominated from the barony of Kinnoull, till about the year 1440. It was Boece's manner to relate an event as circumstantially as if he had been one of the parties, and engaged in it; I shall therefore give the anecdote in his own manner, by translating his words :

"In consequence of her extreme old age, she had lost her sight, but all her other senses were in entire; and her body was yet firm and lively; she had seen William Wallace and Robert Bruce, and frequently told particulars concerning them. The King, who entertained a love and veneration of greatness, resolved to visit the old lady, that he might hear her describe the manners and strength of the two heroes, who were admired in his time, as they now are in our's. He therefore sent a message, acquainting her that he was to come to her next day. She received the message gratefully, and gave immediate orders to her handmaids to prepare every thing for his reception in the best manner, particularly that they should display her pieces of tapestry, some of which were uncommonly rich and beautiful. All her servants became busily employed, for their work was in some degree unusual, as she had not for a long time been accustomed to receive princely visitors. The next day, when told the King was approaching, she went down into the hall of her castle, dressed with as much elegance and finery as her old age and fashion of the time would permit, attended by a train of matrons, many of whom were her own descendants, of which number some appeared more altered and disfigured by age than she herself was. One of her matrons having informed her that the king was entering the hall, she arose from her seat, and advanced to meet him so easily and gracefully, that he doubted of her being wholly blind.

At his desire she embraced and kissed him. Her attendant assured him that she was wholly blind; but that, from long custom, she had acquired these easy movements. He took her by the hand and sat down, desiring her to sit on the same seat next to him. And then, in a long conference, he interrogated her respecting ancient matters. He was much delighted with her conversation. Among other things, he asked her to tell him what sort of a man William Wallace was? what was his personal figure? what his courage? and with what degree of strength he was endowed? He put the same questions to her concerning Bruce. Robert, she said, was a man beautiful, and of a fine appearance. His strength was so great, that he could easily have overcome any mortal man of his time:—But in so far as he excelled other men, he was excelled by Wallace, both in stature and in bodily strength; for, in wrestling, Wallace could have overcome two such men as Robert was.

“The King made some enquiries concerning his own immediate parents, and his other ancestors; and having heard her relate many things, returned to Perth, well pleased with the visit he had made.”

Although Scotland might now be said to have become a conquered province, yet it soon emerged from its prostrate condition; for in less than a year from the death of Wallace, the chains of Edward were broken.

Robert Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, who was competitor for the crown with John Baliol, now stood forward to assert the freedom and independence of Scotland, and acted with a decision and energy scarcely inferior to its great hero. He was crowned at Scone on the 27th March 1306; after which he made a progress through various parts of the country, seizing many of the castles and towns which were in possession of the English, who precipitately fled before him. After having ravaged Galloway, he came to Perth, then a town walled and strongly fortified, where the Earl of Pembroke lay, with an army, composed both of English and Scottish knights. Bruce finding the earl shut up within the walls, sent a challenge to meet him in open warfare. The English commander returned for answer, “that the day was too far spent; but that he would fight him on the morrow.” Bruce retired to Methven wood, a few miles from Perth, where Pembroke came upon him while his soldiers were cooking their supper. The battle was of short duration; in fact, from the manner in which they were surprised, the Scots were routed at once. Bruce himself was thrice unhorsed, and once so nearly taken, that the captor, Sir

Philip de Mowbray, called aloud that he had the new made king, when Sir Christopher Seaton felled him to the earth, and gallantly rescued his master. Bruce, and the remains of his army, retreated to the highlands; many, however, of his best and bravest friends fell into the hands of the enemy. For several years the cause of independence was rather dubious: its supporters experienced manifold sufferings and privations. The death of Edward, however, inspired them with new hopes. The military genius of the father had not fallen on his son and successor, Edward II: he was headstrong, capricious, and vacillating; consequently, the Scots found themselves better able to contend against their oppressor.

Bruce, having returned from a successful expedition into England, determined to besiege Perth, and sat down before it. Although Perth had been repeatedly assailed by the Scottish forces, it had withstood all their attacks, unassisted as these were by the military engines then in use for battering or scaling the walls, and for discharging stones and other missiles; accordingly, owing to the strength of the fortifications, Bruce and his army were unable to take Perth, though for six weeks they directed all their efforts against it. Edward I. had made Perth a place of great strength: it was fortified by a high wall, having strong towers upon it, and surrounded by a broad, deep ditch, well supplied with water. Bruce, seeing that the town could not be taken by open force, resolved to do so by stratagem: he carefully observed where the ditch was shallowest, so that he and his men could wade over. To get his plan executed before the succour expected from England had arrived, he immediately raised the siege, leaving those in the town under the impression that he considered the place impregnable. In about eight days, however, he returned, with scaling ladders, determined to get possession of it. According to Barbour, he chose a very dark night for this purpose. The king in person, bearing a ladder in one hand and a spear in the other to feel his way, the water reaching his throat, led the soldiers across the ditch to the foot of the walls. Animated by the daring example of the king, they contended with one another who should first mount the walls; the king, it is said, was the second person to get to the top. The town may be said to have been instantly taken, so completely was it taken by surprise. The Scots who had joined the English interest were put to the sword; but the English garrison were all spared. In the castle and stores of the merchants a large booty was found. But though the king exercised great humanity in staying the slaughter as the resistance ceased, yet he ordered the walls and fortifications of the town to

be destroyed. An incident connected with this successful enterprise of Bruce is worthy of being preserved, as showing the influence of the example of the king upon his followers, and the poverty of the Scottish towns in those times : a French knight was in the Scottish army, who, when he saw the king intrepidly enter the ditch at the head of his men, involuntarily exclaimed—we use language of Barbour—

“ ‘ A lord ! quhat sall we say
 Off our lords off Fraunce, that thai
 With gud morsells fayris thair pawneb,
 And will bot ete, and drynk, and dwanse,
 Quhen sic a knight, and sa worthy
 As this throw hys chewalry
 Into sic perill has hym set,
 To win a wrechyt hamylet ! ’
 With that word to the dyke he ran.
 And our efter the king he wan. ’ ”

Pinkerton, the annotator of Barbour, in remarking on the French knight designating Perth “a wrechyt hamylet,” says :—“ It is no wonder that, to a French knight, Perth, one of the chief towns of Scotland, should appear ‘a wretched hamlet.’ Such was the poverty of Scotland, owing to want of industry : for industry can make any country rich, and want of it can render any country poor. This poverty continued till the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions in 1750, when liberty and industry began to diffuse their blessings over Scotland. The flourishing state of commerce under the five James’, lately started by ignorant theorists, is a mere dream, unsupportable by any proof whatever.”

We may add that the French knight above mentioned is supposed to have been Sir Thomas Charteris, *alias* Longueville, a native of France, who, when at the court of Philip le Bel, had a dispute with, and killed a French nobleman in the king’s presence. He escaped, but having been refused a pardon, he for several years invested the seas as a pirate, under the cognomen of the *Red Reiver*, and was encountered by Sir William Wallace on his way to France, who took him prisoner. At Wallace’s intercession the French king conferred on him a pardon, and the honour of knighthood. He accompanied Wallace on his return to Scotland, and aided him in his exploits ; but upon that hero’s being betrayed and carried to London, Sir Thomas Charteris retired to Lochmaben, where he remained till Robert Bruce began to assert his right to the crown of Scotland. Having joined Bruce, he was the first that followed the king at the taking of Perth,

January 8, 1813. His bravery on that occasion was rewarded by granting him the lands of Kinfauns, which continued in the family of Charteris for many years.

About 1318, Sir John de Logie, Sir Gilbert Malherb, and Richard Brown, son of Sir John Brown, were executed at Perth as traitors, having been found guilty of being connected with a conspiracy planned by William, Lord Soulis. They were drawn at the tails of horses through the streets to the place of execution, where they were hanged, their hearts taken out, and their bodies dismembered. The Parliament which condemned them was called the *Black Parliament of Perth*.

In a Parliament held at Scone in 1320, Lord Soulis and the Countess of Strathearn were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, though the latter told King Robert of the conspiracy.

Robert Bruce held a parliament at Perth, in 1321, and others were held in Scone in 1323, 1325, and 1326. Robert I. died on the 7th of June 1329, and was succeeded by his son, David II., then in the seventh year of his age. The Earl of Moray was chosen Regent; and on the 27th of March 1330, a parliament was held at Perth. On the 8th November 1331, a parliament met at Scone; and in the month of August 1332, another was held at Perth, in which the Earl of Mar was elected Regent in room of the Earl of Moray, who had died. He did not, however, enjoy his new office any length of time; for he was slain at the battle of Duplin,* on the 12th of August that year, when Edward Baliol and an English force overran the kingdom; and on the day after his victory took possession of Perth, the walls of which he ordered to be rebuilt, the ditches cleared, and the whole fortifications put in a state of defence. On the 28th of August Baliol was crowned at Scone, in presence of many of the clergy and nobility; but no sooner had he retired from the neighbourhood of Perth than it was besieged by the relations of those who had fallen at the battle of Duplin. Macduff, Earl of Fife, governor of the town under Baliol, surrendered it after a siege of three months: the walls and fortifications were again destroyed, and Fife himself, his family, and vassals made prisoners. Another parliament was held at Perth in 1339. In this year the town was besieged by the Regent Stuart. It had been fortified by Edward and his engineers with uncommon skill, and provided with an

* The families adjoining Perth suffered severely in this engagement; Buchanan says that the name of the Hay would have been extinguished, had not William, the head of the house, left his lady pregnant.

excellent garrison. They defended it valiantly for three months; and just as the besiegers were about to retreat from it, Douglas, Lord Liddesdale, came to their succour, bringing with him five ships and a supply of men and provisions. The siege was renewed with vigour; Douglas was wounded in the leg by the shot of a cross-bow, whilst attempting to scale the walls. The garrison held boldly out notwithstanding all the efforts of the besiegers, and would have continued longer had not the Earl of Ross, by digging mines, drained away the water out of the fosses and ditches, which enabled the assailants to approach the very walls and drive the garrison from their works with the arrows and darts thrown from their engines.

The governor, Sir Thomas Ochtred, seeing his position now untenable, surrendered the town, on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared. Many of the English marched off by land, and others were provided with shipping to England. The French were liberally rewarded by Douglas, who gave to Hugh Hambel, their commander, one of the best of his ships taken by the English during the siege.

A parliament assembled at Perth on the 17th January, 1356, when ambassadors were appointed to treat with the English for the liberation of David II., who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Nevil's Cross, near Durham, on the 17th of October, 1346. The commission was sealed by the High Steward of Scotland, as Regent, the Earls of March and Angus, Sir William Keith, knight marischal, for the nobility, and the common seals of the Burghs of Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, as representing the community. The king ratified this treaty in a parliament held at Scone, on the 6th of November, 1357.

In 1364 a parliament was held at Perth, when David granted the lands of Gask and others to Walter Oliphant; and another in 1365, in which the nobility bound themselves, by an oath, to certain conditions of peace with England; it was also enacted that a tron for weighing wool should be placed in every royal burgh.

Parliaments were held at Perth in 1369 and 1370. A general council was convened at Perth on the 6th June 1382; another on the 26th of March 1392; and in one held the following year certain enactments were passed regarding the national money.

In 1396 was fought the memorable conflict on the North Inch, between the clan Chattan and the clan Kay. The two clans had been long at deadly enmity with each other, and their mutual attacks were carried on with the most savage and brutal ferocity. To put an end

to these sanguinary disputes, the king sent the Earls of Dunbar and Crawford to subdue them ; they, however, before using force against the Highlanders, submitted to their chiefs a plan whereby their differences might be terminated. It was proposed that thirty on each side should engage in a combat before the king and nobility at Perth ; that the vanquished should be pardoned for all past offences, and the victors distinguished by marks of the sovereign's clemency and respect. The heads of the respective clans cheerfully acceded to the proposal of the two earls ; and a day having been appointed for the contest, the necessary preparations were accordingly made. The place chosen for the fight was the North Inch ;—extensive barriers were erected to keep off the assembled spectators, and a long range of galleries were put up for the king and his courtiers, in the garden of the Dominican Monastery, near the far-famed *Golden Arbour*, which overlooked the Inch. The Highlanders marched to the fatal arena to the sound of the pibroch, armed with bows and arrows, swords and targets, knives and battle-axes ; but just as the opposing warriors were about to close in mortal array with each other, the courage of one of the clan Chattan failed : he threw himself into the Tay, swam across the river, and fled to his native hills. The rest of the clan Chattan refused to fight unless their numbers were made equal to that of their opponents. No one, however, amongst the vast mass of spectators seemed willing to aid the *Quhele*, and the king was about to command the assembly to be broken up, when one of the citizens, an armourer by trade, sprung within the barriers, and declared that, for half a French crown of gold, he would supply the place of the runaway Highlander. The offer was accepted, and a dreadful contest ensued, characterised by all the ardour, noise, and ferocity, of ancient Highland warfare. They rushed on each other, uttering the most hideous yells, cutting and mutilating their opponents with their poinards and battle-axes in a most barbarous and frightful manner. For a while the combatants had the appearance of a confused tumult, in the midst of which was heard the clashing of swords ; gradually, however, they separated, as their energy flagged, and one after another was seen on both sides to fall to the ground with a suppressed groan, and the blood streaming from the gashes which had been made in different parts of their bodies. Hal of the Wynd, for such was the armourer's name, did fearful execution with his well tried two handed sword ; in fact, the victory which the clan Chattan obtained over their opponents was mainly owing to the prowess of the undaunted smith. When the king saw that only a single combatant of the clan Kay was left

alive, he threw down his gage, and declared the clan *Quhele* the victors, eleven of whom still remained, including the valiant armourer. The chanter of one of the bagpipes is still in the possession of the present Cluny Macpherson, a distinguished Highland chief, and this ancient trophy is known as the *Federan Dhu*, or Black Chanter.

It is generally admitted that the clan Chattan were the Macintoshes; but as it always happens with the unfortunate, no sept or clan is willing to claim kindred with the clan Kay: they one and all repudiate them. The Davidsons disclaim all connection with such unhonoured Highlanders; and the Mackays, through their own historian, say, "there is the most cogent reasons to think that the opponents of the Mackintoshes were the Camerons." What the latter heroic, at least in recent times, and most respectable clan say in reply to this assertion of the Mackays we have never learned, and must, therefore, leave the subject to be settled by Celtic antiquarians.

In 1398 Robert III. held a parliament at Perth, where the title of Duke was for the first time introduced into Scotland. Another parliament met at Perth on January 27, 1398-9, of which the proceedings are interesting and important. Enactments were passed explaining the duties of the king—for levying contributions to defray the expenses of maintaining the government and the due execution of the laws, and for suppressing what one of the acts describe as the "great and horrible destructions, hardships, burning, and slaughter, which are so commonly committed through all the kingdom."

On the 21st February 1400-1, a parliament was held at Scone, in which a great many laws for the internal government of the kingdom were passed. The proceedings of this parliament clearly shew that Scotland was slowly emerging from a rude and barbarous condition to one of comparative civilization. The minute regulations relating to trade and commerce, as Mr Tytler remarks in his excellent history of Scotland, "are certainly to be regarded as valuable and venerable relics of the customs of our ancestors." These relate chiefly to an adjustment of weights and measures, fixing the standard of money, together with an enumeration of penalties for catching salmon within the forbidden time, and slaying hares in time of snow.

On the death of Robert III. in 1406, the estates of the realm were convened at Perth, and recognised the youthful Earl of Carrick as the king of Scotland, then a captive in England. They also appointed the Duke of Albany as regent, being next in succession.

In 1409, a parliament was held at Perth, in which a proposal was made of levying two pennies upon every hearth in the king-

dom, to defray the expense of destroying the walls of Jedburgh. The regent resisted it, and ordered the necessary sum to be paid out of the king's customs. Another parliament was held at Perth on 17th March 1415, in which the charters of release of all claims of sovereignty over Scotland by Edward III. were enjoined to be transcribed in a public and authenticated form, to be preserved in future times. A general council was held at Perth in June 1417: another on the 2d and 3d of October the same year, in which it was agreed that the Scottish Church should support the claims of Martin V. in the papal schism; and another in 1419, in which it was resolved to send auxiliaries to assist the French in repelling the efforts of the king of England to obtain the sovereignty of France.

On the 3d September of this year died Albany the regent, at the advanced age of eighty; and was succeeded by his eldest son, Murdoch, a weak and feeble prince. In a short time the country presented a sad contrast to what it was under the vigorous administration of the father. A wide spread licentiousness and anarchy had succeeded to the respect for law and order so recently obtained. Under this unsettled state of things, a general desire was manifested to procure the release of the king from his captivity in England; accordingly, in a general council held at Inverkeithing, on the 19th of August 1423, ambassadors were appointed to treat with the Duke of Gloucester, the regent of England. After several conferences between the ambassadors of the two countries, it was finally adjusted at London, that the King of Scotland should be restored on the payment of forty thousand pounds sterling, to be paid in yearly sums of ten thousand merks, till the whole be discharged; and among other securities for the stipulated ransom, a separate obligation was given by the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

Before leaving England, James I. married Joanna, daughter of the Earl of Somerset. It was a marriage of affection; James, during his captivity, had been ardently attached to her, and she is the subject of several of his poetical effusions, especially the one entitled the "King's Quair." The marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St Mary Overy, in Southwark, and all which James received as dowry with his wife, was a discharge of the first yearly sum of ten thousand merks due to England.

James, who was in the thirtieth year of his age when he regained his liberty, proceeded first to Edinburgh, where he held the festival of Easter; and shortly afterwards he and his queen were crowned at

Scone, with great solemnity. Murdoch, Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife, placing the king in the royal seat.

On the 26th May 1424, a few days after the coronation, a parliament was convened at Perth, and the proceedings clearly indicated that the king was bent on suppressing the insurrections, rapine, and insubordination which so generally prevailed. A practical illustration was given in this parliament by the exclamation he is said to have given utterance to when he first entered the kingdom—"Let God grant me life, and though I should myself lead the life of a dog in accomplishing it, there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the bush secure the cow."

James called another parliament at Perth, on the 12th March 1424-5, in which severe measures were adopted for the purpose of strengthening his government and inflicting vengeance on the powerful family of Albany. At its opening he addressed the assembled clergy, nobles, and barons in a speech at once dignified and fraught with the most manly and liberal sentiments—sentiments far in advance of the age in which he lived, and from which princes, even midst the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, may learn most useful lessons, as to their own and their subjects' duties.

"I have learned from my tender years," said the king, "that royalty consisteth not so much in a chair of state, as in such actions which do well become a prince. What mine have been, since my coming home and government among you, I take first God, and then yourselves for witnesses. If all of them be not agreeable to you all, and if any vigorous dealing be used against some, let him who is touched lay aside his particular, and look to the settling of justice in the state, and public good of the whole kingdom, and he shall find his sufferings tolerable, perhaps necessary, and according to the time, deserved. I have endeavoured to take away all discords, abolish factions, and suppress oppression, as no foreign power hath attempted aught against you hitherto, so that ye should not endeavour ought one against another, nor anything against the public weal and sovereignty. Slow have I been in punishing injuries done to myself, but can hardly pardon such as are done to the commonwealth: for this have I called this parliament. Let rapine and outrage no more be heard of; but every man recal himself to a civil and regular form of life. Especially you, my nobles, think virtue and civility true nobility; that to be accounted noblest which is best, and that a man's own worth begets true glory."

On the ninth day of the meeting of the parliament, the king ordered

the arrest of Murdoch, the late governor, Alexander Stewart, his youngest son, and twenty-six of the chief nobles and barons. A short time previous to this energetic measure he had also imprisoned Walter the eldest son of Albany, the Earl of Lennox, and Sir Robert Graham, a man of a fierce and vindictive spirit, who from that moment meditated the most determined revenge against the king. Walter Stewart was tried at Stirling on the 24th May : he was found guilty and condemned to death. Others of the nobility met the same fate, midst the general sympathy and commiseration of the people.

The severity of James had the effect of silencing, for the time, such of the nobles as were opposed to his government ; and the parliament proceeded to pass into laws those measures which the king thought necessary for the improvement and prosperity of the country. Two anecdotes are related by Fordun, which shew the promptitude and decision with which the king redressed the grievances of his subjects, and the condition of the country, which, when he ascended the throne, an ancient chronicler says, was little else than a wide den of robbers.

A Highland chieftain had carried off two cows belonging to a poor woman ; but such was the lawless state of the country that the robber walked abroad and was loudly accused by the injured party, who swore that she would never wear shoes till she had carried her complaint to the king in person. "It is false," cried the robber, "I'll have you shod myself before you reach the court." He immediately put his threat into execution, by fixing with nails, driven into the flesh, two horse shoes of iron upon her naked feet, and then thrust her, lacerated and bleeding, upon the highway. Some humane persons took pity on her ; and when cured she retained her original purpose, sought out the king—told her story, and shewed her feet, still bearing the marks of the barbarous treatment she had received.

James heard her with the utmost attention : his indignation was moved ; and having instantly directed his writs to the sheriff of the county where the Highland robber resided, had him seized and sent to Perth, where the court was then held. He was quickly tried and condemned : a coarse linen shirt was thrown over him, upon which was painted a rude representation of his crime ; and after being paraded in this ignominious dress through the streets of the town, he was dragged at a horse's tail, and hanged on a gallows.

The other story is equally illustrative of the character of James.. A noble of high rank, and nearly related to the king, having quarrelled with another baron in the presence of the monarch and his court, so

far forgot himself that he struck his adversary on the face. James instantly had him seized, and ordered him to stretch out his hand upon the council table; he then unsheathed the short cutlass, or hunting knife, which he carried at his girdle, gave it to the baron who had received the blow, and commanded him to strike off the hand which had insulted his honour, and was forfeited to the laws, threatening him with death if he refused. A thrill of horror ran through the court; he was reminded by the prelates present of the duty of forgiveness; and the queen, falling at his feet, implored pardon for the guilty, and at last obtained a remission of the sentence. The offender, however, was instantly banished from court.

As many of the enactments passed in the parliaments held by James will properly fall to be noticed in other sections of this work, we can only state here, that with the exception of a parliament held at Stirling on the 2d of March 1433, and another, the last in his reign, at Edinburgh on the 22d of October, 1436, all the subsequent parliaments of James I., were held at Perth. Those were, a parliament on the 11th of March, 1425-6; one on September 30, same year; a parliament was held on the 1st of July, 1427, and the 26th of April, 1429, which was continued to the 6th of March 1429-30. Parliaments were also held in 1431, 1432, and in that which met on the 10th January, 1434-5, the property of the Earl of March was forfeited to the crown. In the year following, 1436, the king also seized the estates of the Earl of Strathearn, on the ground that they were limited to heirs male, the late earl having left an only daughter, who married Patrick Graham, son of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine.

The apparently selfish and tyrannical proceedings of the king at length roused the nobility from the sullen silence which they had hitherto maintained, though jealous of, and discontented with, the encroachments he had made on their ancient rights and privileges. They employed Sir Robert Graham, who was an eloquent and powerful speaker, to detail their grievances in parliament; but being naturally of a hot and impetuous temper and exceedingly enraged at the king for the injuries committed on the family of Strathearn, he appears to have exceeded his commission; for before the assembled barons in parliament, he openly accused the king of the grossest injustice, and in bold and indignant language adverted to the ruin of the noblest families in the state; then, laying his hands on his sovereign, "arrested him in the name of the three estates of the realm then assembled in parliament," telling him at the sametime, "that as his subjects had

taken an oath to obey his majesty, so likewise *he* had sworn to defend his people—to govern according to the laws, and do them no wrong.”* He appealed to the barons for the truth of what he said; but they were confounded, and shrunk back from the measures he recommended; whilst the king, starting from his throne, commanded them instantly to lay hold of Graham, and was promptly obeyed. Graham seeing himself thus deceived by those who had put him forward as their organ, poured upon them expressions of the bitterest contempt for their cowardice and desertion. “He that serveth a common mane,” said he, savagely, “serveth by short process of tyme.” He was hurried to prison, soon after sent into exile, and his estates forfeited to the king.

Degraded as an outlaw, Graham retired to the Highlands, and amid their wild and solitary glens, brooding over his real and fancied wrongs, he matured a plan for the destruction of the king. He openly renounced his allegiance, and by conversation and letters, let it be known that, whenever he found an opportunity, he should slay the king with his own hand, as the destroyer of his wife and children, and had unjustly deprived him of his estates. James was not insensible to these traitorous and revengeful threats: he issued a proclamation for his apprehension, and offered a reward of fifteen hundred pieces of gold to any one that might kill him, or bring him alive into the presence of the king.

In the meantime the king summoned a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh, on the 22d of October, 1436; and Graham found means to communicate his intentions to Christopher and Thomas Chambers, dependants of the late Duke of Albany, with Sir John Hall and his brothers, informing them, at the sametime, if they consented to his scheme of assassinating the king, he should bring along with him from his retreat upwards of three hundred faithful Highlanders, to co-operate in their perilous enterprise. The Earl of Athole and his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, also favoured his designs. It is said the former was induced to concur in the conspiracy from representations made to him, that the crown belonged to him, as the lawful son of the second marriage of Robert II., Robert III. having, it was alleged, been born out of wedlock. It is said, also, that Athole’s ambition was worked upon by the predictions of a highland seer, who had prophesied that the earl should be crowned that same year. The accession of Sir Robert Stewart, the grandson of Athole, to the plot was also considered necessary; he was soon got over to it: the prospect of a crown was too

* Chronycle of the dethe and false murder of James Stewarde, King of Scotys.

great a temptation to be easily resisted ; and his intimate confidence with the king, and being constantly employed in offices about his person, may be regarded as the chief cause of its success.

After the rising of the Parliament, the king intimated to the court his intention of keeping the approaching festival of christmas in the Monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars, at Perth—a splendid building, containing ample accommodation for the royal retinue. This resolution gave an unlooked for facility to Graham and his associates, for it brought their victim to the very border of the Highlands. Accordingly, it was resolved to perpetrate the murder whilst he stayed at this his favourite residence ; and after making the necessary preparations, the traitors patiently awaited for the arrival of the king. According to the chronicle already quoted, as the king and his nobles were on the road between Edinburgh and Leith, they were met by a Highland woman, who pretended to be a sooth-sayer ; she addressed the king in a very solemn manner, and warned him, “ that if he passed over the Frith of Forth, he should never return again alive.” The king was much impressed by what she said, for though well educated and highly accomplished, he could not shake off what at that period was generally believed, viz : that the Deity had communicated to certain favourites the power of foretelling future events. It would appear, too, that a prophecy was in circulation, that the King of Scotland should be slain that same year, and which had come to the ears of James. Under the influence, probably, of some sort of superstitious fears, he desired a knight who rode beside him to enquire what she meant. She told the messenger whom the king sent, that her information was received from one Hubert ; and the knight, on again joining the king, said, “ that her words were not to be heeded, as she was intoxicated, and knew not what she was saying.” Orders were given to proceed ; and having crossed the Frith, the royal cavalcade rode on to Perth. James, as was expected, took up his residence in the Dominican Monastery ; and the court is said to have been unusually brilliant, and day after day passed in feasting, revelry, and all sorts of pastimes and amusements.

On the day preceding the fatal night when the murder of the king was committed, James, when engaged in playing with a young knight whom he called by the name of the king of love, jestingly said to him, “ that not long since he had read a prediction that there should be a king killed in Scotland ; and you know well, Sir Alexander,” continued the king, still addressing the knight, “ there are no more kings in this realm but you and I ; therefore, I give you the advice

to take good care of yourself; as for me, I am under your knight-hood, and in the service of love." In a little time after he passed into another apartment, where a number of the lords and ladies of the court were conversing with one another; among other topics which were discussed by them, was that of the assassination of the king. A squire, for whom the king had formed a great friendship, said he had dreamed the previous night of his majesty having been slain by Sir Robert Graham, for which he was rebuked by the Earl of Orkney, who desired him to hold his peace, and tell no such stories in the king's presence. The subject, however, not being disrelished by the king, he in his turn told a dream he had had on the same night. "He thought that as he sweetly and profoundly slept, a large and cruel serpent and a loathsome frog assailed him furiously in his chamber, and was mightily afraid; but could find nothing, either to kill them or to defend himself, save a pair of tongs that stood by the fireplace."

It is said that during this conversation, Christopher Chambers, one of the conspirators, having been seized with remorse, three different times attempted to get into conversation with the king, to inform him of the diabolical combination entered into between Graham and his associates for his destruction; but either his heart failed him, or he was prevented by the crowd of knights and ladies who filled the presence chamber, and he renounced his purpose.

The night glided quickly away with the king and his court, as they amused themselves, some playing at chess, others at the game of tables; the ladies reading romances, playing on the harp, or singing love songs. Sometime after midnight, and as if it were to save the king from his impending fate, the highland woman who had warned James from crossing the Scottish Sea, as the Frith of Forth was then called, again made her appearance, and implored with tears to see the king, so that the usher went and informed him of her wishes. The answer of the king to her was, to come back to-morrow; when she was told it, her reply was, "Well, you shall all repent it that I have not been allowed to speak with the king," and then walked away. The truth is, there seemed in James' case to be an exact fulfilment of the homely saying which the writer of the chronicle from which we draw the most of our materials applies to him—"what thing is destined to a person, be it late or soon, is sure to come."

Soon after this the king called for the parting cup, and the company broke up and retired to rest. Sir Robert Stewart was the last that left the apartment, who instantly completed the preparations necessary for the entrance of the conspirators into the monastery. He had placed

large planks across the moat which surrounded it, and destroyed the locks and removed the bolts of the doors by which the royal bed-chamber communicated with the outer room, and this apartment with the passage. James stood in his night gown before the fire, talking sportingly with the queen and her ladies, and just as he was about to go to bed, he heard a muttering of voices, clashing of armour, and saw by the glare of the torches that they carried, a vast number of armed men, so numerous, indeed, that they filled the outer court. The thought instantly struck him that they were headed by Sir Robert Graham, and of course he could not but guess their object; the queen and the ladies ran to secure the door of the apartment, but to their utter dismay, found it open, and the bolts removed. James thus became certain that his destruction was resolved on; but his presence of mind did not forsake him. He commanded the women to prevent all entrance by the door so long as they were able, and rushing to the windows, he endeavoured to break the iron bars that secured them on the outside. His strength was, however, ineffectual for such a purpose—he saw escape that way was impossible; but as no time was to be lost, and the steps of the armed men becoming louder and nearer, he was nearly overwhelmed with despair. In his extremity, however, he remembered there was a drain below his chamber, which led into the tennis court on the east side of the monastery; so seizing the tongs of the fireplace, he wrenched up one of the boards of the floor, and let himself down into the sewer; and one of the ladies replacing the deal, he was totally concealed from observation. James might have escaped by this communication, if the mouth of it had not been built up a few days before, on account of the tennis balls running in and being lost. In the meantime, the traitors had got entrance into the monastery, and hurried with all imaginable speed to the king's bed-chamber, having slain in the gallery Walter Straiton, a page, who, on seeing them, raised the cry of "Traitors, traitors!" They forced open the door with axes and hammers, amidst the shrieks of the queen and her ladies, who feebly attempted to barricade it. One of the ladies, named Catherine Douglas, with heroic resolution, thrust her arm into the vacancy which should have received the bar; but it was instantly snapped and broken asunder by the brutal violence of the conspirators, who rushed into the apartment with furious looks, and weapons stained with blood, and attacked and wounded some of the queen's women as they fled out of the chamber in the greatest trepidation. The queen was so overpowered by the sudden intrusion of the conspirators, that she was completely paralyzed, and seemed to have

lost her reason. She stood immoveably fixed on the floor, unable to speak, her hair hanging loosely around her shoulders, with nothing on but her kirtle and mantle. One of the traitors severely wounded and probably would have slain her, if a son of Graham's had not prevented it by calling him away to make a search for the king. "Harm not the queen," said the young man; "she is but a woman—think shame of yourself. Let us go and seek the king."

In the hope of discovering the king, every part of the chamber was minutely and carefully examined; the chairs and tables were overturned—the contents of the presses were scattered on the floor, and even the queen's wardrobe was subjected to inspection by their rude and murderous hands; but still the king could not be found. Although the conspirators had full possession of the monastery, yet, there is no doubt the king would have been saved if he had not been so impatient to get out of his place of concealment; for many of the citizens, and nobles residing in the town, having heard of the tumult, were hastening to the spot to his rescue. James, however, hearing no noise for a considerable time, and imagining that Graham and the other conspirators had left his apartment not to return, called to the queen's ladies to bring sheets and draw him out of the drain; but in endeavouring to do so, Elizabeth Douglas fell down beside the king. At this critical moment, the conspirators again entered the apartment, headed by Thomas Chambers, recently one of his servants, who, after his associates had searched every room and cellar in the monastery, remembered of the sewer below the king's chamber: so elated was he with the supposed discovery of the king's retreat, that in a loud voice he cried, "to follow him, and he should readily find the king for them." On seeing the floor torn up, Chambers looked into the drain by the light of his torch, and, perceiving the king and the unfortunate lady, called upon his fellows to come back, as "the bride was found for whom they had sought and carolled all night." Sir John Hall instantly descended into the sewer, with a large knife in his hand, intending to despatch the king. The latter, however, although almost naked and without a weapon, made a desperate defence; he seized Hall by the shoulders, and threw him with great violence under his feet. A brother of Hall's next went down, whom the king seized by the throat, and cast him beside the other. So firmly, indeed, had been the king's grasp of them, that in a month afterwards, at their execution, the marks of his hands were still visible upon their persons.

James, in the dreadful struggle with the two brothers, got his hands and arms severely cut by the large knives which they used. Sir

Robert Graham, seeing how the king had mastered the two Halls, sprang down into the drain, with a drawn sword in his hand, and threw himself upon his victim who earnestly beseeched for mercy. "Thou cruel tyrant," was Graham's reply to the supplications of the king, "never hadst thou any compassion on thine own kindred, or the nobles of Scotland, when under thy power, therefore, none thou shalt have here." "I beseech thee," said James, "at least let me have a confessor for the salvation of my soul." "Thou shalt have no other confessor than this sword," cried Graham, giving the king at the same time a mortal wound with it, who instantly fell down, crying piteously for mercy, and that he should give Graham half his kingdom to save his life. The heart of Graham was moved with the sight of the lacerated and bleeding king, and he would have left him if the other conspirators had not threatened himself with instant death if the king was not slain outright. He obeyed this peremptory command, and, along with the two Halls, who were still in the sewer, dispatched James, giving him no less than sixteen wounds in the breast alone, besides others in different parts of the body.

After the committal of this foul and cruel murder of their sovereign, the conspirators anxiously sought for the queen, but by this time she had escaped; and finding that the citizens were fast assembling and surrounding the monastery, as well as the whole court being alarmed, they quickly fled by the same way they entered. In their flight Sir David Dunbar followed them and slew one of the Highlanders; the latter, whilst defending himself, cut off three of Sir David's fingers and severely wounded him on the head. With this exception the whole body made good their retreat to the Highlands.

By the fearless activity of the queen, in less than a month the whole of the murderers of the king were taken, condemned, and executed. Robert Stewart and Thomas Chambers were first captured. The tortures to which they were subjected were horrible in the extreme: being made fast bound to a pole, the executioner, with a large pair of pincers, tore off the skin and flesh from their bodies; afterwards they were dragged at horses tails through the town, and at last beheaded on a high scaffold raised in the market place, and their heads fixed on the gates of Perth.

Athole suffered next. After being exhibited to the populace he was tied to a pillar and crowned with a paper diadem, upon which was inscribed the word "traitor" in three different places, his head was struck off and fixed on the top of a spear at the cross of Edinburgh. Although he denied having any part in the conspiracy, yet he confessed

as to his knowledge and concealment of it ; and the reason he adduced for not divulging the plot was on account of his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, being connected with it, and whom he dissuaded against such atrocious designs.

The principal conspirator, Graham, having been traced into the wilds of Mar, was seized by two Highland chieftains, John Stewart Gorm, and Robert Duncanson, the ancestor of the ancient family of Strowan, and brought to Stirling, where he was put to the torture, condemned, and executed. He met his fate with the most bold and unblushing effrontery ; and in the presence of the judges, vindicated the part he had taken in the king's death by telling them, "that they had no laws to put him to death ; for he had done no offence but slain the king, his deadly enemy, to whom he had renounced all allegiance, as his letters, sealed with his own arms, testified ; and being his feudal equal, that it was competent and lawful for him to slay him wherever they met, seeing," he said, "that he did no wrong nor sin, but only slew God's creature, his enemy I know that I shall die, and cannot escape out of your hands ; yet, I doubt not that many will pray for the soul of him that delivered them from a cruel and merciless tyrant—the greatest enemy Scotland ever saw ; and whose insatiable avarice pitied neither friends nor enemies, high or low, rich or poor."

The punishment awarded him affords a striking illustration of the barbarous severity and ingenuity of the criminal jurisprudence of those early times. He was brought forth from prison and placed in a cart, in the middle of which was fixed a pillar, and nailed alive and naked to it, holding in his right hand the sword with which he killed the king, was dragged through the streets of Edinburgh—the torturers on each side of him tearing, with their pincers and other instruments, the flesh from his legs, his arms, his back, and his shoulders, whilst his son was tortured and beheaded before his face. He bore all with amazing fortitude ; and when his sufferings became utterly unsupportable, he only said "that he doubted not but that they continued these torments to make him deny and blaspheme his creator ; and if he did so, he appealed to Christ, who was to be the great and mighty judge on the day of universal doom, that the guilt would rest on their heads who had thus destroyed his soul." After enduring still more refined torments than those mentioned, he was at last beheaded. Many others were also executed ; and this dreadful scene of feudal vengeance concluded with the death of Thomas Hall, a dependant of Albany's, and who also vindicated the part he had taken in the king's death.

The character of James I. is so familiar to every reader of Scottish history, that little requires to be said regarding it. That, at the time of his death, he was still vigorously prosecuting what he thought needful for the internal improvement of his kingdom, is clearly demonstrated by the proceedings of the parliament held some little time before this unfortunate event took place. James was indeed a searching reformer; instead of seeking to patch up institutions and laws which were worn out, and that had become useless, nay, which were really obstacles to the furtherance of the general good, he swept them wholly away, and replaced them by others better calculated to promote the interests of the common-wealth. He was the first of our monarchs that ordered the Acts of Parliament to be published in the vernacular language. He introduced the important principle of representation by the election of commissioners for shires, and to him is also owing the institution of the Court of Session.

Subsequent to the death of James I., Perth was but little resorted to by the Scottish kings; probably, they thought that its proximity to the highlands rendered it insecure as a place of residence; and the parliaments and general councils were also less frequently held in it. A general council was held at Perth in March, 1441, in which an order was issued for the support of the altar of St Ninian, in the church of the Carmelites, or White Friars of Perth. A parliament was convened in the town on the 14th of June, 1445: and a general council was held at Perth on the 4th of May, 1450, in which was ratified the charter of foundation of the Carthusian Monastery, or House of the Valley of Virtue. Parliaments were held at Perth in 1456-7, in 1458, and in 1459. A general council was held at Perth on the 26th of November, 1513; and the object of its meeting appears to have been to consider the proposal of James Ogilvy, ambassador to France, and the Sieur Anthony D'Arcy, a French knight, to renew the ancient alliances with France, more especially in reference to the protection of the youthful James V.

Before concluding this chapter, we cannot but advert to one or two of the characteristics of Scottish society in the middle ages. Whilst our monarchs were continually at war with their powerful enemies, the English, the country itself was divided into contending factions, and swarmed with numerous bands of robbers; hence the residences of the different families were strongly fortified; and around Perth were many powerful barons who were often opposed to each other; of course their differences were always settled by an appeal to arms. Accordingly, there was Ruthven castle, the residence and fortress of

the Ruthvens ; Aberdalgie and Dupplin, that of the Oliphants ; Craigie of the Rosses ; Kinfauns of the Charters ; Fingask of the Thrieplands.

The citizens had also their quarrels with the barons in the neighbourhood ; when they found themselves aggrieved, they sallied out, with the magistrates and deacons of the incorporated trades at their head, and burned down their castles.

In 1443, John Gormac, the chief of a band of highland marauders or robbers, and who had laid all the surrounding country under contribution, attacked Sir William Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, with his guards, whilst conducting one of the band, a notorious thief, to the place of execution. A regular battle was fought between the two parties ; the superiority was for sometime doubtful ; the victory, however, was gained by Sir William Ruthven. Gormac and thirty of his followers were slain, and the rest fled to the mountains.* After this engagement, the citizens, by an act of council, were ordered to keep the walls in repair next to their own houses. In the records of the town are preserved some instances of remission and fines, paid for the outrages committed on the castles of the neighbouring barons.

One of them is dated 1461. "Be it kend till all men be thir present letters, we, Laurence Lord Oliphant, of Aberdalgie, Knight, to have quyt, claimis, and dischargis, alderman, and counsul and communitie of the Burgh of Perth in general and special, and their successoris for us, our airis, and executoris, for now and ever of the doune casting of the hous of Dupline, and of the spoilzeation of it and Aberdalgie in special, and of all sundrie actions, quarrelis and pleyis,

* It is supposed this conflict took place at Ploughman Stares, which lies near the *Stare-dam*, a collection of waters in a very desolate hollow between the hill of Birnam and the road from Perth to Dunkeld. Mr Morison adds, in the notes to the "Fair Maid," "The *ceriness* of the place is indescribable, and is rendered yet more striking from its being within a furlong of one of the loveliest and richest scenes in Scotland—the north-west opening of Strathmore. The "dam" has been nearly drained within these few years, but the miserable patches of sickly corn which have with vast labour and cost been obtained, look still more melancholy than the solitary tarn which the barren earth seems to have drunk up. The whole aspect of the place fitted it for being the scene of the trial and punishment of one of the most notorious bands of thieves and robbers that ever laid the Low Country under contribution. Ruthven, the Sheriff, is said to have held his court on a rising ground to the north, still called the Court-hill ; and there was lately, or there still may be, at the east end of the Roch-in-roy wood, some oaks on which the Highlanders were hung, and which long went by the name of the Hanged-men's-trees. The hideous appearance of the bodies hanging in chains gave the place a name which to this day grates on the ear of a Celt.

debatis, questionis, and demadis depending betwixt us and them, until the day of the making of thir present writs, but reservation, fraud, or guyl. In witnes hereof to thir our present letteris we appensit our seal of our awn, in presens of our wel beloved frinds, Henrie Wardlaw of Torie, Alexander Blair of Bothie, James Hering, John of Moncreif, Alexander of Dundas, Robert the Rosse of Craigie, Watt Oliphant, Watt of Moncrieff, with uthiris dyverse at Perth, the penult day of June, the zeire of our Lord ane thousand four hundredth sixty and a zeir."

There is also a record of a high penalty being paid by the town of Perth to Sir Thomas Bruce, of Clackmannan, for burning the house Gasconhall, about five miles from Perth. Also, a remission under the great seal, granted to the magistrates, council, and communitie of Perth, for burning the house of Craigie, in the neighbourhood, dated 5th January, 1526, and 14th year of the reign of James V.

Prior to the Reformation, the citizens appear to have had frequent altercations with the inmates of the religious houses in and around Perth, as will be seen by the following proclamation of Queen Mary, ordering those who had committed an outrage on the Dominican or Black Friars Monastery to appear before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, to answer for the same. The cause of the attack has not been ascertained.

"*May 28, 1543.*—Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, &c. :—Forsameikle as it is humbly meant and complained to us by our devout Orators the Prior and Convent of the Friars Predicators of Perth, upon Alexander Chalmers of Potty, John Henry, George Crichton, Walter Pyper, John Davidson, James Rynd, John Mason, whilk with their complices and servants, of their causing, command, and ratihabition, recently, upon the 14th day of May instant, betwixt eight and nine hours before noon, our said Orators being actually occupied in divine service, came to their said Place, and struck up their front gate, broke the locks and bands of the same, and siclike broke up two inner doors of the thoroughfare on the north side of the said cloister, and took away with them the locks of the said doors; and broke up the water door, and took away out of it chandeliers and glasses; and broke their kitchen door, and took off the fire the kettle with their meat, and carried it about the town, and yet withhold the kettle and pewter dishes, one or more, from them; and also broke their enclosure gate, which was new made, with great violence and contempt, to their great damage and skaith, and against justice if

so be. Our will is herefore, and we charge you, that ye lawfully summon, warn, and charge Alexander Chalmers of Potty, John Henry, George Crichton, Walter Pyper, John Davidson, Jas. Rhynd, John Mason (with their complices), to compear before Us and our Council at Edinburgh, or wherever it shall happen to be at the time, the —— day of —— next to come, in the hour of cause, with continuation of days, to answer at the instance of our said Orators, the Friar and Convent of the Friars Predicators of our said Bargh of Perth.”*

* The value of the articles destroyed is still preserved among the Charters and other documents which belonged to the Monastery:—Two brazen chandeliers, twenty shillings; a large kettle, three pounds; two glasses, three shillings; each of the locks of the doors and gates, eight shillings; two pewter dishes, six shillings a-piece.

CHAPTER II.

We have now reached a most important era in the history of Scotland. The invention of printing in the fifteenth century led to great and sweeping changes. By the general diffusion over Europe of the classic literature of Greece and Rome, a spirit of enquiry was induced, so that among the learned there was a growing hostility to the claims of the Church of Rome, as being the only depository of religious truth. The scriptures, too, were read with avidity by the common people—the right of private judgment was asserted—and the feeling had become general, that a Reformation of the Church was greatly needed. It has been said by some, indeed, that the origin of the resistance to the Papal authority, in the sixteenth century, is to be traced to selfish and mercenary motives, that Luther, its great chief, was at first only actuated by chagrin, because the sale of Indulgences was transferred from the religious order to which he belonged to that of the Dominicans. Now, whatever truth there may be in such a statement, though our own opinion is that there is really very little, yet there is no enlightened and honest mind but must come to the conclusion that Luther was no more than an occasional instrument of the mighty change that then happened; and which, had he never existed, would, at no great distance of time, been effected under the name of some other reformer.

Almost a hundred and fifty years before Luther, the same doctrines he taught had been maintained by Wickliff, whose followers, usually called Lollards, continued to exist up to the Reformation, though they dared not profess their opinions openly.

John Resby, an English priest, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, introduced the religious views of Wickliff into Scotland. At first he attracted little attention, but at length the novelty of his opinions, and especially the boldness with which he maintained them, awakened the jealousy of the Church, and it was found that he preached what were at that time esteemed the most dangerous heresies. Being summoned to appear before a Council of the Clergy, he was accused of maintaining no fewer than forty heresies, amongst which the principal were a denial of the authority of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter—that images were not to be kept or worshipped—and that

the bread and wine used in the eucharist were not changed into the real body and blood of Christ.

Although Resby defended his views with great eloquence and strength of argument, yet his accusers found him guilty of heresy, and being delivered over to the secular power was condemned to the flames. The sentence was carried into immediate execution, and he was burnt at Perth in 1405, his books and writings being consumed in the same fire with himself. He is the first recorded in Scottish history who suffered martyrdom for his religious opinions. The clergy had influence enough then, and during the next century and a half, to get laws passed against those holding heretical opinions : even James I., enlightened as he was, treated the Lollards with as great severity, as he did his proud and rebellious nobles. "Ilk Bishope," says one of the enactments passed by him against heretics, "sall garre inquire to the inquisition of Heresie, quhair onie sik beis founden and that they be punished as the law of halie Kirk requires. And gif it misteris, that secular power be called in support and helping of halie Kirk."

The great scripture truths, however, which Resby so fearlessly announced, had made a deep impression. The little treatises which he or his disciples disseminated through the country were looked upon by those who possessed them as invaluable treasures ; and notwithstanding the strict search which the clergy made after heretics, there can be no doubt that a belief in the same doctrines continued to be held, by the promulgation of which Luther, and Calvin, and Knox, in a subsequent age, effected the overthrow of the Romish hierarchy in different countries of Europe.

The flame which Luther had kindled in Germany soon penetrated into Scotland : Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Fern, had received some information at home as to the reform opinions. Travelling through Germany, however, shortly afterwards, he became acquainted with the principal reformers, and having become strongly convinced of the truth of the reformed doctrines, he hastened to Scotland to enlighten his countrymen regarding them. His animadversions on the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome highly incensed the clergy ; but being determined to silence him, he was apprehended at St Andrews, whither he had been invited on the pretence of holding a friendly conference with him on the matters in dispute, between the reformers and the Church of Rome. He was brought before a council of the clergy, and after a hearing or two was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished.

On the afternoon of the same day, the 28th February, 1527-8,

Hamilton was burned before the gate of St Salvator's college. He died firm in the faith he had embraced, and expired with these words in his mouth—"How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus receive my spirit." He was only in the 24th year of his age.

The martyrdom of Hamilton produced effects altogether contrary to those his murderers expected. A sympathy for his fate was general, and enquiry was excited and stimulated as to the truth of the opinions for which he suffered. The state of religion in Scotland at this time was most deplorable: the Church was disfigured by the grossest corruptions. It is confidently affirmed by historians that full one half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals who had the command of the whole body. The bishops and abbots rivalled the nobility in magnificence, and shared with them the civil offices of the state, being often privy-councillors and lords of session. The monasteries and religious houses which had been erected and endowed by the pious liberality of the faithful, had become nurseries of superstition and idleness, and notorious for their lewdness and debauchery, as the author of the life of Knox forcibly remarks.

"The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection: with friars, white, black, and grey; canons regular, and of St Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals and Observantines, Jacobins, Premonstratensians, monks of Tyrone, and of Vallis Caulium, and Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St John of Jerusalem; nuns of St Austin, St Clair, St Scholastica, and St Catherine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans.

"The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. Under such masters the people perished for lack of knowledge. That book, which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible to "Jew and Greek, Barbarian, and Scythian, bond and free." was locked up from them, and the use of it in their own tongue prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of

them could scarcely read ; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.

“ Scotland, from her local situation, had been less exposed to disturbance from the encroaching ambition, the vexatious exactions, and fulminating anathemas of the Vatican court, than the countries in the immediate vicinity of Rome. But, from the same cause, it was more easy for the domestic clergy to keep up on the minds of the people that excessive veneration for the Holy See, which could not be long felt by those who had the opportunity of witnessing its vices and worldly politics. The burdens which attended a state of dependence upon a remote foreign jurisdiction were severely felt. Though the Popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and many other purposes ; in exchange for which were received leaden bulls, wooden palls, wooden images, old bones, and similar articles of precious consecrated mummery.”

Another means which greatly helped forward the Reformation was the writings of the poets and satirists of the age. Previous to the Reformation the ignorance, negligence and immorality of the clergy, as well as the absurdities and the superstitions of the popish religion, were held up to ridicule in the pantomines and plays so commonly performed at that period. Singular enough, even those who dreaded and were engaged in extirpating heretics encouraged such writings and exhibitions. Row, in his M.S. history of the Church, relates that Sir David Lindsay's “ Satyre on the three Estates,” was performed in the amphitheatre at Perth from morning till night before James V., and a great number of the nobility. In this work Lindsay displays a great deal of racy humour in exposing the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the friars and monks, and he ridicules with powerful effect the traders in miracles, absolution, and relics. As a specimen of his manner of dealing with the practises of the Romish Church, we have taken the liberty to present the reader with the catalogue of what a pardoner is willing to sell for “ meill, for malt, or for money.”

" My potent pardonnis ye may se
 Cam frae the Can of Tartarie,
 Weill seillet with ester schellis.
 Thocht ye haif no discretioun,
 Ye sall haif full remissioun,
 With help of buiks and bellis.
 Heir is a rellik lang and braid,
 Of Finmackowil the richt chaft blade,
 With teith and all togidder ;
 Of Collingis Kow heir is a horne,—
 For eitting of Makameillis corne
 Was slain into Balquhiddier ;
 Heir is the cordis bith grit and strang,
 Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armistrang,
 Of gude hempt saft and sound :
 Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
 Quhaeir beis hangit in this cord,
 Neidis never to be drowned.
 The culum of St Bryddis cow,
 The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,
 Quhilk bure his haly bell :
 Quha evir heiris this bell clink
 Gife me a ducCAT to the drinke,
 He sall nevir gang till hell—
 Without he ne with Bellirll borne.
 Maisteris, trow ye that this be scorne ?
 Cum, win this pardon, cum !
 Quha luivis their wyvis not with their hairt
 I haif power them to depairt ;
 Me think you deif and dum.
 Hies nane of you curst wickit wyvis
 That haldis you into sturt and stryvis ;
 Cum tak my dispensatioun ;
 Of that cummer I sall mak you quyt,
 Howbeid yourself be in the wyte,
 And mak ane fals narratioun.
 Cum win the pardon, now let see
 For meill, for malt, or for money ;
 For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.
 Of rellikkiss heir I haif a hunder,
 Quhy cum ye not ? This is a wonder ;
 I trow ye be not wyss.

As a farther illustration of the great influence which the satirical productions of Lindsay had in bringing about a change of sentiment in the public mind on the subject of religion, Row also details somewhat minutely how Andrew Simson, the Rector of the Grammar School of Perth, became a convert to the Protestant Faith by reading the

poem entitled " Monarchies." We give the anecdote in Row's own language :—

" A craftsman in St. Johnstone, reading it diligently, taught his bairns to know the matter therein contained, and they taught their congregated disciples in the school, whereby it came to pass that a Friar, preaching in their Kirk on a Sabbath day in the time of Lintrow, as the use was then, he begun in the end of his sermon to relate some miracles and to enviagh against the new Hugonot preachers, as he called them, who was then beginning to teach God's Truth in the Fields, because they got not liberty to speak in the Kirk, and people went out to them, and delighted much to hear God's Truth spoken plainly. But when the Friar was most vehement upon his inviction, all the scholars of the Grammar School, to the number of Three Hundred and above, gave out such a hissing and crying against the Friar, that he in great fear, ran out of the Pulpit and went away. Before the next Sabbath, when another friar came to preach in that Kirk—he hearing tell what was done to his Brother, complained to the Magistrates that he was so used,—whereupon the Master of the School, Mr Andrew Simson (Father to Unkle Mr Patrick, minister of Stirling,) was desired to try diligently who were the authors of that hissing, that they might be severely punished. The master being at that time a zealous Papist, used all diligent tryal, and found that one of the scholars had that book penn'd by Sir David Lindsay, which was a dittay great enough their to have condemned him. But the youth being of a quite spirit, replied to the master, when he was going to punish him, that it was no heretical book—which he should let him see ; then after he had read it, if he found it an hereticks book, he would be content to be punished at his pleasure. This made the master desirous to read the book. But he by the reading and understanding thereof, was fully perswaded that all theirin contained was true—which made him declare to the Council of the Town, and the Friar who was to teach—that he could not get knowledge who had made that hissing first in the Kirk ; yet he was perswaded that if they would leave off their cavaling against their New Preachers, the bairns would be quite enough."

But the most singular measure adopted for circulating the reformed opinions was the publication of a work entitled " Gude and godly ballates, changed out of profane sangs, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie." As the title indicates, the ballads most commonly sung by the people

at that time had been parodied by the authors of the above work, John and Robert Wedderburn, into hymns of devotion. They were everywhere sung; and as Dr M'Crie justly remarks, "Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age." The following is a specimen of these now rare productions:—

" With hunts up, with hunts up,
It is now perfect day;
Jesus our King is gone a hunting,
Who likes to speed, they may.

An cursed fox, lay hid in rocks
This long and many a day,
Devouring sheep, while he might creep;
None might him shape away.

It did him good to lap the blood
Of young and tender lambs:
None could him miss; for all was his,
The young ones, with their dams.

The hunter is Christ, that hunts in haste;
The hounds are Peter and Paul:
The Pope is the fox: Rome is the rocks,
That rubs us on the gall.

That cruel beast, he never ceas'd
By his usurped power,
Under dispence, to get our pence,
Our souls to devour.

Who could devise such merchandise,
As he had there to sell,
Unless it were proud Lucifer,
The great master of Hell.

He had to sell the 'Tantonie bell;
And pardons therein was.
Remission of sins in old sheep-skins,
Our souls to bring from grace.

With bulls of lead, white wax, and red,
And other whiles with green,
Closed in a box, this used the fox;
Such paultry was never seen."

The Romish clergy finding, notwithstanding the severity with which they visited Patrick Hamilton, that the reformed opinions were

rapidly spreading, became much alarmed, and they devised still more vigorous measures to suppress them. The parliament passed enactments prohibiting "ony manner of persoun, stranger, that happinis to arrive with thare schip, within ony parte of this realme, bring with them ony buikis, or works of Luther, his discupulis, or servands," against any impugning the Pope's authority, and against what the act calls private conventions to dispute the Scriptures. A feeble attempt was made also of a reformation of the clergy; but what the abettors of the Church of Rome evidently depended most upon for perpetuating mental and spiritual darkness, were the physical sufferings to which they subjected those whom they denominated heretics; hence the flames of persecution were kindled in all parts of the country, and from the martyrdom of Hamilton, till the year 1540, many learned and excellent men suffered the most cruel and inhuman death; and numbers, anticipating the fate which awaited them, voluntarily exiled themselves; yet, under all these adverse circumstances, the adherents of the reformed faith steadily increased, and were willing to undergo the cruel persecution to which the acting upon their conscientious convictions exposed them.

From extracts which have been published of the books kept by the lord treasurer, and preserved in the Register House, we learn that the reformed opinions were very early embraced by many of the citizens of Perth. In an entry, dated September, 1536, we find an order "to James Bissat, mr., to pas with lettres to the provost and bailies of Dundee and Sanct Johnstoun, to serche and seik John Blackat and George Lowett, [Lovell,] suspect of hanging of the image of Sanct Francis, and to his wage."

Under the date of the 28th of March, 1542-3, orders were given "to Johnne Cob, messinger, pasing to Dunfermline and Perth, to proclaime twa letteris, tuiching the having the Scriptures in Inglish." We learn from the same source that in 1543 heretics were punished in Perth; and Keith in his history affirms, "that town—meaning Perth—and the country thereabout was more infected with heresy than any other parts of the nation."

In 1544, whilst Cardinal Beaton, accompanied by the Earl of Arran, the regent, was making a visitation of his diocese, he had tried before him, at Perth, a great number of persons for contravening the act of parliament passed in 1542, forbidding any one to argue or dispute concerning the sense of the holy Scriptures, and other heretical crimes. Several respectable individuals were banished the town for heresy, among whom were Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, and

Laurence Puller; and Friar Spence accused Robert Lamb, and his wife, Helen Stark, for interrupting him in a sermon, in which he taught that there was no salvation without the prayers and intercession of the saints. These individuals confessed the charge preferred against them by the Friar, and boldly declared that it was the duty of every one who knew the truth to profess it, and not to suffer themselves or others to be imposed upon by false doctrine.

William Anderson, James Ronald, and James Finlayson, were indicted for nailing two ram's horns to St. Francis' head, putting a cow's rump to his tail, and eating a goose on Hallow-even; and James Hunter, a butcher, a simple and unlearned man, was charged with keeping company with heretics.

Helen Stark was farther charged with refusing to pray to the Virgin Mary when in child birth, and saying that she would only pray to God in the name of Jesus Christ. Being all found guilty, they were condemned and imprisoned in the Spey Tower. Great intercession was made to the Regent for them, who promised that they should not be hurt; and the citizens, who were in a tumult on account of their fellow-townsmen, relying on the promise of the Earl of Arran, dispersed and went peaceably home. The cardinal, however, who had the Regent in his power, had taken his measures. Determined to make an example of these heretics, he brought them forth next day to the gibbet, January 25th, being St Paul's day, and feasted his eyes from the windows of the Spey Tower with their execution. The men were hanged and Helen Stark was drowned. Robert Lamb, at the foot of the ladder, made a pathetic exhortation to the people, beseeching them to fear God, and forsake the leaven of popish abominations. Helen Stark earnestly desired to die with her husband, but her request was refused; they permitted her, however, to accompany him to the place of execution. In the way, she exhorted him to constancy in the cause of Christ, and, as she parted with him, said, 'Husband, be glad, we have lived together many joyful days, and this day of our death we ought to esteem the most joyful of them all, for we shall have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good-night, for we shall shortly meet in the kindom of heaven.' As soon as the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water hard by, where having recommend her children to the charity of her neighbours, her sucking child being taken from her breast, and given to a nurse, she was drowned, and died with great courage and comfort."

When Helen Stark was demanded why she would not pray to the Holy Virgin when in the pains of child birth, her answer was a noble

one, and indicated that she possessed a considerable amount of intelligence. "That if she had lived in days of the Virgin, God might have looked to her humility and base estate in making her the mother of Christ; that there were no merits in the Virgin to procure her that honour, and to be preferred before other women; but that it was God's free mercy that exalted her to this honour.

Cardinal Beaton and Arran on leaving Perth, proceeded to Dundee. Here the former evidently got alarmed; for hearing that Lord Gray and the Earl of Rothes were to enter that town with a great number of their followers, he advised the Regent to return to Perth, whither Gray and Rothes followed them. These two nobles were put in prison, for what reason does not appear very clear. Rothes was, however, soon released; but Gray obtained his liberty with greater difficulty, as he was more feared by the cardinal than the other. The differences between the parties were ultimately adjusted, and the cardinal anxious that the power of Lord Ruthven, the provost of the town, should be lowered, as he favoured the heretics and opposed his measures for suppressing them, he turned him out of his office, and conferred it on Sir J. Charteris, a relation of Grays, who had been provost the previous year. Buchanan seems to think it was from no love the cardinal bore to Gray that this was done, but that two such powerful families, who being ambitious to govern the citizens of Perth, would be so much taken up with their own quarrels that he and the Regent should have the more leisure to root out and extirpate the followers of Luther.

The object which the cardinal had in view so far succeeded; for the citizens of Perth refused to acknowledge Charteris as their provost, and would not allow him to enter the town. In this emergency Charteris applied to his kinsman, Gray, for assistance in asserting his right. The latter attacked the town from the bridge, whilst Charteris brought great guns from Kinfauns by water to storm the open side of the town; but the state of the tide hindered him from coming in time. Ruthven in the meantime had purposely withdrawn his followers from the bridge and concealed them in the neighbourhood, so that it might seem to be left undefended. Gray fell into the snare Ruthven had prepared for him; for seeing the bridge unprotected, he with his party marched boldly into the town. His opponents perceiving their advantage, rushed from their hiding places, and charging Gray routed him and his followers. In their flight through narrow passages, they so trampled on and hindered each other, that many were trod to death, and sixty were slain. The cardinal, when informed of the victory of Ruthven, though a little cast down at first, yet consoled himself with

the consideration that so many of his enemies were destroyed ; for, despairing of ever making them his friends, he was glad in seeing them mutually extirpate each other. The skirmish, which was long known as the " Battle of the brig," took place on the 22d of July, 1544, and gave the ascendancy to Lord Ruthven and his party in the town.*

From Beaton's severity there flowed the usual results of persecution, viz., a greater confirmation of the espousers of the new doctrines in their opinions, and a more determined hatred of the Romish Church. The cardinal brought still greater odium on himself by bringing to the stake, on the 1st of March, 1545-6, George Wishart, a brother of the laird of Pitterow, in Mearns, a man " excelling," says Dr M'Crie, " all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners : his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity."

On the 29th May, 1546, Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in the castle of St Andrews, by some of the more fanatical and enthusiastic of the reformers. After his death, the opposition of the clergy to the reform doctrines, though still kept up, was gradually overborne by the steady increase and influence of the reformers. The last great effort made by the supporters of the papal system to stem the current which had set in so strongly against them, was the barbarous and illegal burning of Walter Mill, parish priest of Lunan, an old decrepit man upwards of eighty-two years of age. This cruel and iniquitous execution exasperated the whole country : the leaders of the congregation remonstrated with the queen regent ; and when that princess assured them that she was no party to such a sanguinary proceeding, their whole animosity was directed against the clergy.

But what, amid all the deliberations, remonstrances, and conferences which the congregation carried on with the Queen Regent, brought about the full establishment of the reformed faith was the town of Perth publicly embracing the reformed opinions, which, when

* We may mention that the town-council records throw no light whatever upon the transactions of the eventful period of the reformation. This can be accounted for only by the fact that there was disputed elections every year on some ground or another. The only indication we find in them that the reformed opinions had any footing at all among the members of the town-council, is from James M'Breck at a meeting held on the 17th October, 1555, protesting against the election at the previous Michaelmass, having been made on *Sunday*.

the Queen heard of, she was much disturbed, and calling to her Patrick, Lord Ruthven, Provost of the town, commanded him to go thither and suppress what she called "these tumults and novations in religion." The reply of Ruthven to the Queen Regent was one which ought to be written in letters of gold: "I shall make," said he, "the bodies and goods of the citizens of Perth subject to your highness, but as to their minds and consciences I have no power over them." The Queen Regent was incensed at the "malapart" answer of Ruthven, and declared she would make both him and them repent of what they had done. She gave instructions also to the Provost of Dundee to apprehend Paul Methven, one of the reformers, but he allowed him notwithstanding to leave the town. And finding that her orders concerning the celebration of the festival of Easter were altogether disregarded by the reformers, she cited all the reformed ministers to appear at Stirling on the 10th May, 1559.

It was at this critical season that the celebrated John Knox arrived in Scotland; and his presence animated and emboldened the reformers. Throughout the whole country preparations were made to accompany the reformed ministers to Stirling; and the principal barons of the shires of Angus and Mearns having proceeded to Perth for this purpose, but least their numbers should alarm the Queen, they sent Erskine of Dun, an early adherent to the Protestant Faith, to request an interview with her. On this occasion she acted with much dissimulation. She listened with apparent moderation to the statements of Erskine, and informed him that if the people would disperse, the preachers should be unmolested, the summons discharged, and new proceedings taken, which should remove all ground of complaint.

Relying on the integrity of the Queen, Erskine wrote to his brethren who were at Perth, advising them to send home the people as the Regent had promised to put a stop to the trial. Accordingly many of them left the town, though the greater part of the leaders and the ministers remained. On the removal of the danger the Regent broke, through her promise; for when, on the 10th of May, the ministers did not make their appearance, she denounced them as rebels, and forbade any one, under pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them. Seeing himself thus deceived, the Laird of Dun withdrew indignantly from the court—on the next day rejoined his brethren at Perth—excused himself for the advice he had given, and told them, as the Queen seemed bent on their destruction, that they ought to prepare for the worst. Perceiving by the representations of Erskine that there was now no alternative but a recourse to arms to vindicate the

position which, as reformers of religion, they had taken up, they determined to act with decision and energy.

Knox, who had joined them a few days before, took occasion, from the present state of affairs, to deliver a discourse against idolatry, "with all that fervid eloquence for which he was so remarkable. He described how odious this crime appeared in the sight of God—what positive commands had been given in scripture for the destruction of its monuments; and concluded by a denunciation of the Mass as one of the most abominable forms in which it had ever appeared, to ensnare and degrade the human mind." After the conclusion of the sermon the multitude, though highly excited, quietly dispersed and went to dinner; and there only remained in the church, to use Knox's language "certain godlie men," when a priest, either through indiscreet zeal or to shew his contempt for the denunciations of the preacher, opened a rich shrine, which stood above the high altar, in which was engraved the portraits of celebrated saints, and prepared to say Mass. A youth, who had heard Knox's exhortations, exclaimed "This is intolerable, that when God by His word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite." The priest, indignant at such remarks, struck the boy, who retaliated by casting a stone at the altar, which broke one of the images. In a moment all was uproar and confusion. The spectators aided the young man, and rushing in upon the priest, tore down the shrine, shivered it to pieces, and broke every ornament and monument within the church which in the least savoured of idolatry.

Knox says not a tenth man in the town was present at the destruction of the interior of the church. When the inhabitants heard, however, of what had been done, they assembled in great numbers, especially those of them whom he designates the "rascall multitude," and proceeding to the religious houses of the Gray and Black Friars, in a short space of time destroyed them, and carried off every thing that was valuable. They next rushed with headlong fury to the Charter-house, or Carthusian Monastery, an edifice of great strength and magnificence, which they also entirely gutted. The whole three buildings were so defaced, that within two days nothing remained of them but the naked walls. Although the attacks at first on the religious houses was the result of a newly inspired hatred against idolatry, yet Knox confesses that "the common people began to look after spoil." What he says on this point we give in his own language:—

"And in very deed the Gray-friars was a place so well provided, that unless honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to

have reported what provision they had : their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were such, that no earl in Scotland had better : their napery was fine : there were but eight persons in the convent, and yet had they eight puncheons of salt beef (consider the time of the year, the 11th of May), wine, beer, and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto : the like abundance was not in the Black-friars, and yet there was more than became men professing poverty. The spoil was permitted to the poor : for so had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetousness sake none should put their hand to such a reformation ; that no honest man was enriched thereby the value of a groat : their conscience so moved them, that they suffered those hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places ; the prior of the Charter-house was permitted to take with him even as much gold and silver as he was able to carry."

On being apprised of these violent and illegal proceedings, the Queen Regent vowed quick and speedy vengeance on all who were connected with the disturbance, and declared her resolution to burn the town, and thereafter to sow it with salt as a monument of perpetual desolation. She lamented especially the destruction of the Charter-house, it being a royal foundation, and containing the remains of James the First. Letters were immediately despatched by the Queen to the Earls of Argyle, Arran and Athole, desiring them to come to her assistance ; D'Osell, the French commander, was also summoned to her defence, and on the 18th May she advanced toward Perth with her army, where the reformers were collecting their followers and preparing to defend the town.

The leaders of the congregation felt it was necessary to vindicate what had taken place ; accordingly they addressed a letter to the Queen Regent, in which they state, that " As heretofore, with Jeopard of our Lives, and yet with willing Hearts, we have served the Authority of Scotland, and your Grace nowe Regent in this Realms in Service, to our Bodies dangerous and painfull ; so now with most dolorous Mindes we are constrained, by unjust Tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your Grace, that except this Cruelty be staid by your Wisdome, we shall be compelled to take the sword of just Defence, against all that shall pursue us for the Matter of Religion, and for our Conscience Sake ; which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortall creatures, farder than by God's word, man is able to prove that he hath power to commaund us. We signifie moreover unto your Grace, that if by rigor we be compelled to seeke the extreme defence, that we will not only notifie our innocencie and petitions to the King of France, to our

Mistresse and to her Husband ; but also to the Princes and Counsell of every christian realme ; declaring unto them, that this cruell, injust and most tyrannicall murder, intended against Towns and Multitudes, was, and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience ; which in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our Sovereigne Mistresse, to her Husbände and unto your Grace Regent, provided that our Consciences maye live in that peace and liberty, which Christ Jesus hath purchased to us with his blood ; and that we may have his Word truly preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministered unto us ; without which, we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortall Man. For better we think to expone our Bodies to a thousand Deaths, than to hazard our Souls to perpetuall Condemnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest Verity ; which thing not onlie do they commit open Idolatrie, but also all such as seing their Brethren pursued for the Cause of Religion, and having sufficient meanes to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless withdraw from them their doubtfull Support. We would not your Grace should be deceived by the false Persuasions of those cruell Beasts the Churchmen, who affirm, that your Grace needeth not greatlie to regard the Losse of us that professe Christ Jesus in this Realme. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their pestilent Counsel, and so use against us this extremity pretended ; it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your Posteritie, shall at any time after this find that Obedience and faithfull Service within this Realme, which at all times you have found in us. We declare our Judgements freely, as trew and faithfull Subjects : God move your gentle Heart, favourably to interpret our faithfull meaning. Farther advertising your Grace, that the self same Thing, together with all Things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notifie by our Letters to the King of France ; asking of you, in the Name of the eternall God, and as your Grace tenders the peace and quietnes of this Realme, that ye invade us not with violence, till we receive aunswer from our Maister her Husband, and from their advised Counsell ther. And this we commit your Grace to the Protection of the Omnipotent. From Saint Johnstone, the 22 of May 1559."

A second was addressed to the nobility of Scotland, in which they remark "That they ought not to be persecuted upon account of religion, until first their canse be tried in an open assembly : that what they had done at Perth, they had done at God's commandment, who plainly commands idolatry and all monuments of the same to be destroyed and abolished : that the name of Authority under which they pretended to

act against the Congregation of Jesus Christ, will not excuse them in the presence of God ; because that tho' all Authority established by God is good, and to be obeyed of all men under Pain of Damnation ; yet they ought to understand, that there is a great difference, betwixt the Authority, and the persons of those who are placed in Authority."

And a third one commenced with the following extraordinary superscription :—

" To the Generation of Antichrist, the pestilent Prelates and their Shavelinges within Scotlande, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same, sayeth,

" To the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just Punishment, after ye, in your blind Furie, have caused the Bloud of manie to be shedde, this we notifie and declare unto you, that if ye procede in this your malitiously Crueltie, ye shall be intreated wheresoever ye shall be apprehended, as Murtherers and open Enemies to God and unto Mankind : And therefore betimes ceasse from this blind Rage. Remove first from your selves your bloudie Men of Warre, and reforme your selves to a more quiet Life ; and thereafter mitigate ye the Authoritie, which, without Crime committed upon our part, ye have enflamed against us : Or else be ye assured, that with the same measures that ye have measured against us, and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you ; that is, as ye by Tyrannie intend not only to destroy our Bodies but also by the same to hold our Soules in bondage of the Devill, subject to Idolitrie ; so shall we, with all force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just Vengeance and Punishment upon you : Yea we shall begin that same warre which God commandeth Israel to execute against the Cananites ; that is, Contract of Peace shall never be made, till that ye desist from your open Idolatrie, and cruel Persecution of God's Children. And this we signifie unto you, in the name of the eternall God, and his Sonne Christ Jesus, whose Veritie we profess, and Gospel we have preached, and holy Sacraments rightly ministered, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your Idolatrie. Take this for Advertisement, and be not deceived."

Notwithstanding these addresses, the Queen Regent rejected all proposals of negotiation. A proclamation was issued ordering all who were not inhabitants to leave the town of Perth under pain of rebellion ; but on hearing that the Earl of Glencairn, at the head of two thousand

five hundred men, had joined the army of the Congregation, she became more disposed to come to terms with the reformers. By the mediation of the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart, a cessation of hostilities were agreed on,—that both armies were to be disbanded, and the town left open to the regent—that none of the inhabitants were to be troubled on account of the late alterations in religion—that no Frenchman was to approach within three miles of the town—and that in the meantime, all controversies were to be referred till the next meeting of parliament. This agreement was made on the 28th May, 1559, and on the following day the congregation left the town; before their departure, however, Knox delivered a discourse, in which he exhorted all to constancy, and unfeignedly to thank God for staying the rage of the enemy without the effusion of blood; but especially that none should weary or faint in supporting such as might afterwards be persecuted. “For,” added Knox, almost with intuitive discernment, “I am persuaded that the treaty will only be kept till the Regent and her Frenchmen get the upper hand.”

Dreading that the warning of Knox might be verified, the Lords of the Congregation, before they separated, entered into a new bond, it was to the following effect:—

“At Perth, the last day of May, the year of God, 1559, the congregations of the West-country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concur, and assist together, in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers, to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped; and in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and converse together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled, and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.

"In witnessing and testimony of the which, the whole congregation aforesaid have ordained and appointed the noblemen and persons under-written, to subscribe these presents."

Upon the same day the Queen Regent entered Perth, with the Duke of Hamilton, the French general, D'Oysel, and a number of French soldiers; one of which, in passing the house of Patrick Murray, a zealous reformer, killed his son, a boy about twelve years old, who, with his father and the rest of the family, were beholding from a balcony the entry of the regent, with her retinue, into the town. The dead body was carried before the queen, who, understanding whose son he was, expressed her sympathy in these words: "that the deed was to be lamented, and would much rather it had been the father; but she could not help such casualties!"

The worst fears of the reformers were not long in being realized: for in less than three days, she unblushingly violated her promises. Lord Ruthven was deprived of his office as provost of the town, and Charteris of Kinfauns, a man, as Knox says, "void of the fear of God, and destitute of all virtue," was put in his place; many of the inhabitants abandoned their houses, and submitted to a voluntary exile, rather than remain where they thought themselves in such jeopardy. Troops in the pay of France, though natives of Scotland, were entrusted with the custody of the town; and when the regent was reminded of the treaty made with the congregation, she defended herself by saying, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, and that she only promised not to leave the town in possession of French soldiers—those in it being Scotsmen. Orders were also given by her, not to allow any other form of worship than that of the Romish church. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James seeing that the queen had thus shamefully deceived them, secretly withdrew to St Andrews, whither they were shortly followed by Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Monteith, and Murray of Tullibardin, who had also become disgusted at the dissimulation practised by the Queen Regent. She was highly offended at their departure, and charged them to return to Perth, on pain of her severest displeasure; but they replied that they could not, with a safe conscience, be partakers of such manifest tyrannies as were committed by her, and her ungodly council, the prelates. This answer was returned on the first of June, 1559; and letters were at the sametime despatched by Argyle and Lord James to the Lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, the Provost of Dundee, and other leading men in Angus, to assemble for the reformation at St Andrews, on the 4th of June. Accordingly, on

that day most of those who had been summoned appeared, bringing with them Knox, who, in the short interval between this and the treaty of Perth, had preached with great success in Fife. Upon the next Sunday Knox preached an energetic and eloquent sermon against idolatry, which was attended with the same results as his preaching at Perth had been ; for the congregation, headed by the authorities of the town, sallied out of the church to the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and levelled those magnificent and wealthy structures to the ground. Upon such proceedings taking place, Hamilton, the Archbishop of St Andrews, flew to the queen, who lay, with her French men, at Falkland. The "holy fury" of the archbishop, to use Knox's expression, so kindled the anger of the Queen Regent, that instant orders were given to march upon St Andrews ; and as Argyle and the Lord James were but slenderly accompanied, she hoped to surprise them before they could receive assistance.

The two lords, however, were not inactive ; messengers were dispatched to all the brethren, in different parts of the country, so that next day, Tuesday, June 12, upwards of three thousand of the reformers had assembled under the reform standard. Knox says, in adverting to such a quick gathering together of the reformers, "God so multiplied their numbers that it appeared as men rained from the clouds," and when the Regent mustered her army it was found that the congregation, who had encamped on Cupar moor, greatly outnumbered her. Evidently afraid to encounter the forces of the reformers, the Queen Regent had recourse again to negotiation, and a truce of eight days was agreed on. It was also stipulated the Queen's army should retire to Falkland—that no Frenchman should remain in the shire of Fife, save those who before the raising of the last army were in the garrisons of Dysart, Kirkcaldy, and Kinghorn ; and that in the meantime, certain noblemen, appointed by the queen and council, should meet and decide on the best method for the restoration of the peace of the country.

The army of the reformers was accordingly dispersed ; and the Lords of the Congregation, with a number of the leaders, retired to St Andrews, to await the commissioners from the Queen Regent, to confer with them concerning the matters agreed on. None, however, came ; and they now saw that the Regent had no other object in view but to procure delay. Accounts were brought in the meantime of the tyranny exercised by Charteris, the newly installed Provost of Perth. Accordingly, the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James wrote

to the Queen Regent, shewing how that at her special desire they had persuaded their brethren at Perth to accept of the conditions proposed by her Majesty; the breach of which, in placing a garrison in the town of Perth, was no less dishonourable to them who had given promises to the contrary, than it was grievous to the people; they, therefore, requested that the garrison should be removed, and the town restored to its former liberty. No answer having been returned to this letter, the Lords of the Congregation came to the resolution to drive the forces of the Regent out of Perth.

Intimation was sent to the brethren to assemble in the vicinity of Perth, on the 24th of June; and in so great numbers did they assemble on the day appointed, that they instantly demanded of the provost admittance into the town, that the garrison should instantly leave it, the true religion be maintained, and all idolatry suppressed. On his refusal, and after a vain attempt of the regent to procure delay, the town was summoned a second time to surrender; but the garrison proudly replied, "that they would keep and defend the town in behalf of the Queen Regent, who had placed them there." Determined, however, to gain possession of the town if possible, on Saturday, June 25, about ten o'clock at night, the batteries were opened by Lord Ruthven on the west, and the citizens of Dundee on the east side. Those who defended the town, perceiving they could make no effectual resistance against the beseigers, demanded a truce till next day at twelve o'clock, when, if no succours arrived from the queen, they should surrender it, on condition they were allowed to march out with military honours. The expected relief did not come; accordingly, the town was delivered to the congregation on Sunday, the 26th of June.

Before considering what farther was to be done, public thanks were given to God for the success which had attended the arms of the congregation, and hoping that England would espouse their cause more openly, Knox, who had highly offended Elizabeth by the publication of his "*Monstrous Regiment of Women*," addressed a remarkable letter to Secretary Cecil, in which he endeavoured to deprecate her resentment. After stating that he had become odious to the Queen and her Council, and that the mention of his name was displeasing in their ears, he shews how England had benefited by his labours—that his eyes had long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms—the epistle concludes with the following striking and characteristic passage:—"God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many

do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn; none that professeth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow."

The next day after the Congregation got possession of Perth, "some zealous men," as Knox expresses it, thought that measures ought to be taken with the Bishop of Moray, who resided at the Palace of Scone, about two miles distant from the town, as he had threatened it with the vengeance of his followers. Accordingly the Bishop was written to, requesting him to come to the assistance of the Congregation, otherwise they would neither spare nor save the Palace and Abbey. He acceded to this, and in the letter addressed to them said, that not only would he assist them with his force but vote with them against the clergy in parliament. But before this answer arrived, the citizens of Dundee, exasperated on account of one of their number being slain, and looking upon the bishop as a chief instrument in the martyrdom of Walter Mill, they seized their weapons, rushed to the abbey, and pulled down all the altars, ornaments, and images in it. Knox and the Provost of Dundee, who had followed them thither, so far restrained their fury; and being anxious to save both the palace and abbey, the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James were sent for, who drew off the multitude, and saw them all returned to Perth before they left. The bishop was so incensed at the attack on the abbey, that he demanded back the letter, which an hour or two before he had sent to the leading reformers, giving in his adherence to their cause. It was instantly returned; but the bishop was at the sametime informed, that if anything befel him they should not be to blame. The same night he set about fortifying the palace and the abbey, in case the attack upon them would be renewed. In the morning, "some of the poor in hope of spoil," and others belonging to Dundee, wishing to view the extent of the destruction committed on the previous day, went from Perth to the abbey. Words passed between those from Perth and the bishop's servants — blows were exchanged, and a citizen of Dundee, looking in at the "girnel," or granary door,

was thrust through with a raiper, by a son of the prelate. This brought matters to a crisis ; nothing was heard but cries of vengeance ; and the men of Dundee, arming themselves, sent word to the citizens of Perth " that unless they supported them to revenge their injuries they would never after that day concur with them in any action." The passions of the multitude were easily inflamed : they proceeded in vast numbers to Scone, attacked the palace and abbey, and in a few hours both were in flames. Knox and the other leading reformers were much offended at the extreme violence of their followers, and did all they could to prevent the destruction of these noble edifices ; but an aged matron who dwelt near the place, seeing them enveloped in flames, and hearing many of the spectators lamenting their destruction, said—" Now I see that God's judgments are just, and none is able to save where he will punish ; for this place, ever since I can remember, has been nothing else than a den of profligates, where these filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, especially that wicked man called the bishop ; if they all knew what I know, they would praise God, and none would be offended." What probably allowed the multitude to act with greater freedom on this occasion was the absence of the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James from Perth ; for on the evening of the previous day, when they prevented the people from completing the destruction of the religious houses at Scone, they received intelligence that the Queen Regent meditated to garrison Stirling, and pre-occupy the passes of the Forth, so as to prevent a junction between the northern reformers and their lowland brethren. Accordingly, these two leaders departed secretly in the night, with about three hundred of the citizens of Perth, who, to shew their zeal and resolution in defence of the opinions they had espoused, instead of ribbands, put ropes about their necks, that whoever deserted the colours should certainly be hanged by these ropes ; hence arose the proverb of *St Johnstoun's Ribbands*. A painting of their march out of Perth in this guise is still to be seen in the Town-Clerk's office. They reached Stirling early in the morning, and took possession of it, the " rascall multitude" having already destroyed the religious houses and every monument of idolatry.

The Queen Regent, hearing of these proceedings, evacuated Edinburgh and retreated to Dunbar. The Reformers on receiving this intelligence marched with all possible speed to the capital, which they entered in triumph on the 29th June, Lord Seton, the Provost, having abandoned the city, the religious houses in which were also all

destroyed by the time that the Lords of the Congregation reached it.

Such were the first movements of the Reformers in overthrowing the Papal hierarchy in Scotland; but it does not come within the scope of our subject to follow them farther at present. We cannot, however, leave this part of the History of Perth without adverting shortly to the manner in which they endeavoured to accomplish their object. Great blame has been attached to them for the total destruction of the abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses throughout the country. Piteful lamentations have been made also for the loss of such buildings by antiquarians and the warm admirers of Gothic architecture and the fine arts. But although the violence of the Reformers will be deprecated by every lover of peace and order, yet, when we take into account all the circumstances of their position, we shall be disposed to view their conduct much more leniently than at first sight they seem entitled to. The populace had been taught, through the nervous eloquence of Knox, that all monuments of idolatry ought to be destroyed. What wonder then if an excited multitude, on the least manifestation being shown to support the ancient system, or have their wishes opposed, should act upon the lessons so recently learned, and proceed to root up every vestige and relic of what they abominated and believed to be contrary to the word of God. The Reformers may not have employed the best possible methods to effect a reformation of religion, for though they were cognizant of the corruptions and abuses of the Church of Rome, and saw it stand forth as a system antipodes to the christianity of the New Testament; yet it must be confessed they had not fully learned, but were greatly deficient, in the knowledge of its mild, forgiving, and tolerating precepts. They fell very much into the error of their opponents in imagining that having got possession of what they deemed "the truth," to them belonged the power of enforcing an obedience to their dicta.

But though we have lost the venerable ruins of the abbeys and monasteries to give variety and picturesque effect to the rugged but sublime scenery of our native land, yet, society is a thousand times more than compensated by the results of the reformation—the emancipation of the human intellect from the shackles of priestly authority is one of its greatest achievements—without this, man is a slave—possessed of it, who will dare to assign limits to his progress in science, in knowledge, and in those humanizing effects which are yet to knit the whole human race in one vast brotherhood.

We learn from "Mercer's Chronicle, that "Thomas Scott, Sheriff of Perth, was hanged and quartered, and his head set on the tower of Holyrood House, for being concerned, with Lord Ruthven and others, in the murder of David Riccio."

At the election of magistrates in 1574, we find for the first time the whole council swearing an oath that they "professed the true religion of Jesus Christ, renouncing all idolatry and superstition, and all papistical errors whatsoever, acknowledging and avowing the right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, James VI. by the grace of God, King of Scots, for their only sovereign; promising for this time forth during the time of their remaining in the offices into which they are now elected, to continue in the profession of the true religion, and to keep faithful and true allegiance to our said sovereign lord, whose authority and sovereignty they shall assist and defend, to the utmost of their life, with their bodies, goods, and gear, against the enemies of God and his majesty, being either strangers, or his highness' unnatural and disobedient subjects whatsoever; and hereupon ilk ane are sworn severally by God himself."

In 1582 took place the event which is known in Scottish history by the name of the "*Raid of Ruthven*." For a considerable period previous to this, a struggle had been going forward between the supporters of the Presbyterian form of church government, and those who favoured Episcopacy. The young king, James VI., with his ministers and favourites, Lennox and Arran, and a large portion of the nobility, belonged to the latter, whilst the great body of the people were zealously attached to the Presbyterian system. The clergy manifested an astonishing firmness and determination in defence of their views against the Episcopal nobles. The king directed them to lay before him a list of the grievances of which they complained. They accordingly prepared their "Articles," in which was set forth in energetic language the duty they owed to the great head of the church, the spiritual authority with which they were invested, and the usurpations which the king and his nobility had made on their spiritual rights. A committee of ministers was appointed to present these articles to the king at Perth, where James then held his court. On being ushered into the presence-chamber, they found Lennox and Arran with the king; and laid their remonstrance on the table. Arran took it up, glanced his eye over it, and furiously demanded "Who dares sign these treasonable articles?" "We dare," responded Andrew Melvil, "and will render our lives in the cause." As he said this, he came forward to

the Council-table, took the pen, subscribed his name, and was followed by all his brethren. The two nobles were intimidated by this unlooked-for courage; the king was silent; and after some conference, the ministers were dismissed in peace.

The king's favourites, Lennox and Arran, at this time exercised uncontrouled power over the kingdom; but from the manner in which they conducted themselves, a strong party of the nobility was formed against them.

The clergy, as a matter of course, leagued with the enemies of the two favourites. The leaders of the party also issued a declaration, stating the purposes for which they had associated together. Lennox, not precisely aware of the formidable strength which was gradually arraying itself against him, determined by a sudden attack to seize the Earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, with Lindsay, and the chief of protestant nobles—banish the leading ministers of the kirk, establish Episcopacy, and associate the imprisoned queen with her son in the government of the kingdom. Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, became acquainted with these designs through his pensioned spies, and informed the protestant lords of the plot for their destruction. Finding their danger so imminent, Gowrie and the associated nobles determined to seize the person of the king. James was at Perth, separated from Lennox and Arran. He had resorted to that country to enjoy his favourite pastime of the chase. His court was few in number. Gowrie, Glamis, and Lindsay, three of the chief conspirators, were all powerful in the neighbourhood of Perth. They assembled a thousand men, and surrounded Ruthven Castle, where the king then lay. It was Gowrie's own seat; and James, who, it appears, had no suspicion of the toils laid for him, had accepted the invitation of its master, thinking only of its rural sports. To his astonishment, the Earls of Mar and Gowrie entered his presence, removed his guards, presented a list of their grievances, and, whilst they professed the utmost fidelity to his person, took special care that all possibility of escape was cut off. All this had passed with such rapidity, and the lords who surrounded the king treated him with so much respect, that James deluded himself with the hope that he might still be a free monarch. But next morning dispelled the illusion. As he prepared to take horse, the Master of Glamis intimated to him that the lords who were now with him deemed it safer for his Grace to remain at Ruthven. James declared he would go that instant, and was about to leave the chamber, when this baron rudely interposed, and placing

his leg before the king, so as to intercept the door-way, commanded him to remain. The indignity drew tears from the young monarch ; and some of the associated lords remonstrated with Glamis ; but he sternly answered, " Better bairns greet, than bearded men,"—a speech which his royal master never afterwards forgot or forgave.

Lennox and Arran were astonished at the bold temerity of the conspirators. They endeavoured to excite the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take up arms to rescue their sovereign from captivity, but without success. Arran, with his usual impetuosity, mounted on horseback the moment he heard what had befallen the king, and with a few followers rode towards Ruthven Castle ; and as a considerable body of the conspirators, under the command of the Earl of Mar, lay in his way ready to oppose him, he separated himself from his companions, and, with two attendants, arrived at the gate of the castle. He was instantly laid hold of, and carried to Stirling, where he was confined in the castle, without being admitted into the king's presence. Lennox was banished to France, where he soon after died. Meanwhile, the Ruthven Lords, with the clergy, were much elated by the triumph over Lennox, and for a period of nearly ten months they kept the king under their controul, and carried on the government in his name. James, young though he was, had been early initiated in what he styled " king craft," and he so deceived Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, that when engaged in apparently sincere negociations with him concerning the alarming aspect of affairs, he found means to escape to the Castle of St Andrews, and placed himself under the superintendence of Arran and his friends, the former having, after a brief interval, returned to court. When the king had regained his liberty, a proclamation was issued " which characterised the enterprise at Ruthven as treason ; and whilst it assured his subjects that all who acknowledged their offence should experience the mercy of their prince, avowed his resolution to proceed vigorously against the impenitent and refractory."

The king and Arran acted with the greatest vigour, whilst their opponents were spiritless, divided, and suspicious of one another. The associated nobles, with the exception of Gowrie, who remained at court, were either banished or imprisoned. In the town council records we find an address of the kings to the citizens of Perth, for the part they had taken in the Raid of Ruthven ; it would appear, that the inhabitants of the town, though the Earl of Gowrie was provost, had turned out in behalf of James, and against his detainers. We give it at length :—

REX,

We understanding that the baillies, council, communitie, and inhabitants of our burg of Perth, immediately after the treasonable surprise, taking, and detension of our person at Ruthvine, in the moneth of August, 1582, repairit to us in arms at the commandement of Charles Geddes, leutenant of our gaurd for the time, to quhom we geif direction at the time, to gyff them warning sa to do, of deliberate mind to have done what in them lay to have procurit our libertie, like as be our special direction, for avoiding of furder inconvenyency, the wache at the said place of Rnthvine, and within our said burg of Perth, certain days thereafter, as alswa directed their commissioners to sundrie conventions at our special desire, which is all their doings; we acknowledging to have proceeded upon an earnest ease and love borne by thame for the securitie of our person and estate, and of no evil or malicious mind and intention, they being altogether innocent of the said treasonable fact, and the same by thame reput esteemit as most treasonable in our keepers, as apparent by their actions ever since syne, in behaving themselves riddy to concur with us to the punishment of the chief actors thereof

Therefore we have declared, and by these presents declare, that the baillies, council, communitie, and inhabitants of our said burgh, in repairing to us in arms to the said place of Ruthvin, immediately after the said treasonable fact, keeping of watch there, and within our said burg, and in repairing be them selfis, or their commissioners, to any other parte be our direction, has done the dutie of good, true, and faithful subjects, and ncessar and acceptable service, tending to the surtie of our person and estate: meriting, therefore, to be wiel recompensed and rewarded, and exhonours and discharges them of the same for ever, promising to gratify them, therefore, how soon the commoditie thereto any ways may be offered. By these presents given under our signet, and subscribed with our hand, at Fakland, 10th Sept., 1584. Sequenter subscriptiones,

JAMES REX.

ARRANE.

MONTROSE.

PITTINWEEM.

James was so far reconciled to the Earl of Gowrie that he paid him a visit at Ruthven Castle, and granted him a full pardon for past of-

fences. But plotting seems to have been congenial to Gowrie's mind ; for we soon find him again the chief actor in a new rebellion, which Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, with the concurrence of his royal mistress, had got the banished lords to engage in. To cover his treason, Gowrie obtained a licence from the king to visit France ; but he lingered in Scotland, arranging the plan of the insurrection. Arran, however, received information of all their designs, the Earls of Glencairn and Athole having revealed all their proceedings to him. Several plans which the conspirators had devised to overturn the government signally failed, and Gowrie remained at Dundee, waiting for the signal to join the Earls of Mar, Angus, and Glamis, who were ready to rise and march upon Stirling. Arran, who had full knowledge of every movement of his opponents, suffered the conspirators to proceed to the very instant of the execution of the plot before he commenced operations against them.

Gowrie was arrested at Dundee, Arran having despatched Colonel Stewart with a hundred troopers for that purpose, who carried him to Edinburgh, and he was shortly afterwards brought to trial. Previous to its taking place, however, he was visited in prison by Arran, Sir Robert Melvil, and some others of the Privy-councillors, who, professing great concern for his safety, informed him that the king was deeply incensed against him, believing that he had the chief hand in expelling his favourite, the Duke of Lennox. Gowrie declared, that his part in the disgrace of the Duke was not deeper than that of his associates ; but anxiously besought them, as old friends, to sue to the king for a favourable sentence. They replied, that to become intercessors for him in the present state of James's feelings, would only ruin themselves, and not serve him. "What then," said he, "is to be done?" "Our advice," said they, "is, that you write a general letter to the king, confessing your knowledge of a design against his majesty's person ; and offering to reveal the particulars if admitted to an audience. This will procure you an interview, which otherwise you have no chance of obtaining. You may then vindicate your innocence, and explain the whole to the king." "It is a perilous expedient," answered Gowrie. "I never entertained a thought against the king ; but this is to frame my own dittay, and may involve me in utter ruin." "How so?" said his crafty friends : "your life is safe if you follow our counsel ; your life is determined on if you make no confession." "Goes it so hard with me?" was Gowrie's reply. "If there be no

remedy, in case I had an assured promise of my life, I would not stick to try the device of the letter." "I will willingly pledge my honour," said Arran, "that your life shall be in no danger, and that no advantage shall be taken of your pretended confession." Thus entrapped, the unfortunate man wrote the letter as he was instructed; it was sent to the King, but he waited in vain for a reply; and on the trial, when the Jury complained of defective evidence, and declared that they could find nothing to justify a capital condemnation, Arran, who, contrary to all justice and decency, was one of their number, drew the fatal letter from his pocket, and appealed to the accused whether he could deny his own hand-writing. "It is mine assuredly," said Gowrie, "nor can I deny it; but, my lords, this letter was written, these revelations were made, on a solemn promise of my life. You must remember it all," said he, looking at Arran, and turning to the lords who had accompanied him to the prison, "how at first I refused; how earnestly I asserted my innocence; how you swore to me, upon your honour and faith, that the King granted me my life, if I made this confession." The Lord Advocate replied, that the lords had no power to make such a promise; and when the prisoner, with the energy of a man struggling between life and death, referred it to their oaths, these pretended friends declared that by them no such promise had been made. The Jury then retired to consider their verdict; and as Arran rose to leave the room, Gowrie made a last effort to remind him of old times and early friendship; but his speech fell on a cold ear: and the prisoner, apparently indifferent, calling for a cup of wine, drank and shook hands with some of his friends around him. He sent, also, by one of them, a pathetic message to his wife; begging him to conceal his fate from her, as she was just delivered of her child, and the news, if heard suddenly, might be fatal to her. At this moment, the Jury returned and declared him guilty,—a sentence he received with much firmness, and instantly rose to speak; but the Judge interrupted him, telling him that his time was short, as the King had already sent down the warrant for his execution. "Well, my lord," said he, "since it is the King's contentment that I loose my life, I am as willing to part with it as I was before to spend it in his service; and the noblemen, who have been upon my Jury, will know the matter better hereafter. And yet, in condemning me, they have hazarded their own souls, for I had their promise. God grant my blood be not on the king's head! And now, my lords," continued the

unfortunate man, "let me say a word for my poor sons. Let not my estates be forfeited. The matters are small for which I suffer. Failing my eldest boy, then, let my second succeed him." It was answered, he was found guilty of treason, and, by law, forfeiture must follow. The last scene of the tragedy was brief. He was allowed to retire for a few moments, with a minister, to his private devotions. He then walked out upon the scaffold, asserted his innocence of all designs against the king's person, to the people who were assembled; repeated the account of the base artifice to which he had fallen a victim; and turning to Sir Robert Melvil, who stood beside him, begged him to satisfy the headsman for his clothes, as he had left the dress in which he died to his page. The Justice-clerk then assisted him to undo his doublet, and bare his neck; Gowrie himself tied the handkerchief over his eyes, and kneeling down, "smilingly," as it was remarked by an eye-witness, rested his head upon the block. It was severed from the body by a single blow; and his three friends, Sir R. Melvil, the Justice-clerk, and Stewart of Traquair, wrapping the remains in the scarlet cloth which he had himself directed to be the covering of the scaffold, had them buried, after the head had been sewed on to the body.

Gowrie died firmly, penitently, and it is to be hoped sincerely; but even in this dark age of unscrupulous crime and aristocratic ambition, few men had more need of repentance. His early age was stained with the blood of the unfortunate Riccio; he and his father being two of the principal assassins. In his maturer years, he accompanied Lindsay in that harsh and brutal interview with Mary, when they compelled her, in her prison at Lochleven, to sign the abdication of the government.

Perth was so far connected with the plot known by the name of the "Spanish Blanks," as being the place chosen by the king for the trial of the noblemen who were engaged in it. This affair was so designated from the circumstance of George Ker, a Catholic gentleman, who was passing into Spain, having been seized and his letters opened, which appeared to be written by Scottish Jesuits to their brethren on the continent; there were found among them several signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus. These were written at the bottom of blank sheets of paper, with the seals of these noblemen attached to them. The object of Ker's mission to Spain, as he confessed when put to the torture, was to secure and hasten the descent of a Spanish

force upon the coast of Scotland. This army was to be joined by the whole of the Catholic party. From the revelations of this plot the Presbyterians were thrown into a state of great excitement. A Convention of the Protestant nobility and gentry assembled, and headed by the ministers, presented themselves at the palace, demanded instant punishment of the traitors, and declared their willingness to hazard life and property in defence of their religion and country against their enemies both at home and abroad.

The Queen interceded for Ker who ultimately escaped. Meanwhile the three Catholic Earls, Huntly, Errol, and Angus, earnestly supplicated the King to bring them to trial for the conspiracy of the "Spanish Blanks," of which they solemnly protested their innocence. James ordered them to repair to Perth, and remain there till proper arrangements could be made for bringing them to trial. The Catholic party had secretly summoned all their friends to assemble in arms on "their day of the law," as they termed it, and such was their present strength that neither judges, jury nor witnesses could have attended with safety. The Kirk was determined they should not be behind hand with their opponents, for they resolved to meet in arms also; the Moderator of every Presbytery was instructed to inform each particular brother in the ministry within their bounds to warn the noblemen, gentlemen, barons and burgesses to muster in warlike arms and array at Perth, on the 24th Dec. 1593, the expected day of the trial. So imminent appeared the crisis from the warlike position which the two parties had assumed, that Sir Richard Bowes, the English Ambassador, wrote thus to England:—"Yesterday, at the meeting of the Commissioners of the Kirk, the barons and burghs convened here together. * * Great preparations are made for the advancement of the course thus resolved, and to stop the trial to be given at this time to these Earls, whose friends (as it is told me) have mustered, and are in readiness to come to Perth at the day limited: they have already provided that the Watergate or Water Street shall be reserved for the Earls and their companies. But Athol, Gowrie, and many of the town, are rather disposed to keep them out. The convocation and access of people to that place is looked upon to be so great that thereon bloody troubles shall arise."

But James wisely put off the trial; for if such parties, who were animated with the most deadly hatred against each other, had been allowed to come together at Perth, the consequences might have been

dreadful, as Mr Tytler remarks, "a few days more might have kindled the flame of civil war in the country, and deluged it with blood." The king referred to commissioners from the nobility, the burghs, and the kirk, to enquire into the conduct of Huntly, Angus, and Errol. In the meantime, the three earls were called upon to dismiss their forces and await the king's determination at Perth; they were, however, shortly after this declared by the king to "be free and unaccusable in all time coming, of any such crimes," and who also annulled all legal proceedings which had been instituted against them.

CHAPTER III.

It is with the utmost diffidence we approach the consideration of the "Gowrie Conspiracy;" so much, indeed, has there been written on this still controverted subject by some of the ablest names of which Scotland can boast, that we really feel as treading on forbidden ground in attempting to discuss it anew; but as it is a matter so closely connected with the Fair City, there is no doubt we would be held altogether inexcusable if it were passed over in a slight or superficial manner.

The chief actors in this mysterious transaction were, on the one side, James VI., with a number of his courtiers, and on the other, John Earl of Gowrie, with his brother, Alexander Ruthven.

The Ruthvens belonged to a very ancient family. It is supposed they were of Danish descent, and that their progenitor, who was named Thor, settled in Scotland under David I. Walter, the great grandson of Thor, was the first that assumed the name of Ruthven, and who acquired the lands of Cowgask by marrying Cecily, the daughter of Gilbert, the Earl of Strathearn, in the reign of Alexander II.

We find, from the Town-council records, that in 1529 the chief of the Ruthven family was elected Provost of Perth; and there seems to have been a strong rivalry for many years between the adherents of the Charteris of Kinfauns and those of the Ruthvens as to which of these families should possess the office of chief magistrate. As has already been stated, the Ruthvens early espoused the reformed opinions, and when the Presbyterian form of church government was established, continued to be active supporters of that system till the family was extinguished, in 1600.

William, the first Earl of Gowrie, as we have seen, was beheaded at Stirling, for engaging in a conspiracy which had been set on foot by the English ambassador. His estates were divided among the favourites of the king, and his countess treated with the most savage cruelty by the Earl of Arran. This lady, a daughter of Henry Stewart Lord Methven, on the last day of the parliament, had obtained admission to an antechamber, where, as the king passed, she hoped to have an opportunity of pleading for herself and children;

but by Arran's orders she was driven into the open street. Here she patiently awaited the king's return, and cast herself in an agony of tears at his feet, attempting to clasp his knees ; but Arran, who walked at James' hand, hastily pulled him past, and pushing the miserable suppliant aside, not only threw her down, but brutally trod upon her, as the cavalcade moved forward, leaving her in a faint on the pavement. In 1586, after Arran's disgrace, the king restored the earldom and the estates to the eldest son of the house, who, dying soon after, transmitted them to John, one of the parties in the conspiracy which goes by his name.

The education of the young earl and his brother was entrusted to Robert Rollock, professor of divinity in the University of Edinburgh : the earl especially made great progress in his studies, and became an excellent scholar. So great was the esteem in which the family of Ruthven was held by the citizens of Perth, that the Earl, when only 15 years old, was elected provost of the town ; and in 1594, two years after this, on intimating that he intended going to the continent to complete his education, the town council " bound themselves to elect John, Earl of Gowrie, at Michaelmas next, as provost for the ensuing year, and annually, until he returned ;" accordingly, he was continued in that office till his unfortunate death in 1600.

The two brothers, under the charge of their tutor, Mr William Rynd, proceeded, by way of England and France, to Padua, in Italy, then a celebrated seat of learning. Alexander Ruthven and Mr William Rynd returned to Scotland in 1597 ; but the earl remained, who made so great proficiency in his studies that he became rector of that famous university. During his residence at Padua, Gowrie addressed to the king the following letter :—

" PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

" Gif the bestowing of great benefits should move the receauers thereof to be thankfull to the giveris, I have mony and extraordinary occasionis to be thankfull to your Majeste ; not only being favored with the benefite of your Majesteis gude countenance at all tymes, but also that it hath pleasit your Majeste to accept so weill of me, as to honour me with your Majesteis most loving letter, as with an certane signe and viue testimonie of your Majesteis gude favor and graciousnes touartis me ; wheroff I esteme so much, that I wald think my self very hapie, if it sould please your Majeste to comand me in any thing, that thereby your Majeste might have ane tryall of my

prompt and faithfull obedience; for your Majesteis worthines and valor, attour the particular courtesie schauin to me, merits whatsom-ever I am able to do, and ane hundreth thousand tymes more. In end, I pray your Majeste to have me excused that I have taine the audacitie to wrett againe to your Majeste, for not having the comfort of your Majesteis presence, could not declare my willing mynd better then be using of the nixt remede. In the meane tyme, I sall repose my self still on your Majesteis constant favor, quhill God of his mercie grant that I se your Majeste in such ane gude estate as I wish, whilk will give me the grettest contentment of all.

"Sua craving earnestly of that Creator of all thingis to bliss your Majesty with all felicity and satisfacione in health, with ane increas of mony prosperous dayis, I kiss most devoutly your Majesteis hands.

"Your Majesteis most humble subject and obedient servitor in all devotione,

GOWRYE."

ATT PADUA, the 24th of November, 1595.

He also corresponded with Mr John Malcom, minister at Perth. In a letter sent to the latter in 1595, he professes a strong attachment to Presbyterian principles; and though there is in it a good deal of enthusiastic expressions and intolerant zeal against the Church of Rome, yet the epistle altogether is highly creditable to a young man only in his seventeenth year.

"BELOVED BROTHER,

"Having taken occasion to write to Scotland, I would not omit my duty to you, in visiting you with this letter, that thereby you might understand of my present estate, which continues as before; praising God from my heart that of the rich abundance of his good grace and mere mercy he has made the beams and light of his countenance to shine upon me most favourably, to be a guide to conduct me safely *per hunc Auernum*, wherein many here, (*quorum oculi densa caligine et nebulis obfuscati sunt*,) *o miserum spectaculum!* are drowned in his justice; I mean nocht all, *absit*; for I am acquainted with divers here, *qui, etiam inter has paludes stigas*, has never bowed their knee to Baal: What a miracle is this, and who can believe it? and yet it is certainly true. There was a notable example of constancy, not long ago, in a Silesian minister, of some threescore years and more, who, after he has been detained in prison about nine years,

and the Jesuits had travailed with him to recant; but perceiving that they could prevail nothing at his hands, caused bring him to the fire, like bloody dogs, where, after he had made an excellent discourse and harangue to the people, showing them the great honour he was called to in suffering for Christ's sake, and exhorting them to conversion, abode most patiently, without shrinking, all torments, magnifying God's holy name, and praying their sins might be forgiven them. After he was burnt, not being satisfied of the cruelty that they had used against him when he was living, did cast a great heap of stones upon his ashes, *multo scruiores quam erant Judei aduersus Stephanum*. There were others, who, for fear of death at that same time, made filthy apostacy from the true religion to that damnable idolatry; and at that instant that one of them began to deny Christ, in making defection, there issued blood out of his nose in such great abundance that all that did see him thought he should have died presently. This was a visible sign of the hand of God, that chopped on him who had done such a villany against his conscience for to purchase his own life, which he was not worthy to bruik, by the loss of his soul. But these renegades not the less escaped not their own punishment, for they all were sent *ad triremes, ubi non unius hore spatio vitam finituri, sed morienter semper, nec tamen morientur*. Lately, after these things, a certain Englishman, being moved on zeal to cast their *sacra hostia* (as they most falsly call it) out of the priest's hands, that was carrying it in procession, to the ground, and to stamp on it with his feet, was apprehended and denuded of his clothes, thereafter an hude put on his head, whereon was painted the devil's image; and some with blazes, who burnt him continually in the back and breast as he walked forward; but he, in the mean time, was occupied in showing the people how they were shamefully abused by these miscent idolators, who were leading them to their own damnation. In end, he spoke with such a vehemency that the enemies caused knett his tongue, fearing some uproar to ensue, if he had got any farther liberty to speak; so he was brought to the place of execution, where, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and on his knees kissing the chain he was bound with, they caused first cut off his hand, for the fact he had committed, and next burned him quick. All these things were done in Rome, that mother of harlots, and whoreish synagogue of devils. I am sorry that my absence will not permit me to speak my mind and goodwill in helping to set forth God's glory there, *cui totus ex animo incumberem*; but when, at his good pleasure, I return, full with his grace, endure my-

self to amend whatsoever is omitted for lack of my presence. I thank you most hartfully of your remembrance of me in your prayers, desiring you earnestly to continue, according to the love you carry to the salvation of thy soul. Thus, remembering my loving commendation to yourself, with the whole neighbours of the town, commits you with them all to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Yours always affectionate,

GOWRYE.

AT PADOUA, the 28th of November, 1598.

I doubt not but you have have heard long since of the Pope's benediction given to the King of France, which has turned to a malediction. No other news occurs here at present ; but now, again, lately, there is some Englishmen put in the House of Inquisition, in Rome.

To my beloved brother, Mr John Malcom, Minister at Perth.

The Earl of Gowrie had been strongly invited by the celebrated reformer, Theodore Beza, to visit him at Geneva ere he returned to Scotland. By persuasion and earnest entreaty the young earl was pressed to prolong his stay at Padua ; but having resolved to return to his native country, he left it in the autumn of 1599, and proceeded to Geneva, amid the universal regrets of all who had had the honour of his friendship, observed his admirable conduct and demeanour as a man, or were acquainted with his distinguished attainments as a scholar. On arriving there, he was kindly welcomed by Beza, in whose house he resided for upwards of three months, and attended his prelections on theology. From Geneva he set out for England, by way of Paris, where he was received with high distinction at the French court ; and being introduced to Sir Henry Neville, the English ambassador, he received from him letters of introduction to Queen Elizabeth. A letter that Sir Henry Neville sent Mr Secretary Cecil shews the estimation in which he was held by the former, and is worthy of being preserved, as bearing honourable testimony to the mental and moral character of Gowrie :—

“ RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE EARL GOWRY, a nobleman of Scotland, who had spent some time in these parts, is purposed to return home through England ; and desires to have the honour to kiss her Majesties hands, as he passeth. And because I know him well, and have had good communication with him, and therein found him to be of very good judgement,

and exceedingly well affected both to the common cause of religion, and particularly to her Majestie, and that which may concern her honour and service, I have thought good to recommend him especially unto your honour; and to beseech you to be a means, that he may receive that honour and favour that he is worthy of; that so he may depart, confirmed in that good devotion and respect which he bears already towards her Majestie. If your honour please to confer with him about these alterations feared in Scotland, I believe he will give you good satisfaction; and that you will find him to be a man of whom there may be exceeding good use made. I have given him my passport, to serve him till he come to her Majesties Court, in as ample and favourable sort as I could. The rest I refer to your honour's good favour towards him; whereunto I humbly recommend him.

Your honour's very, &c.

"HENRY NEVILLE."

On leaving France, Gowrie proceeded to the English court. He arrived at London on the 3d April, 1600, where he was graciously received by Elizabeth. He was admitted to many conferences with the Queen of England on the then alarming state of Scotland; and from the circumstance that she honoured him with her confidence many plausible conjectures have been made that the plot which terminated in his destruction had its origin, if not by Elizabeth herself, at least by the supporters of the English interest. Now, to us it appears, however ingenious such conjectures may be, and however much calculated to give form and substance to a theory, yet, when they are not corroborated by a particle of direct proof, what really is the use of bringing them forward? A single well authenticated fact would dissipate them, and "leave not a wreck behind." The only purpose they often serve is, to shew the inveterate prejudices under which even those who claim the title of impartial historians come to the study of questions that are connected with their political and religious leanings.

The Earl of Gowrie arrived in Scotland about the beginning of May, 1600, and entered the capital attended by a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, and the shouts of immense crowds, who welcomed his return. On hearing that such had been the case, the king shook his head, and made the silly remark, that "as many shouted when his father lost his head at Stirling." When introduced at court, his commanding appearance, exquisitely handsome formed countenance, and graceful manners, created a strong feeling in his favour. He soon became a general favourite with the whole court,

especially the queen and her ladies, one of whom was his sister, Lady Beatrix Ruthven. The Earl of Gowrie was in every way qualified to adorn the most exalted station ; as a scholar, he was master of every art and faculty then cultivated—athletic in his person—an accomplished swordsman—fluent and unconstrained in his address—bland and courteous to all of whatever condition. And though he had lived much in the society of learned men, yet, such was the comprehensive nature of his genius that there was not the least tinge of pedantry about him, “ but was equally accomplished in all knightly sports, and could discuss the merits of a hawk or hound as enthusiastically as any subject in the circle of the sciences.” “ This,” says Mr Tytler, who quotes as his authority a letter from Sir John Carey to Cecil, dated 29th May, 1600, “ was much to James’ content ; and as the monarch sat at breakfast, he would often keep Gowrie leaning on the back of his chair, and talk to him with that valuable, undignified familiarity which marked the royal conversation. He rallied the young nobleman also on his long stay at the English Court, and assailed him with many ‘ fleytes and pretty taunts,’ on the high honours paid him by Elizabeth, his frequent great conferences with the Queen, her offer to bribe him with gold, and the sumptuousness of his reception and entertainment. He marvelled, too, with good-humoured irony, that his old friends, the ministers of the Kirk, had not ridden out to meet him and form part of his triumphant cavalcade ; and, half between joke and earnest, contrived to show him that he had watched all his movements, and was perfectly aware of his confidential intercourse with Nevil, Cecil, and Elizabeth herself. All this Gowrie took, or seemed to take, in good part. ‘ He had certainly,’ he said, ‘ been honourably entertained, and very graciously received by the Queen of England, but this he believed was for the King his master’s sake, and so he had accepted it. As for gold, he had been offered none, nor did he need it—he had enough of his own.’ ”

James, notwithstanding the many “ fleytes,” he directed against the young Earl, continued to be on the most familiar footing with him. Calderwood states, that one morning as Gowrie leaned upon the back of the King’s chair whilst at breakfast, the latter entered into conversation with him concerning the different species of dogs and hawks ; and, as his Queen was great with child, James asked the Earl what were the most frequent causes of miscarriages. He mentioned several but considered fright as a very common one. On hearing this answer the King, bursting into a fit of scornful laughter, exclaimed—

"Had that been true, my lord, I should not have been here; for remember the death of Seignor Davie, whereat thy grandfather was a chief actor." About this time occurred a circumstance from which many have drawn the inference that the Earl of Gowrie was then plotting against the king. It seems an altercation had taken place between the servants of Colonel Stewart, who had seized Gowrie's father at Dundee, and some of the gentlemen of Gowrie's suite. Nothing but a regular fight was expected; the earl, however, commanded his followers to put up their weapons, and gave place to Stewart, and permitted him to walk first into the presence-chamber. On being asked whether he bore any ill-will to Colonel Stewart, it is said the Earl proudly replied by quoting a Latin proverb, *Aquila non captat muscas*, "An eagle killed no flies."

The friendship, however, between James and Gowrie was very soon to be broken up. The King had long been anxious to raise an army, so as to be prepared for what might take place on the death of Queen Elizabeth, an event now currently talked of. Of course money was wanted, and James summoned a Convention of the Three Estates, to meet on the 20th June, to procure its concurrence to levy a tax upon the country, to pay his ambassadors to foreign parts, and such a force as he thought would overawe his enemies and give confidence to his supporters. The country was much divided regarding the proposed measures; and accordingly, when they were laid before the Parliament, the King found, though the nobility were compliant enough, yet the barons and burghs stoutly resisted any new tax being levied on them at the present time. James, indignant at the reception his measures met at the hands of the Convention, adjourned it from Monday till Tuesday, employing the interval with threats, entreaties and remonstrances. But on this day they were as determined against the tax as before, and another and a longer adjournment took place. When they met again, however, the King found them still as unyielding as ever. They pleaded their poverty, but declared at the same time, that at the Queen of England's death, they should furnish him with as good an army as ever subjects levied for their prince; and that instead of the forty thousand crowns demanded would give forty thousand pounds Scots on the condition that they should never again be taxed in his time. The King, instead of acceding to the proposal of the barons and burghs, insisted that it should be put to the vote whether it had not been agreed, in a former Convention at St.

Johnston, that a hundred thousand crowns should be advanced him by a thousand persons.

"On this new question," says Mr Tytler in his History of Scotland,* "the young Earl of Gowrie now spoke for the first time; and heading the opposition of the barons and the burghs, exposed the King to the disgrace of a second defeat. He had, he said, been long absent from the country, and had no personal knowledge of what had taken place at St Johnston; but he contended that the present offer of the burghs and barons, to give forty thousand pounds to the King, and their promise to raise money for an army when it was required, was quite as good, nay, almost a better proposal, than that so strongly insisted on by James. Why then should his Majesty take so deep umbrage at it? Surely, he continued, it must be evident, that this demand of the King will bring dishonour upon all parties: it is dishonourable for a Prince to ask more than his subjects have to give, and suffer the ignominy of a refusal—it is dishonourable for a people that their poverty should be laid bare to the world, and that all men should see and know they could give so little to their Prince.

"This speech of Gowrie, and the daring way in which so young a man threw himself into the ranks of the faction opposed to the King, astonished the Assembly. 'Alas!' said Sir David Murray, a courtier who stood near, 'yonder is an unhappy man: his enemies are but seeking an occasion for his death; and now he has given it.' But if others wondered, the King to use an expression of Nicolson's to Cecil, absolutely *raged*, and dismissed the Assembly with a tumultuous burst of fierce and undignified invective; mingling his abuse of the barons and burghs with praises of his nobility, whom he assured of his friendship and favour in all their affairs. 'As for you, my masters,' he exclaimed, turning with flashing eyes to the burghers, 'your matters too may chance to come in my way; and be assured I shall remember this day, and be even with you. It was I who gave you a vote in Parliament—I who made you a Fourth Estate; and it will be well for such as you to remember that I can summon a Parliament at my pleasure, and pull you down as easily as I built you up.' This insulting speech roused one of the oldest of the barons, the Laird of Easter Wemyss, who boldly told the King that he misconstrued their

*We have preferred giving the account of Gowrie's opposition to the King in Mr Tytler's own words, as he embodies in his narrative matter contained in the letters sent by the English Ambassador to Mr Secretary Cecil, and which being deposited in the State Paper Office are not generally accessible.

meaning, and forgot how much he owed them, and what great sums they had given him in his necessities. 'We have done your Majesty,' said he, 'as good offices for our Estate, and we your Majesty's burghs and barons, are as worthy your thanks as the proudest Earl, or Lord, or Prelate here. Our callings may be inferior, but our devotedness is as great, and so your Majesty will find it when the proper time arrives. As for our places in Parliament and Convention, we have bought our seats—we have paid your Majesty for them, and we cannot with justice be deprived of them. But the throne is surrounded by flatterers who propagate falsehoods against us: let us be confronted with our accusers, and we engage to prove them liars.'

"With this haughty defence on the part of the lesser barons and burghs, and with the deepest feelings of displeasure against them and Gowrie on the part of the King, the Convention separated; and James had to digest not only the disgrace of a refusal, but the universal satisfaction which, if we may believe Nicolson, it occasioned in the country."

We have been thus minute in detailing the known events of the Earl of Gowrie's life, so that the reader, in connection with the evidence and other documents, relative to the charge of a conspiracy against the earl and his brother, may be the better able to form a conclusion for himself on this, in many points, inexplicable, obscure, and contradictory subject. The first document we insert is what is generally known by the name of the "King's Narrative." Before giving any of them, however, it will be necessary to give a description of the building and the apartments in which the affray took place; and as Mr D. Morison, in his disquisition on the Gowrie conspiracy, in the published volume of the "Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society," has given a very correct account of Gowrie House, we have taken the liberty of giving it entire:—

"The residence of the Earl of Gowrie, referred to in the historical documents connected with this transaction, stood a short distance within the walls of the city of Perth, at the south east angle of the town, at the south end of the Watergate, and east end of the South Street. In the year 1807, the property then belonging to the town, it was, with a disregard to historical predilections which an antiquary never can forgive, razed to the ground, to make way for the Prison and Public Buildings of the County.

"The house, or palace as it was often called, stood as already noticed, near the junction of the Watergate and South Street, (or Shoe-gate as it is designated in the depositions of the witnesses on the trial), a short distance from the Tay, which river formed the eastern boundary of the large garden, pertaining to the house. In the south-east corner of the garden stood the Monks Tower, and to the westward, stood the Spey, or Spy Tower; this was a strong fort which guarded the south-gate of the city, but which had been pulled down many years before. The wall of the city extended in a line nearly due west and east from the Spey to the Monks Tower; and there is reason to believe that at the time of the King's memorable visit to Gowrie House, the greater part of the ground between the South street and that wall was laid out as gardens, adjoining respectable houses, in the same manner as the garden to the southward of Gowrie House. The house itself formed nearly a square. The most modern part was on the north and west. The most ancient, and that in which the affray took place was on the south and east of the square. The principal gate fronted the South Street. The buildings were merely temporary sheds erected for the service of the artillery, to which corps the building had served for barracks, for some years previous to its demolition. The principal staircase was at the south east angle of the court. There was also a smaller staircase called in the depositions the Black Turnpike, which, as well as a Turret at the west end of this wing of the building, had been removed about the beginning of the last century.

"The principal building was of two stories or floors, besides the kitchen or ground floor, and attics. The family apartments and bedrooms were chiefly in the eastern division, and were surmounted on the north by two turrets. The dining-room windows looked into the garden and commanded a delightful view of the scenery on the river. The principal hall was very lofty and spacious, and communicated directly with the staircase, and with the dining apartment. There was also a door leading by a flight of steps, to the garden.

"The greater part of the second floor, was occupied by a Gallery which extended over the whole of that part of the building occupied on the first floor by the hall and dining-room above mentioned. This "Fair" gallery is frequently noticed in the course of the depositions. It had been ornamented and enriched with paintings, and other works, by the first Earl of Gowrie, whose attachment to the fine arts had not only been remarkable in that age, but would have done credit to more modern times.

"At the west end of the Gallery was the GALLERY CHAMBER so often referred to in the depositions, which was divided from the Gallery by a partition and communicated by a door in that partition. There was a stair leading from this chamber down to the court, called in the depositions the *Black Turnpike*. These minute circumstances require to be noticed, as they are of importance in examining the evidence."

One other preliminary remark is necessary before giving the account published by authority : it is, that all the knowledge we possess relative to this subject is derived from those who themselves were concerned in the death of the Earl of Gowrie, and, as a matter of course had an interest in blackening the character of the sufferers, and representing their designs to be of the most atrocious description. And that no other impression might take hold of the public mind, a treatise in vindication of the Gowries was immediately suppressed. Not a vestige of this tract remains ; and contemporary writers seem to have been little acquainted with it, for none of the facts and arguments it contained are taken notice of by them. Some copies of it were, however, preserved ; and Sir William Douglas had seen one of these vindications, and that several old gentlemen in Perthshire had owned that they had seen it. The most eminent and indefatigable of our antiquaries have been unable to discover any of them. Mr Paton addressed a letter on this subject to Richard Gough, an eminent antiquary, from which the following passage is extracted :—"Did you ever see the counterpart or answer to King James' account of the Earl of Gowrie's conspiracy, or that published by authority. The answer, I am assured, was printed, but suppressed, although a copy or so may be preserved, which, if discovered, might throw some light on that dark passage of our Scottish history. The Earl of Cromarty's credulity and weakness of judgment is conspicuous in his account of that tragedy, by his narrating the influence of spells, and notice of a few pretended magic characters, found in the unhappy lord's pocket, which were nothing else than a few *chemical* characters, known to every practitioner now-a-days in that art, which science both the brothers acquired in their travels through Italy." It is almost needless to say that Mr Gough was unable to tell his correspondent whether such a treatise was still in existence or not.

THE ACCOUNT PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

"His majesty having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck-hunting (as his use is in that season) upon the fifth day of

August, being Tuesday, he raide out to the park, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, the weather being wonderful pleasant and seasonable. But before his majestie could leap on horseback, his majesty being now come down by the equirie; all the huntsmen with the hounds, attending his majestie on the green, and the court making to their horses, as his highness' self was, Master Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earl of Gowrie, being then lighted in the town of Falkland, hasted him fast down to overtake his majestie before his onleaping, as he did. Where meeting his highness, after a low courtesie, bowing his head under his majestie's knee, (although he was never wont to make so low a courtesie) drawing his majestie aparte, he begins to discourse with him, (but with a very dejected countenance, his eyes ever fixed upon the earth) how that it chanced him, in the evening before, to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the ayre solitarie alone, without the town of St Johnstoun, where his present dwelling with the lord his brother was, and there, by accident, affirmed to have recoutered a base-like fellow unknown to him, with a cloak cast about his mouth; whom, as he enquired his name and what his errand was to be passing in so solitary a part, being from all waies; the fellow became on a sudden so amazed, and the tongue so faultered in his mouth, that upon his suspicious behaviour, he began more narrowly to look unto him, and examine him; and perceiving that there appeared something to be hid under his cloak, he did cast by the lappet of it, and so finds a great wide pot to be under his arm, all full of coined gold in great pieces, assuring his majestie that it was in very great quantity. Upon the sight whereof, (as he affirmed) he took back the fellow with his burthen to the town, where he, privately, and without the knowledge of any man, took the fellow and bound him in a privy derved house; and after locked many doors upon him, and had hasted him out of St Johnston that day by four hours in the morning, to make his majesty advertised thereof, according to his bound duty, earnestly requesting his majestie, with all diligence and secrecy, that his majesty might take order therewith, before any knew thereof, swearing and protesting that he had yet concealed it from all men, yea from the earl his own brother. His majesty's first answer was (after thanking him for his goodwill) that it could not become his majesty to meddle any way in that matter, since no man's treasure that is a free and lawful subject can by law appertain unto the king, except it be found hid under the earth, as it was not; whereunto he answered, That the fellow confessed unto him that he was going to

have it hid under the ground, but could not take leisure at that time to enquire further of him. Whereunto his majesty replied, That there was great difference betwixt the deed and the intention of a deed; his intention to have hid it not being alike as if it had been hid. Maister Alexander's answer was, That he thought his majesty over scrupulous in such a matter, tending so greatly to his majesty's profit; and that, if his majesty deferred to meddle with it, that it might be that the lord his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his majesty the more ado. Whereupon the king, beginning to suspect that it had been some foreign gold brought home by some Jesuits or practising Papists, (therewith to stir up some new sedition, as they have oftentimes done before,) enquired of the said Maister Alexander what kind of coin it was, and what a fellow he was that carried it. His answer was, That so far as he could take leisure to see them, that they seemed to be foreign strokes of coin; and although the fellow, both by his language and fashions, seemed to be a Scots fellow, yet he could never remember that he had seen him before. These speeches increased his majesty's suspicion that it was foreign coin brought in by some practising Papists, and to be distributed in the country, as is said before, and that the fellow that carried it was some Scots priest, or seminary, so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof.

Whereupon his majesty resolved that he would send back with the said Maister Alexander, a servant of his own, with a warrant to the Provost and Bailiffs of St Johnston, to receive both the fellow and the money at Maister Alexander's hand; and after they had examined the fellow, to retain him and the treasure till his majesty's further pleasure was known.

Whereat the said Maister Alexander stirred marvellously, affirming and protesting that if either the lord his brother, or the bailiffs of the town were put on the council thereof, his majesty would get a very bad account made to him of that treasure, swearing that the great love and affection he bare unto his majesty, had made him to prefer his majesty in this case, both unto himself and his brother; for the which service he humbly craved that recompense, that his majesty would take the pains to ride thither, that he might be the first seer thereof himself; which being done he would remit to his majesty's own honourable discretion, how far it would please his majesty to consider upon him for that service.

His highness being stricken in great admiration, both of the uncouthness of the tale, and of the strange and stupid behaviour of the

reporter ; and the court, being already horsed, wondering at his majesty's so long stay with the gentleman, the morning being so fair, the game already found, and the huntsman staying so long on the fields for his majesty, he was forced to break off, only with these words, that he could not stay any longer from the sport, but that he would consider of the matter, and at the end of his chase give him a resolute answer, what order he would take therein ; whereupon his majesty parted in haste from him towards the place where the game was.

Maister Alexander parting from his majesty very miscontent, that undelayedly he rode not to St. Johnston as he desired him ; protesting that his majesty would not find every day such a choice of hunting as he had offered to him ; and that he feared that his majesty's long delay and slowness of resolution would give leisure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry or make such noise as would disappoint the secrecy of the whole purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be seized upon before any word could come from his majesty ; as also that his brother would miss him, in consequence of his absence that morning, which, if his majesty had pleased to haste, he might have prevented, by arriving there in the time of his brother and the whole town being at the sermon, whereby his majesty might have taken such secret order with that matter as he pleased, before their coming from the church. But his majesty, without further answer, leaped on horseback and rode to the dogs, where they were beginning to hunt, the said Alexander remained in the place where his majesty left him, and having two men with him, appointed by the earl his brother, to carry back to him the certain news, in all haste, of his mejesty's coming, (as hereafter more particularly in this discourse shall be declared.)

He directed one of them, called Andrew Henderson, chamberlain to the said earl, to ride in all haste to the earl, commanding him, as he loved his brother's honour, that he should not care for spoiling his horse, and that he should advertise the earl, that he hoped to move his majesty to come thither, and that he should not look for him for three hours thereafter, because of his majesty's hunting, adding these words, " Pray my Lord, my brother to prepare dinner for us." But his majesty was no sooner ridden up a little hill above the wood where hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, he could not help musing and wondering at the news. Whereupon, without acquainting any one with his purpose, finding John Nesmith by chance riding beside him, his majesty directed him back to bring

Maister Alexander with him ; who being brought unto his majesty, and having directed, as is said, one of the men that was with him back to his brother, his majesty not knowing or suspecting that any man had come with him, then told him that he had been advising with himself, and in respect of his last words so earnest with him, he resolved to ride thither for that errand in his own person, so soon as the chase was ended. Like as his majesty immediately rode away in the chase, the said Maister Alexander did follow him at his back, none but he and John Hamilton of Grange being with his majesty, the rest of the court being all before in the chase, his majesty being left behind by staying to speak to Alexander.

The chase lasted from seven o'clock morning to eleven, being one of the greatest his majesty ever had, all which time the said Maister Alexander rode at his back. But there never was any stop in the chase or delay, that the said Maister Alexander omitted to round his majesty, earnestly requesting him to hasten the end of the hunting, that he might ride the sooner to St. Johnston ; so that, at the death of the buck his majesty scarcely took time to alight, awaiting the coming of a fresh horse to ride on.

But the said Maister Alexander would not suffer the king to stay in the park where the buck was killed, while his fresh horse, which was already sent for, was brought out of the equerie to him, (although it was not two flight-shot off betwixt the part where the buck was killed and his majesty's equerie,) but persuaded his majesty to leap again on the same horse that he had hunted all the day upon, his fresh horse being made to gallop a mile of the way to overtake him ; his majesty not staying so much as put on his sword, nor while the duke and the earl of Mar with several other gentlemen, in his company had changed their horses ; only saying unto them, that he was to ride to St. Johnston to speak with the Earl of Gowrie, and that he would return again before evening.

Whereupon some of the court galloped back to Falkland as fast as they could to change horse, but could not overtake his majesty until he came within a few miles of St Johnston. Others rode forward with their horses wearied as they were, whereof some were compelled to alight by the way ; and had they not both refreshed their horses, fed them, and given them some grass by the way, they had not carried them to St Johnston. The cause of his majesty's servants following so fast, undesired by him, being only grounded upon a suspicion they had conceived, that his majesty's intention of riding was for the ap-

prehension of the Master of Oliphant, one who had lately done a vile and proud oppression in Angus ; for repairing of the which they thought that his majesty had some purpose for his apprehension.

But the said Maister Alexander, seeing the duke and the Earl of Mar, with divers of the court, getting fresh horse for following of his majesty, earnestly desired him that he would publish his whole train, that since he was to return the same evening, as is afore said, they needed not follow him, especially that he thought it meetest his majesty should stay the duke and the Earl of Mar to follow him, and that he should take only three or four of his own servants with him ; affirming that if any nobleman followed him he would not answer for it, but that they would mar the whole purpose. Whereupon his majesty, half angry, replied that he would not mistrust the duke nor the Earl of Mar in a greater purpose than that, and that he could not understand what hindrance any man could make in that errand.

But these last speeches of Maister Alexander made the king begin to suspect what it should mean ; whereupon many and sundry thoughts began to enter into the king's mind ; yet his majesty could never suspect any harm to be intended against his highness by the young gentleman, with whom his majesty had been so well acquainted, as he had not long before been in the suite to be one of the gentlemen of his chamber ; so as, the farthest that his suspicion could reach to, was, that it might be that the earl, his brother, had handled him so hardly, that the young gentleman, being of a high spirit, had taken such displeasure as he was become somewhat beside himself, which his majesty conjectured as well by his raised and uncouth staring, and continual pensiveness all the time of the hunting, as well by such strange sort of unlikely discourses, as are already mentioned.

Whereupon the king took occasion to make the Duke of Lennox acquainted with the whole purpose, enquiring of him very earnestly what he knew of the young gentleman's nature, being his brother-in-law, and if he had perceived him to be subject to any high apprehensions ? His majesty declaring his suspicion plainly to the said lord duke, that he thought him not well settled in his wits ; always desiring my lord duke not to fail to accompany him into that house where the alleged fellow was.

The lord duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it very unlikely ; yet he affirmed that he could never perceive any such appearance in that gentleman's inclination. But Maister Alexander perceiving his majesty's privy conference with the duke, and suspecting

the purpose as it appeared, came to the king, requesting his majesty very earnestly he should make none living acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his majesty where he should convey him, but himself only, until his majesty had once seen the fellow and his treasure; whereunto his majesty, half laughing, gave answer that he was no good teller of money, and behoved, therefore, to have some to help him in that errand. His reply was, that he would suffer none to see it but his majesty's self, but afterwards he might call in whom he pleased.

These speeches did so increase his suspicion, that then he began directly to suspect some treasonable devise; yet many suspicions and thoughts over whelming every one another in his mind, his majesty could resolve upon no certain thing, but rode farther on his journey, betwixt trust and distrust, being ashamed to seem to suspect, in respect of the cleanness of his majesty's own conscience, except he had found some greater ground. Maister Alexander still pressing the king to ride faster, though his own horse was scarcely able to keep company with the king for weariness, having ridden with him all the chase before, the king being come two miles from Falkland, Maister Alexander stayed a little behind the king in the way, and posted away the other servant Andrew Ruthven to the earl, his brother, advertising him how far the king was on his way to come thither. Then how soon soever the king came within a mile of St Johnstoun, he said to his majesty, that he would post in before, to advertise the earl his brother of his majesty's coming; who at his incoming to him was sitting at the midst of his dinner, never seeming to take knowledge of the king's coming, till his brother told it him, notwithstanding, that two of his servants had advertised him thereof before. And immediately upon his brother's report, rising in haste from the board and warning all the servants and friends to accompany him to meet his majesty; who met him with three or fourscore men at the end of the inch, his majesty's whole train, not exceeding the number of fifteen persons, and all without any kind of armour, except swords, no, not so much as daggers or whingers; his majesty stayed an hour after his coming to the said earl's lodging in St Johnstoun before dinner came in. The langsameness of preparing the same, and badness of the cheer being excused upon the sudden coming of his majesty, unlooked for there.

During which time his majesty enquired of Maister Alexander, when it was time for him to go to that private house about that mat-

ter whereof he had informed him : who answered him, that all was sure enough, but that there was no haste yet for an hour, till the king had dined at leisure, praying his majesty to leave him and not be seen to round with him before his brother, who, having missed him that morning, might suspect what the matter should mean. Therefore, his majesty addressed himself to the earl, and discoursed with him upon sundry matters, but could get no direct answer of him, but half words and imperfect sentences.

His majesty being set down to his dinner, the said earl stood very pensive, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his majesty's table, oft rounding over his shoulder, one while to one of his servants, and another while to another, and oftentimes went out and in to the chamber. Which form of behaviour he likewise kept before the king's sitting down to dinner, but without any welcoming of his majesty, or any other hearty form of entertainment. The noblemen and gentlemen of the court that were with his majesty standing about the table, and not desired to dine (as the use is when his majesty is once set down, and his first service brought up,) until his majesty had almost dined. At which time the earl conveyed them forth to their dinner, but sat not down with them himself (as the common manner is,) but came back, and stood silent at the end of the king's table, as he did before ; which his majesty perceiving, began to entertain the earl in a homely manner, wondering he had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertain them there.

His majesty being ready to rise from table, and all his servants in the hall at their dinner, Maister Alexander standing behind his majesty's back, pulled quietly upon him, rounding in his majesty's ear, that it was time to go, but that he would fain have been quit of the earl his brother, wishing the king to send him out into the hall, to entertain his guests, whereupon the king called for drink, and in a merry and homely manner, said to the earl, that although the earl had seen the fashion of entertainments in other countries, yet he would teach him the Scottish fashion, seeing he was a Scottish man ; and therefore, since he had forgotten to drink to his majesty, or sit with his guests and entertain them, his majesty would drink to him his own welcome, desiring him to take it forth and drink to the rest of the company, and in his majesty's name to make them welcome. Whereupon, as he went forth, his majesty rose from the table, and desired Maister Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him ; who desiring the king to go forward with him, and promising that he should

make any one or two to follow him that he pleased to call for, desiring his majesty to command publicly that none should follow him. Thus the king accompanied with only the said Maister Alexander, comes forth of the chamber, passeth through the end of the hall where the noblemen and his majesty's servants were sitting at their dinner, up a turnpike and through three or four chambers, the said Mr Alexander ever locking behind him every door as he passed; and then with a more smiling countenance than he had all the day before, ever saying, he had him sure and safe enough kept, until at the last, his majesty passing through three or four sundry houses, and all the doors locked behind him, his majesty entered into a little study, where he saw standing with an abased countenance, not a bondman, but a freeman, with a dagger at his girdle, but his majesty had no sooner entered into that little study and Mr Alexander with him, but Mr Alexander locked to the study door behind him, and at that instant changing his countenance, putting his hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from the other man's girdle, held the point to the king's breast, avowing now that the king behoved to be in his will, and used as he list; swearing many bloody oaths, that if the king cried one word, or opened a window to look out, that dagger should presently go to his heart; affirming that he was sure that how the king's conscience was burdened for murdering his father. His majestie wondering at so sudden an alteration, and standing naked without any kind of armour but his hunting horn, which he had not got leisure to lay from him, betwixt these two traitors who had conspired his life; the said Maister Alexander standing (as said is) with a dagger in his hand, and his sword at his side; but the other trembling and quaking, rather like one condemned, than an executioner of such enterprise.

His majesty began then to dilate to the said Maister Alexander, how horrible a thing it was for him to meddle with his majesty's innocent blood, assuring him it would not be left unrevenged, since God has given him children and good subjects, and if they neither, yet God would raise up stocks and stones to punish so vile a deed. Protesting before God that he had no burthen in his conscience for the execution of his father, both in respect that at the time of his father's execution his majesty was but a minor of age, and guided at that time by a faction which overruled both his majesty and the rest of the country; as also that whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinary course of law and justice. Appealing the said Maister Alexander upon his conscience, how well he at all times since deserved at

the hands of all his race, not only having restored them to all their lands and dignities, but also nourishing and bringing up two or three of his sisters, as it were in his own bosom, by a continued attendance upon his majesty's dearest bed-fellow, in her privy chamber.

Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion that his majesty had ever professed; and namely, his majesty remembered him of that holy man, Mr Robert Rollock, whose scholar he was, assuring him, that one day the said Mr Robert's soul would accuse him, that he never learned of him to practice such unnatural cruelty; his majesty promising to him, on the word of a prince, that if he would spare his life, and suffer him to go out again, he would never reveal to any flesh living what was betwixt them at that time, nor never suffer him to incur any harm or punishment for the same.

But his majesty's fear was, that he could hope for no sparing at his hands, having such cruelty in his looks, and standing so irreverently with his hat on, which form of rigorous behaviour, could prognosticate nothing to his majesty but present extremity. But, at his majesty's persuasive language, he appeared to be somewhat amazed, and uncovering his head, again swore and protested that his majesty's life should be safe if he would behave himself quietly, without making noise or crying; and that he would only bring in the earl his brother to speak with his majesty. Whereupon his majesty enquiring, what the earl would do with him, since (if his majesty's life was safe according to promise) they could gain little in keeping such a prisoner. His answer only was, that he could tell his majesty no more, but that his life should be safe, in case he behaved himself quietly, the earl his brother, whom he was going for, would tell his majesty at his coming. With that, as he was going forth for his brother, as he affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, saying these words unto him, "I make you here the king's keeper till I come back again, and see that you keep him upon your own peril:" and therewithall said to his majesty, "you must content yourself to have this man now for your keeper till my coming back."

With these words, he passeth forth, locking the door behind him, leaving his majesty with that man he found there before him, of whom his majesty then enquired if he were appointed to be the murderer of him at that time, and how far he was upon the council of that conspiracy? he answered with a trembling and astonished voice and behaviour, "That as the Lord should judge him, he was never made ac-

quainted with that purpose, but that he was put in their by force, and the door locked upon him, a little space before his majesty's coming :'' as indeed all the time of the said Maister Alexander's menacing his majesty, he was ever trembling, requesting him for God's sake, and with many other attestations, not to meddle with his majesty, nor to do him any harm. But because Maister Alexander had, before his leaving them, made the king swear he should not cry nor open any window, his majesty commanded the same fellow to open the window on his right hand, which he readily did ; so that although he was put there to use violence on the king, yet God so turned his heart that he became a slave to his prisoner.

While his majesty was in this dangerous estate, and none of his own servants nor train knowing where he was, and as his majesty's train was arising in the hall from their dinner, the Earl of Gowrie being present with them, one of the earl's servants comes hastily in, assuring the earl his master that his majesty was horsed and away thro' the Inch ; which the earl reporting to the noblemen and the rest of his majesty's train that was there present, they all rushed out together at the gate in great haste ; and some of his majesty's servants enquired of the porter when his majesty went forth ? the porter affirmed that the king was not yet gone forth. Whereupon the earl looked very angrily upon him, and said he was but a liar, yet turning him to the duke and the Earl of Mar said, he would presently get them sure word where his majesty was, and with that ran through the close and up the stairs. But his purpose indeed was to speak to his brother, as appeared very well by the circumstance of time, his brother having at that same instant left the king in the little study, and ran down the stairs in great haste.

Immediately after the earl came back running again to the gate, where the noblemen and the rest were standing in amaze, assuring them that the King was gone long since out at the back gate, and if they did not haste they would not overtake him ; and with that called for his horse, whereat they rushed altogether out at the gate and made towards the Inch, crying for their horses, all passing, as it was the providence of God under one of the windows of the study wherein his majesty was. Mr Alexander very speedily returned, and at his coming in to his majesty, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner he said, " He could not mend it ; his majesty behoved to die ;" and with that offered a garter to bind his majesty's hands with, swearing he behoved to be bound.

His majesty at that word of binding, said "he was born a free king and should die a free king." Whereupon he seized his majesty by the wrist of the hand to have him bound, his majesty suddenly relieved himself of his grip; whereupon, as he put his right hand to his sword, his majesty with his right hand seized upon both his hand and his sword, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, like as he with his left hand clasped the king by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his majesty's mouth, to have stayed him from crying. In this manner of wrestling his majesty by force drove him to the window which he had caused the other man to open unto him, and under which the king's train was passing at the time, and the Earl of Gowrie with them, as is said, and holding out the right side of his head and right elbow, cried that they were murdering him there in that treasonable form; and his voice being instantly heard and known by the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, and the rest of his majesty's train there, the said Earl of Gowrie ever asking what it meant? and never seeming to have seen his majesty, or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate, the duke and the Earl of Mar running about to come by that passage his majesty came in at. But the Earl of Gowrie and his servants made for another way up a quiet turnpike, which was condemned before, and was only then left open (as appeared) for that purpose. And in the meantime his majesty, with struggling and wrestling, had brought Ruthven out of the study, the door of which, in his haste, he left open on coming in, and his majesty having got his head under his arm, and himself on his knee, his majesty drove him back by force hard to the door of the turnpike, and as his majesty was throwing his sword out of his hand, thinking to have stricken him therewith, and then to have pushed him over the stair, the other fellow standing behind the king's back and doing nothing but trembling all the time, Sir John Ramsay not knowing which way to enter, after he had heard the king's cry, by chance finds the turnpike door open, and following it up to the head, enters into the chamber and finds his majesty and Ruthven struggling in that form, and after he had twice or thrice struck Ruthven with his dagger, the other man fled, his majesty still keeping his grip, and holding him close to him: immediately thereafter he took Ruthven by the shoulders and pushed him down the stair, who was no sooner put out at the door, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Harris, who ended him upon the stair; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being cast behind the duke and the Earl of Mar, that ran about the other

way, by the occasion of his meddling with the late earl in the street after the hearing of his majesty's cry. For upon the hearing thereof he had clasped the earl of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him under his feet, and wanting a dagger to have stricken him with, the earl's men rescued the earl their master out of his hands, whereby he was cast behind the rest as is said, and missing the company, and hearing the said Sir John Ramsay's voice upon the turnpike head, ran up to the said chamber, and cried upon Sir Hew Harris and another servant to follow him, when, meeting with Ruthven in the turnpike, he ended him there, he crying for his last words, "Alas! I had not the blame of it." But no sooner could the said Sir Thomas, Sir Hew, and another servant get into the chamber where his majesty was, than the earl of Gowrie, before they could get the door shut, followed at their back, having come up by the private passage; who, at his first entry, having a drawn sword in each hand, and a steel bonnet on his head, accompanied with seven of his servants with drawn swords, cried out with a great oath that they should all die as traitors. All which time his majesty was still in the chamber, who, seeing the earl of Gowrie come in with his swords, sought for Maister Alexander's sword which had fallen from him, when he was thrown out at the door, having no weapons of his own; but his majesty was put back into the study for safety by his own servants, they then encountered the earl and his servants, his majesty's servants being only four in number, to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Harris, Sir John Ramsay, and one Wilson, the said earl having seven of his own servants with him; yet it pleased God, after many strokes on all hands, to give his majesty's servants the victory, the said earl of Gowrie being stricken dead by a stroke through the heart, which Sir James Ramsay gave him, without once crying to God; and the rest of his servants thrown over the stairs with many hurts, as in like manner the said Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Harris, and Sir John Ramsay, were all sore hurt and wounded.

But all the time of this fight, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, and the rest of his majesty's train, were striking with great hammers at the outer door, whereby his majesty went up to the chamber with Ruthven, which also he had locked on coming into the chamber with his majesty, but by reason of the strength of the door, the whole wall being of boards, and yielding with the strokes, it took them upwards of half an hour before they could get it broken, and have entrance, who, having met with his majesty, delivered from so great a peril,

and Gowrie, the principal conspirator, lying dead at his feet, immediately thereafter his majesty kneeling down on his knees, in the midst of his own servants, and they all kneeling round about him, his majesty out of his own mouth, thanked God for that miraculous deliverance and victory, assuring himself that God had preserved him from so desperate a peril, for the perfecting of some greater work behind, to his glory, and for procuring by him the weal of his people, that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the town, hearing of the slaughter of the earl of Gowrie, the provost, and not knowing the manner thereof, nor being aware of his treasonable attempt, continued for two or three hours thereafter, until his majesty, by speaking oft to them out of the windows, and beckoning to them with his own hand, pacified them, causing the bailies and the rest of the honest men of the town to be brought into the chamber, to whom, having declared the whole form of that strange accident, he committed the house and the bodies of the said traitorous brethren to their keeping until his majesty's farther pleasure were known. His majesty before leaving the town caused search the said earl of Gowrie's pockets, in case any letters that might further the discovery of the conspiracy might be found therein. But nothing was found in them, but a little close parchment bag full of magical characters and words of enchantment, wherein it seemed he had put his confidence, thinking himself never safe without them, and therefore ever carried them about with him; being also observed, that while they were upon him, his wound whereof he died bled not, but immediately after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundance, to the great admiration of all the beholders; an infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house for many descents, as is notoriously known to the whole country.

Thus the night was far spent, being near eight o'clock, before his majesty could (for the great tumult that was in the town) depart out of the same. But before his majesty had ridden four miles out of the same towards Falkland, although the night was very dark and rainy, the whole way was clad with all sorts of people, both horse and foot, meeting him with great joy and acclamation. The frequent and concourse of persons of all degrees to Falkland the rest of the week, and to Edinburgh the next, from all quarters of the country, the testimony of the subjects hearty affection and joy, for his majesty's delivery, expressed everywhere, by ringing of bells, bon-fires, shooting of guns of all sorts, both by sea and land, &c., with all other things en-

said thereupon, I have of set purpose pretermitted, as well known to all men, and impertinent to this discourse, contenting myself with this plain and simple narration, adding only, for explanation and confirmation thereof, the deposition of certain persons who were either actors, or eye-witnesses, or immediate hearers of those things they declare and testify; wherein, if the reader shall find anything differing from the narration either in substance or circumstance, he may understand the same to be uttered by the deponer, in his own behoof, for obtaining his majesty's princely grace and favour."

At Falkland, 9th August, 1600, in presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretary, Lord Comptroller, Lord Advocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot knight.

James Weimys of Bogie, of the age of 26 years or thereby, sworn and examined upon the form and manner of behaviour of the late John Earl of Gowrie, the time of his being with him at Straban, or if he had heard the said earl make any motion of the treason intended against his royal majesty, depones that he neither heard nor saw any appearance of any such intention in the said earl.*

Demanded, if he was in any purpose with the said earl, anent any matters of curiosity?—Depones, that at their being in Strabar, some of their company found an edder, which being killed, and knowledge thereof coming to the earl, the earl said to this deponer, "Bogie, if the edder had not been slain, you should have seen a good sport, for I should have caused her stand still,† and she should not have pressed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew word, which in Scottish is called "holiness;" but the Hebrew word the deponer remembersn of; and that the earl said he had put the same in practice oft before.

And this deponer enquiring of the earl where he got the Hebrew word, the earl answered in a cabbalist of the Jews, and that it was by tradition; and the deponer enquiring what a cabbalist meant, the

* This evidence is inserted with the view of proving, not the traitorous purposes, but the sorceries of Gowrie, how far this end has been attained the reader is left to decide.

† It was an ancient superstitious notion, and which had not ceased in the days of Gowrie, that serpents might be rendered innocuous, by means of certain charms and incantations. The writers who treat of magic insist on this among many other fooleries; and, perhaps, all the learning of Gowrie did not exempt him from believing that such incantations were possible, and even lawful; but from this circumstance, to assert that he was a magician may seem too hasty a conclusion.

earl answered it was some words which the Jews had by tradition, which words were spoken by God to Adam in Paradise, and therefore were of great efficacy and force than any words that were excogitate since by prophets and apostles. The deponer enquiring if there were nothing more requisite but the word; the earl answered, that a firm faith in God was requisite and necessary; and that this was no matter of marvel among scholars, but that all these things were natural. And that the earl shewed to this deponer, that he had spoken with a man in Italy, and first hearing by report, that he was a necromancer, and thereafter being informed that he was a very learned man, and a deep theologian, he entered in further dealing with him anent the curiosity of nature.

Depones farther, that the said earl reported to him that he being at music, he fell in company with another man, who, staring in the earl's face, spake to the rest of the company things of him, which he could never attain unto nor be worthy of. And therefore that the earl reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches. And that he met again with the same man in the like company, who did begin with the same language that he had spoken before; and that the earl said to him, My friend, in case you will not hold your peace from speaking lies of me, I will make you hold your peace by speaking truth of you; and said unto him, within such a space he should be hanged for such a crime; and so it came to pass. This deponer inquiring of the earl, who told him that, he answered merrily, that he spake it by guess, and it fell out so. And that the earl said farther, that it was nothing to make an herb flesh which would dissolve into flies,* and likewise it was possible that the seed of man and woman might be brought to perfection otherwise than by the matrix of the woman, and that this deponer counselled the earl to beware with whom he did communicate such speeches; who answered that he spoke them to none, but to great scholars, and that he would not have spoken them to this deponer, if he had not been a favourer of him,

* This opinion is followed by the rabble of schoolmen, and perhaps Gowrie might have attempted to produce so imperfect an animal as a fly by the proper application of actives for passives. Paracelsus subjoins the receipt at length; but it is so licentious, and so absurd, that I must be excused from inserting it in this work. It may, however, be observed, that, according to Paracelsus, men, formed by this recipe, need to learn nothing; for that, as they are made by art, they know everything: an advantage which persons who come into the world the natural way never enjoy.

and a friend of his house, and would not reveal the same again, seeing he knew they would be evil interpreted among the common sort.

(Sic Subscribitur).

James Weimys of Bogie.

At Falkland, 20th August, 1600, in presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Advocate, Sir George Home of Spot, Sir Robert Melvil, and Sir James Melvil, knights.

Master Willian Rynd, sworn and examined, and demanded where he did first see the characters which were found upon my lord ; depones that he having remained a space in Venice, at his returning to Padua, did find in my lord's pocket the characters which were found upon him at his death ; and the deponer enquiring of my lord where he had got them, my lord answered, that by chance he had copied them himself ; and that the deponer knows that the characters in Latin are my lord's own handwriting ; but he knows not if the Hebrew characters were written by my lord. Depones farther, that when my lord would change his clothes, the deponer would take the characters out of my lord's pocket, and would say to my lord, wherefore serve these ? and my lord would answer, can ye not let them be ? they do you no evil. And farther, the deponer declares, that sometimes my lord would forget them until he were out of his chamber, and would turn back, as he were in an anger, until he had found them and put them in his own pocket : depones further, that he was sundry times purposed to have burnt the characters, were it not that he feared my lord's wrath and anger ; seeing when the deponer would purposely leave them sometimes out of my lord's pocket, my lord would be in such an anger with the deponer, that for a certain time he would not speak with him, nor could not find his good countenance. And that (in this deponer's opinion) my lord would never be content to want the characters off himself from the first time that the deponer saw them at Padua, to the hour of my lord's death.

Being demanded for what cause my lord kept the characters so well, depones, that, to his opinion, it was for no good, because he heard, that, in those parts where my lord was, they would give sundry focks breeves.

Depones further, that Master Patrick Galloway, let this deponer see the characters, since that he came to this town of Falkland, and that he knows them to be the very same characters which my lord had. Depones also, that on Monday the fourth of August, the Master, Andrew Henderson, and the deponer, remained in my lord's chamber till

about ten hours in the evening, and after a long conference betwixt my lord and the master, my lord called for Andrew Henderson, and after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the master's or Andrew Henderson's riding to Falkland; and after Andrews return from Falkland upon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he knew not that he was come from Falkland. Depones, that my lord being at dinner when the master came in, the deponer heard my lord say to the master, is the king in the inch? and with that he did rise, and said, let us go. But the deponer knows not what the master said to my lord.

Being demanded if he did see any kind of armour or weapons, in the king's company? Depones that he did see none.

It being demanded how the deponer was satisfied with my lord's answer made to him, concerning the king's coming to St Johnstoun, saying that he knew not how he came; declares that he thought my lord had dissembled with him, and that he behooved to have known it, seeing that his brother was come with his majesty before that he demanded of him, and that he had conferred with my lord privily.

Depones that he knew not that the master was ridden to Falkland, until after his majesty's coming to St Johnstoun, that Andrew Ruthven told him; because the deponer enquired of Andrew Ruthven where the master and he had been, and that Andrew answered, that they had been at Falkland; and that the master having spoken with the king, his majesty came forward with them: and that this conference betwixt the deponer and Andrew Ruthven was in the yard, when my lord was there. And Andrew Ruthven shewed to the deponer that Andrew Henderson was directed by the master to shew my lord that his majesty was coming.

Depones also that, in his opinion, the master could not have drawn the king to my lord's house without my lord's knowledge: And that, when he heard the tumult, he was resolved in his heart the master had done his majestie wrong; and that no true Christian can think otherwise, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his highness by the master and the lord.

Depones also, that in his opinion, the king's whole company was within a dozen men.

(Sic Subscribitur)

M. W. RYND.

At Falkland, 20th August, 1600. In presence of the Lords Chancellor,

Treasurer, Advocate, Controller, Sir George Home of Spot, and Sir James Melvil, knights.

Andrew Henderson, sworn and examined, and demanded, What purpose was betwixt him and the Earl of Gowrie upon Monday at night, the fourth of this instant, in the said Earl's chamber? Depones that the Earl inquired of him what he would be doing upon the morrow; and he answered that he was to ride to Ruthven. The earl said to him, You must ride to Falkland with Master Alexander, my brother; and when he directs you back, see that you ride with all diligence, if he sends a letter or any other advertisement with you. Depones that the master directed him to send for Andrew Ruthven, to be in readiness to ride with them to-morrow, at four hours in the morning. Declares, that they coming to Falkland, about seven hours in the morning, the master staid in a lodging beside the palace, and directed the deponer to see what the king was doing; and the deponer finding his majesty in the close coming forth, he passed back, and told the master, who immediately addressed himself to his highness, and spake with his majesty beneath the equiry; and after his majesty was on horseback, the master cometh to the deponer, and commands him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved my lord's honour and his, and advertise my lord that his majesty and he would be there incontinent, and that his majesty would be quiet; and the deponer inquiring of the master if he should go presently, he did bid him leap on and follow him, and not go away until he spoke with the king; and the master having spoke with the king at a breach of the park wall, he turned back, and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in all possible haste to St Johnston, he found my lord in his chamber about ten hours, who left the company he was speaking with, and asked, hath my brother sent a letter with you? The deponer answered, no; but they will be all here incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my lord to cause prepare the dinner. Immediately thereafter my lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked him how his majesty took with the master, his brother. The deponer answered, very well, and that his majesty laid his hand over the master's shoulder. Thereafter my lord inquired if there were many at the hunting with the king. The deponer answered, that he took no heed, but they who were accustomed to ride with his majesty, and some Englishmen were there; and that my lord enquired what special men were with his majesty, and that the deponer answered, he did see none but my lord duke; and about an hour there-

after, when the deponer came in from his own house, the earl bade him put on his secret and plait-sleeves, for he had a highlandman to take, which the deponer did incontinent; and when the deponer was going out to his own house to his dinner, the steward came to him and told him that George Craigengelt was not well, and was lain down, desired him to tarry and take up my lord's dinner; and about half-an-hour after twelve my lord commanded him to take up the first service; and when the deponer was commanded to take up the second service, the master and William Blair came into the hall to my lord.

The deponer remembereth himself, that Andrew Ruthven came before the master a certain space, and spake to my lord quietly at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soon as the master came to the hall, my lord and the whole company rose from the table; and the deponer hearing the noise of their forth-going, supposing they were going to make breeks for Maconilduy;* and seeing my lord pass to the Inch, and not to the Shoegate, the deponent did cast his bonnet in the pantry, and caused his boy to take his steel bonnet to his house, and he followed my lord to the Inch, and returned with his majesty to the lodging, being directed to get drink. And the master came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Mr William Rynd to send him up the key of the gallery chamber; who past up and delivered the key to the master; and immediately my lord followed up, and did speak with the master, and came down again, and directed Mr Thomas Cranstone to the deponer, to come to his lordship in his majesty's chamber. And that my lord directed him to go up to the gallery to his brother; and immediately my lord followed up, and commanded the deponer to bide there with his brother, and to do anything that he bade him: the deponer inquired at the master, What have ye to do, sir? The master answered, Ye must go in here and tarry till I come back, for I will take the key with me. So he locked the deponer in the round within the chamber, and took the key with him. Shortly thereafter, the master returned, and the king's majesty with him, to the said cabinet in the rounde; and the master opening the door, entered with the king into the said round; and at his very entry, covering his head, pulled out the deponent's dagger, and held

* This expression is obscure. Henderson in his evidence at the trial, says, that he believed that Gowrie was going to take the highlandman. The expression here has probably the same meaning. To "make breeks for Maconildhu," i.e. to make breeches for the son of Black Macdonald, may signify to secure the highlandman, and committ him to prison. Thus, *stone doublet* is a vulgar English phrase for a prison.

the same to his majesty's breast, saying, "Remember ye of my father's murder? ye shall now die for it!" and minting to his highness's heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the master's hand; and swore that as God shall judge his soul, if the master had retained the dagger in his hand, the space that a man may go six steps, he would have stricken the king to the hilts with it; but wanting the dagger, and the king's majesty giving him a gentle answer, he said to the king's majesty, with abominable oaths, that if he would keep silence, nothing should ail him, if he would make such promise to his brother as they would crave of him; and the king enquiring what promise they would crave, he answered, that he would bring his brother. So he goes forth, and locks the door of the round upon his majesty and the deponer; having first taken oath of the king that he should not cry, nor open the window.

And his majesty inquiring of the deponer, what he was, he answered, a servant of my lord's; and his majesty asking of the deponer, if my lord would do any evil to him, the deponer answered, as God shall judge my soul, I shall die first. And the deponer pressing to have opened the window, the master entered and said, "Sir, there is no remedy, by God you must die;" and having a loose garter in his hand, pressing to have bound his majesty's hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of Master Alexander's hands, and then the master put one of his hands in his majesty's mouth, to have stayed him to speak, and held his other arm about his majesty's neck, and that this deponer pulled the master's hand from his majesty's mouth, and opened the window; and then his majesty cried out thereat; whereat his highness's servants came in at the gate, and this deponer did run and open the door at the turnpike head, whereat John Ramsay entered; and the deponent stood in the chamber until he did see John Ramsay give the master a stroke, and thereafter privily conveyed himself down the turnpike to his own house; and the deponer's wife enquiring of him what the fray meant? the deponer answered, that the king's majesty would have been twice sticked had not he relieved him:

Further, the said Andrew Henderson depones, that after his returning from Falkland on the fifth of this instant, Master John Moncrieff inquiring of him, where he had been; he answered, that he had been beyond the Bridge of Earn; and says that he gave that answer to Master John, because my lord had commanded him to let no man know that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my lord's direction

to him was, to come back with his brother Master Alexander's answer : and to leave Andrew Ruthven to wait upon the master.

Further, the said Andrew Henderson depones, that, when he had taken the master's hand out of the king's mouth, and was opening the window, Master Alexander said to him, "Wilt thou not help? Woe betide thee ; thou wilt make us all die."

(Sic Subscribitur)

ANDREW HENDERSON,
With my hand.

22d August, 1600.

Master William Rynd sworn and re-examined, if ever he heard the Earl of Gowrie utter his opinion, anent the duty of a wise man in the execution of a high enterprise : declares, that, being out of the country, he had divers times heard him reason in that matter, and that he was ever of that opinion, that he was not a wise man, that, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but himself ;* because keeping it to himself, it could not be discovered nor disappointed ; which the deponer declared before, unrequired, to the controller, and Mr William Couper minister at Perth ; and hearing the deposition of Andrew Henderson read, and being inquired upon his conscience, what he thought of the facts committed against his majestie ? declares, that upon his salvation, that he believes Andrew Henderson has declared the circumstances truly.

(Sic Subscribitur)

M. W. RYND.

* It was natural for the king and his ministers to enquire who were the accomplices of Gowrie and his brother ; and when no accomplices could be discovered, to impute this to the caution of Gowrie. This appears to be the reason of the question put to Rynd. Spottiswood in his History of the Church of Scotland says, "I remember myself, that meeting with Mr William Couper, then minister at Perth, the third day after, in Falkland, he shewed me that on many days before that accident, visiting by occasion the earl at his own house, he found him reading a book entitled '*De conjurationibus adversus principes*,' and having asked him what book it was, he answered, that it was a collection of the conspiracies made against princes, which he said were foolishly contrived all of them, and faulty either in one point or other ; for he that goeth about such a business should not, said he, put any man on his counsel." From the title and contents of this book, I am much inclined to think that it was the Latian translation of Machiavel's discourses on Livy. Gowrie might very innocently read that discourse. It may be observed, that the objections which the king and his ministers formed, were afterwards fully disproved, in their own opinion, when Logan of Restalrig and Bour appeared to have been conscious of the purposes of Gowrie.

The points next demanding notice are the part which the citizens of Perth bore in the affray, and the immediate results of this extraordinary transaction. In the king's account of the matter, the most is made of the tumult which took place in the town after the citizens heard of the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. It is represented as having continued for two or three hours, and it was not until his majesty, by frequent speaking from the windows, and "beckoning them with his own hand," they were pacified.

Acting upon the supposition that James was really in danger from the inhabitants of Perth, in consequence of his being concerned in the death of their provost, the bailies, as representing the community, were charged to appear in person before his majesty and counsel at Linlithgow, upon the 16th September, to answer for the contempt and indignity done to his majesty, "in regard," as the act of the privy counsel has it, "that after the king's delivery from the treason devised by the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, his highness looking for no further danger or invasion at that time, notwithstanding it is of truth that his highness was of new assailed and pursued by a great number of the community and inhabitants of the burgh of Perth, all in arms, who environed his majesty's house on all parts, besieged and pursued his majesty within the same, uttering most irreverend and undutiful speeches against his majesty, his nobility, and certain of his servants and good subjects, who accompanied his highness for the time, and could nowise be moved to forbear their tumultuous and insolent behaviour, but did what in them lay, by crying for fire and powder, and running with beams at the gates of the said house, and to have exposed in hazard the lives of his majesty and his good subjects."

As has been remarked, "this smells very strongly of a counter conspiracy on the part of his sapient majesty against the well lined purses of the citizens of Perth; for never was a more pitiful attempt made to extort a fine from unoffending and loyal citizens." The truth is that the reference of the king to the conduct of the citizens of Perth on this occasion, is a gross exaggeration. Of course the king had an object to serve in thus stigmatising them—what that was will by and by be alluded to. In the meanwhile we shall submit to the reader evidence which, in our opinion, goes to prove that the burghers of Perth evinced but very little spirit in defence of their provost, and that, instead of James having any thing to fear from them in the way of retaliation, the more influential seem to have at once taken part with him and easily persuaded their fellow-townsmen to return to their homes.

Andrew Ray, one of the bailies of the town, who was at Gowrie House when the affray commenced, says in the evidence given by him before "the Lordes of Articles for proving the summons of Treason," that when he saw "his majesty, bare headed, thrust forth his head, and crying loudly, 'Fy! treason! treason! and murder! help, Earl of Mar!'" that not knowing what the matter meant, but seeing his majesty in extreme and great danger, ran with all possible diligence through the streets, crying loudly, 'Fy, treason! treason against the king!—for God's sake, all honest men haste and relieve the king!' He commanded the common bell to be rung, that all men might come in haste to his majesty's relief. He returned speedily, with a great number of the inhabitants with him, and came before the turret window where he saw the king cry out of. Having cried up "how is the king," he was answered by the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, that the king was well, (praised be God!) But the bailie was determined to let the king see his zeal, for he cried up again to the king, and showed him that the bailies and township were come in all haste to supply and relieve his majesty, and therefore desired to know what his majesty wished to be done. The king, beckoning to the bailie and the people, commanded the former to order all the inhabitants to retire to their houses: which the bailie immediately did, and went also to the market cross, and by open proclamation commanded, in the king's name, all men to retire to their lodgings. The bailie adds, "who obeyed immediately after my charge."

The above statement at once shows that the king's account, in this particular at least, is beside the truth. But we are not left merely to place Bailie Ray's statement against that of the king's, for it so happens that there is a very curious document still extant, and preserved in the General Register House, which brings out in a very striking manner the way in which the citizens of Perth acted on the occasion of the death of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother.

It has been already stated that the bailies of the town were charged to appear personally at Linlithgow, on the 16th of September, to answer for the conduct of the inhabitants on the fifth of August. The king, however, thought proper not to insist on the appearance of the magistrates; but in a letter directed to the "Bailies, Council, and Community of the Burgh of Perth," informs them that two of the privy council would in a few days acquaint them with his will and pleasure in the matter of the conduct of the citizens of Perth. Accordingly, on the 18th of September, the magistrates, deacons, and

other members of the council met in the new kirk, with Sir Robert Melvil, and Sir David Murray, to hear from the latter, "his majesty's more particular will and pleasure anent the trying of such within their burgh that misbehaved themselves upon the fifth day of August last." The command of the king was, that the provost, bailies, and council, should examine every one in the town, so that they might find out who among them, either in word or deed, showed themselves busy on that day in assisting the Earl of Gowrie and his brother in their intended treason against his majesty's person, and that such guilty persons might be punished for their offence according to their deserts. It was also required by a certain day, they report their diligence to his majesty on such subject. The report goes on to say, "that such desire being considered godly, honest, and right, the said bailies, council, and deacons, with all diligence promised to obey.

On the 22d of September, the town council again met in the new kirk, and after long reasoning fixed on a plan for "the trying of their own townsmen, conform to the commission declared to them by his majesty's commissioners," and that the provost, Mr John Malcome, and William Cowper, ministers, Constantine Meliss, Andrew Ray, Thomas Johnson, bailies, James Drummond of Leithill, James Anderson, dean of Guild, Robert Matthew, treasurer, Robert Anderson, Andrew Arnot, of the council, and Henry Elder, clerk, shall be examiners, and receive the depositions of the whole inhabitants. Those examiners who were not in Perth on the fifth of August, were to receive the depositions of their colleagues, and then altogether they were to receive the depositions of the other members of the town council, and afterwards those of the whole inhabitants of the burgh, beginning at the Watergate quarter. For this purpose the examiners met in the new kirk on the morning of the 23d September, at seven o'clock, and continued till nine, when they adjourned till ten, and remained till noon. The examination was resumed at two o'clock afternoon, and was continued till six o'clock evening. This order was followed until the whole of the citizens had deposed as to their conduct on the 5th of August. No fewer than 355 of the inhabitants were examined, and the time occupied in so doing was five days.

Every person was sworn to testify the truth, upon their conscience and in the sight of God, as they should answer to Him at the Day of Judgment, and examined upon what is called in the report "the heads and articles following :"—

"Whether they had any previous knowledge of the wild and un-

natural treason, intended against his Majesty upon the fifth of August last, by the late Earl of Gowrie, and the Master his brother.

“ Whether they came to the house with their armour to assist that filthy fact.

“ Whether they themselves uttered or heard any irreverent speeches against his Majesty or his servants.

“ Whether they heard crying ‘ green coats,’ ‘ bloody butchers,’ ‘ traitors,’ ‘ murderers ye shall all die,’ ‘ give us forth our provost,’ or any such like words.

“ Whether they heard any cry for ‘ fire or powder.’

“ Whether they saw any one attempt to strike his majesty’s servants ?

“ Whether they knew anything of the said wild treason that has not been asked at them ; or any thing further which is not contained in the said articles ; or since the 5th day of August they heard anything that may clear up the said matter ? ”

Of course it is not intended to present the reader with the whole examinations ; only such are given as shew the real state of the feelings and conduct of the citizens when they heard their provost and his brother were slain.

23d September, before noon.

In presence of the said examiners compeared the following persons, who, being sworn upon the above-mentioned articles, deponed every one as follows :—

Oliver Young, baillie, sworn, deponed, that after he was commanding the people to go home, at his majesty’s command, the entrance of the front gate was kept by the Earl of Gowrie’s servants, with drawn swords ; among whom was Thomas Bisset, cordiner ; which Thomas, as soon as he was commanded by the deponer, departed from the gate. Saw nor heard no further, by reason of his business, in despatching of the people.

Thomas Johnstone, baillie, deponed, that he coming there at the sound of the bell, saw a tumult before the Earl of Gowrie’s lodging ; and being desired to go home by the Laird of Balthayock and young Tullibardin, he immediately departed ; and in passing away, saw Alexander Ruthven younger, run through the Watergate, with a drawn sword, crying, “ False Traitors ! ”

James Adamson deponed, that being in his own close gauging a salmon barrel, to make a measure thereof to other barrels, John Ten-

neyse wife, officiar, knocked very loud at his gate, cring, Alas ! there is many weapons about the kings house, and they say the king is shot." Who, at the hearing thereof, came suddenly forth, when he heard Andrew Ray, baillie, crying, "Fy ! treason ! come and relieve the king." And immediately ran down to the lodging, where, as soon as he came, he saw the duke and the earl of Mar, declaring the king was well ; désiring all men to go to their houses. Whereat and after he had seen the king's hand put out at the window, he incontinent departed home.

Robert Matthew, deponed that he, coming at the sound of the bell, heard Violet Ruthven and Margaret Moncrieff, relict of Thomas Lafreife, crying, "Bloody butchers !" Departed at the command of the bailies and clerk.

Henry Elder, deponed, being in his own chamber when the bell was ringing, which had ceased before he could get to the South-gate-end, where he hearing the noblemen that were above crying to the bailies to command the people home, he with the said bailies despatched the people ; and thereafter immediately went to the market cross, and there, in his highness' name, commanded all manner of men to go to their houses, under the pain of treason ; and returning therefrom to the lodging again, all the people had removed themselves, except some of the late Earl of Gowrie's servants, who were standing at the front gate with drawn swords, among whom was Thomas Bisset, cordiner, who, when he was commanded by Oliver Young, bailie, and the deponer, put up his sword and departed. Saw Alexander Ruthven coming out at the front gate, with a drawn sword, and said to the deponer, "Thieves, you are unworthy of such a provost !" and "If he lives, he shall remember this day."

Patrick Grant, deponed, he came with his armour, at the sound of the bell, opposite the lodging. Heard William Rynd, flesher, being in the old broken house above the front gate, cry forth at the window thereof, "The provost is slain !" Saw also Patrick Lamb, sawyer, coming through the Watergate with a single roof spar on his shoulder. Saw Alexander Ruthven come forth of the lodging with a drawn sword, crying, "Fy on you all ! there is one nobleman lost this day !"

William Jack, deacon, deponed, he came before the lodging, at the sound of the bell, with a Lochaber-axe, or halbert ; and asking by the way what the matter meant, the people cried, "The king is slain !" And he had no sooner come there than he heard all crying, "The king is well !" and he departed.

John Ogilvy, deacon, deponed, that at the sound of the bell he came there ; saw one man come to the place with a joist on his shoulder. Knows not who he was. Heard John Rintoul crying, "Green-coats ! ye have committed murder !" And the deponer reproving him, he answered, "you are not good citizens in a town, who help not your provost."

Alexander Peebles, deponed, that during all the time of the tumult he was locked in his own house, and looking out at the window. Heard Thomas Bisset crying up to the round, "Is my lord of Gowrie alive ? If he be not alive, he should have amends of all that was there !" And James Bower cried up the like speeches. Would not depart until they saw my lord of Gowrie ; and one of them too cried up, "Green-coats, we shall have amends of you !" Shaking their hands, saying, "You shall pay for it !" Heard Thomas Elder, in Balbuchty, cry up for "a sight of the Earl of Gowrie." Heard Robert Taylor cry, "Traitors and thieves, who have slain the Earl of Gowrie !" Saw John Rintoul and Thomas Bisset, and others of the earl's servants standing at the front gate, with swords in their hands. Saw one of Earl of Gowrie's servants put a steel bonnet on the earl's head. Heard Violet Ruthven and other women cry, "Traitors ! thieves ! the Earl of Gowrie had enough to take meat and drink from him, but he has none to revenge his death !"

Andrew Galletly hearing the bell, past to the dye-house, where his wife was, for the keys, to get a weapon ; and before he cam there all was quiet.

Robert Cock, deponed, he was drinking in Gabriel Mersar's house, with James Little and James Seton, two of the king's servants. After "Treason" was cried, he departed home.

It is now time to notice the events which immediately happened after the melancholy occurrence of the 5th of August. James, the same evening, rode to Falkland amid crowds of his subjects, who came from all quarters to express their joy at his deliverance. Next day, the news having been brought to Edinburgh, nothing could exceed the demonstrations of the citizens—the bells of the churches were rung, the cannon of the castle were fired, and in the evening bonfires were kindled and fireworks exhibited. Such, indeed, was the universal joy that, to use the language of a chronicler of the period, "the like was never seen in Scotland, there were such dancing and merriment all the night."

On the following Monday, when the king landed at Leith, he was met by the judges, the magistrates of Edinburgh and an immense concourse of people, who conducted him in triumph to his capital. He immediately proceeded to the cross, which was hung with tapestry, when Mr Patrick Galloway preached a sermon to the assembled multitude, choosing as his text the 124th psalm. After shewing that it was David who composed the psalm, on being delivered from his enemies, he proceeds to state that this was not the first time that good kings, whom the Lord hath chosen according to his own heart, had fallen into the hands of cruel and designing men, and been delivered from them. Then adverting to the thankfulness of David for his delivery, he applies the psalm to the king, and tells his auditory that "our king—our David—our annointed—has been in deadly danger; and being delivered, both he and they have occasion to be thankful to God, the deliverer." After blackening the character of Gowrie as much as possible, he narrates the transaction in much the same manner as is done in the account already given.*

William Cowper, minister at Perth, showed himself a strong partizan of the king. He was sent for to supply one of the vacant churches in Edinburgh, after the ministers there had been banished the town. He preached in St Giles Church on Sunday, 24th August, on the repentance of Zaccheus; and in the application of his sermon referred to the occurrences of the 5th of August in the following strain:—

"I think among all the works of God that serves to humble us, this last miserable event that fell out among us one of the first. I know there is many of you but think of it as I did myself when I heard first of it, that indeed he had suffered as an innocent; and what grief it wrought in me, my own conscience beareth me record. The loss of an earthly creature went never so near my heart; and the first thing that ever chilled my affection towards him, was an appearance that he had gone without the compass of godliness, which made me say these

* Calderwood mentions, that after the foregoing "harangue" was ended, they sung the 124th psalm, and adds, "Mr Patrick Galloway did not persuade many, partly because he was a flattering preacher, and partly because others were named before Henderson to be the armed man in the study, namely, Oliphant, Leslie, and Younger, who was slain. Henderson is described as "a man low of stature, rudy countenance, and brown bearded;" and the king himself being asked by the Goodman of Pitnelly, whether Henderson was the man, answered "That it was not he, he (the king) knew that smaick well enough."

words unto my people : I know, said I, that it is light that first men satisfy your discontented minds ; and therefore the father of light send light. But I am sorrowful from my heart, that the light that is makes against him whom we loved ; and if that light break out as is begun, we will find ourselves disappointed of our hope ; and that which I spake unto them, I speak unto you. The light that hitherto God has discovered in that matter inclines to the clearing of his majesty's innocence, and lays the blame on the other ; and if ye crave my reason, I say it is the testimony of his servant, who presently is in prison, which in my judgment is much to be regarded, for I have known him these four or five years bygone, and can give him no other witness but that which both town and country will give about him, that is the testimony of a man that feareth God, deal suprichtly with all men, and whereas some of you think that he is but a suppositious man, and that his deposition is rather a policy, than any verity ; that is more incredible to me, than any other thing of this action unto you ; and if my testimony can have credit with you, I will bear to you record, that it is verified to me by honest men of our town, that he was seen come down the stair from that chamber wherein the king was, before any of the king's servants entered up, except John Ramsay only, or before my lord entered in, and what his deposition is I will tell you shortly." *

But although the nation generally believed in the truth of the conspiracy, yet, the king found the leading ministers of the church rather incredulous on the subject, especially Mr Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

Bruce and his colleagues had been requested by the privy council to return thanks on Sunday the 10th August for the king's miraculous escape ; but having failed to do so, they were summoned to appear on Tuesday the 12th, before the king and council, to answer for their conduct. The king demanded at Bruce, in name of the rest, " Why they had disobeyed him and his council, and would not praise God for his delivery ? They answered, " They had not disobeyed, but

* This assertion of the preacher is corroborated by William Robertson, writer in Perth, who was examined along with his fellow-townsmen. Among other statements made by him, he says that he " saw the Master of Gowrie lying dead at the foot of the turnpike, where, shortly after, he saw the said Andrew Henderson come out at the said turnpike, over the master's body ; and he inquiring at him, ' Chamberlain, Jesus ! what means the matter ? ' who made him no answer ; and as the deponer remembers, John Murray of Arbeny, and others, whom the said John can tell, were present there."

were all ready to praise God generally as they had done upon the Sabbath immediately following ; but they could not descend into particulars and say what sort of danger it was, in respect they had no certainty.

"Had ye not my letter," said the king, "to shew you the certainty," "Sir," replied Robert Bruce, "your letter did not bear any particular, but made mention only of a danger in general, and we were content to follow it." "Could not my council," said the king, "assure you of the particulars," and addressing himself to the president, asked him if he had not assured them, who answered, "Yes, sir, we all assured them of the certainty of that treason." "Sir, with your honour's leave," said Bruce, "no information was received, except David Moysses' account, and John Graham of Balgowan's report, which came when the lords were sitting in council ; and the two reports did so fight against each other, that no man could find any certainty." The secretary rose up and said "they agreed very well." The president confirmed the statement. Mr Robert Bruce answered "That he had David Moysses' letter, which would show to the contrary." The king asked at last, "Now are ye yet persuaded : ye have heard me, ye have heard my minister, ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of Mar, touching the report of this treason : whether are ye fully persuaded or not ?" "Sir," said Bruce, "I would have farther light before I preached it to persuade the people. If I were but a private subject, not a pastor, I could rest upon your majesty's report, as others do." The king, after asking at the others whether they also were of the same opinion as Bruce, who replied they were, ordered them to be removed ; and after a while a macer intimated to them James' pleasure, namely : that they should be banished from the capital, and interdicted, under pain of death, to preach in any part of Scotland. This severity had the effect of shaking the resolution of four of the ministers, namely : Balcanquell, Watson, Hall, and Balfour, who declared themselves thoroughly satisfied of the truth of the conspiracy. Bruce, however, remained inexorable ; he went as far as to say before the privy council, that he should believe the story if Henderson should be hanged, and at his execution adhere to his declaration. Murray of Tulliebardine said to Bruce, "Will you believe a condemned man better than a king." "If he die penitent," replied Bruce, "I will trust him. If God receive his soul, I will receive his testimony," When Bruce was found to be thus resolute in his opinion, he was banished his majesty's dominions, and went to France.

But notwithstanding the opposition James received from the clergy, he appeared determined to wreak his vengeance on all who were related to, or had assisted the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. On the very night of the catastrophe, when he returned to Falkland, the sister of Gowrie, Mrs Beatrice Ruthven, who was maid of honour to the queen, was dismissed, and banished from court; and the next day the Master of Orkney, and Sir James Sandilands, with a troop of horse under their command, rode to Dirlton, to seize the younger brothers, who were living with their unhappy mother, but who, having received notice of their intended capture, escaped in disguise, accompanied by their tutor, who brought them in safety to Berwick, where they were kindly received by the governor, Sir John Cary, who attended to their wants, and immediately wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in their behalf. In fact, "such was the avidity," to quote Mr Tytler, "with which the favourites of the court sought, for their own profit, to hunt down this ill-fated family, and fulfill the stern wishes of the king, that, but for the generous protection of England, not a male of the house of Ruthven would have been left."

Alexander Henderson, the Earl of Gowrie's chamberlain, having acknowledged himself to have been the man in the turret, was imprisoned; and on a precognition, taken at Falkland on the 20th of August, gave an account of the whole affair, up to the time when Alexander Ruthven was slain.

On the 13th of August a proclamation was issued, discharging all persons of the name of Ruthven from approaching the king, under pain of treason. Mr Thomas Cranstoun, George Craigingelt, and John M'Duff or Baron, three of Gowrie's servants, were also taken into custody, as having been "airt and pairt in the detestable, horrible, and treasonable conspiracy against the king's most noble person." Although put to the torture, nothing was elicited from them as to any knowledge of a conspiracy on the part of the Gowries.

As the depositions of Cranstoun and Craigingelt have a value as bearing on some collateral points connected with the affair, we insert those parts of them which do so; we may add they appear to be honest declarations. The more important of Cranstoun's deposition is as follows:—That upon the fifth of August instant, he being in the lodging, hearing an uncertain rumour and *bruit* of the kings forth-coming to the South Inch, came down the back-stair to the garden, where my lord his master was walking, as he remembers, with my lord duke, or some other nobleman, to whom he (Mr Thomas) said, "The report

and bruit is, my lord, that his majesty is gone to the South Inch." Whereupon my lord desired him to have his horses ready, that he might follow; who answered his horses were at Scone, and his majesty being in the Inch, it would be hard or they came forth thereof, and to overtake his majesty. Thereafter he followed my lord to the outer close, and thereafter the said Mr Thomas passed to the back close, to seek his boy, to send him to Scone for the horses, whom he could not find; and while he was there he heard a tumult and noise, and thereupon came through the outer close to the main gate, inquiring all the way "what was the matter;" and in the end seeing my lord his master struggling before the gate with certain of Tullibardines servants, young Tulliebardine being present, he, so far as he might, with the help that was present, freed my lord from present struggling. In the meanwhile, my lord fell on his haunch and elbow; but rising again, passed up the street, opposite to Alexander M'Breck's, where he drew his two swords forth of a scabbard, which the said Mr Thomas seeing, being without means of assistance, threw off his cloak, and likewise drew his sword, inquiring "what the fray was, and what he should do," to whom my lord answered, "he would go to his house, or die by the way"; whereupon the said Mr Thomas replied, "he would go before him, but prayed his lordship to tell him whom he should strike at, because he knew not who was a party; and so going forward to the gate, one put a steel bonnet on my lord's head, but who it was he knew not. Proceeding forward at the old turnpike door, the master of Gowrie was lying, whether dead or hurt he knew not, and not perfectly knowing who it was, as he did not see his face, asked who it was, my lord bade, up the stair; and he passing forward at my lord's command, nowise knowing who followed my lord, came to a chamber, where he saw Sir Thomas Erskine, Dr Herris, and John Ramsay, standing with drawn swords; which Dr Herris presenting his sword to stop the entry, Mr Thomas said to him, "Yeall thief, if thou be innocent of yon slaughter, come forth and I shall warrand thee." Hereafter my lord and John Ramsay engaged in combat. The rest thrust some strokes at Mr Thomas, and he at them. How my lord and John Ramsay separated he knew not, always Mr Thomas dealing with the rest. John Ramsay thrust the said Mr Thomas through the body, and thereafter was thrust at, he believes by Dr Herris, but not through the body, which Mr Thomas missing, my lord sprung out at the door, and came forth of the place."

Craigingelt appears to have been butler to the Earl of Gowrie, and as his deposition shews, a most judicious person; for when examined as to "whether he ever heard the Earl of Gowrie since his home-coming speak anything anent the misliking or revenge of his father's death?" answered, "he never heard him in public or in private do so; but depones, that he desired at all times, Mr William Rynd, who had my lord's ear by any man, to persuade my lord to keep himself in the king's favour and obedience, in respect of jealousy that was among them." Who answered, "that he should do all that he could to persuade my lord to do so; and that it was best so to do." The other part in his deposition of importance is the following:—"Denies that he knew anything of the master or Andrew Henderson riding to Falkland, on Tuesday the 5th August. Declares that he was lying in his bed that day, until after the king's coming; that Thomas Elder and John Baron came to him and bade him rise, and said 'The king is come,' which he did, and came to the kitchen, where he found no appearance of meat for the king; and therefore he sent out to Duncan Robertson's house, where he got a muirfowl. And thereafter this deponer caused make ready a shoulder of mutton and a hen; which was long in doing. And that he thereafter went up and brought down some strawberries, and dressed five or six dishes of desert; and in his going up the stair, he met the Master of Gowrie booted, and inquired at him 'where he had been?' who answered, 'An errand not far off.' This deponer inquired again, 'What moved the king to come so sudden and unlooked for?' who answered, that Robert Abercromby, that false knave, had brocht the king there to cause his majesty to take order for his debt.' Depones farther, that the Earl of Gowrie that day never spoke a word to the deponer, nor desired him to make any provision for the king's coming. Depones, that after the king's dinner, he ordered up the duke and the Earl of Mar's dinner; which ended, he caused James Erskine and the servants to dine; like as the deponer sat down with them, and sat while they heard a tumult at the gate. And then he and the rest at the table rose, and went altogether to the close, where the deponer saw the master lying dead, at the foot of the black turnpike; and that the deponer cried out, 'Where is my lord?' and saw no person beside the master; and that he ran out at the gate, and met my lord at the gate, coming in with two drawn swords in his hand, a steel-bonnet on his head, and a company of ten or twelve with drawn swords with him. Remembers, that

Mr Thomas Cranstoun and Hugh Moncrieff was with my lord, who entered together, with their drawn swords, in at the black turnpike. And the deponer heard one cry, 'Keep the gate!' which moved him to run in about the end of the house, to the back gate of the garden, to see that no one issued that way; with whom passed a number of ten or twelve rascals of the town. And the deponer being there, Mr Thomas Cranstoun came to him, and said, 'Keep that gate,' And depones likewise that he saw Mr William Rynd in the yard, and bade his sister go her way. And that Mr Thomas and Mr William parted there immediately, without farther speech. And that the deponer, having remained there a while, came back to the close, where he saw Harry Ruthven come down the black turnpike; who said to the deponer, 'my lord is hurt up in the chamber.'

"Depones thereafter, that John Baron and Baron Fawdowie brought the master out of the chamber, when he was slain, down the black turnpike stair; and that the said John Baron said that to this deponer."

"Upon Saturday the 23d day of August," says Calderwood, "Mr Thomas Cranstoun, George Craigingelt, and John Baron, officer of Strabran, attenders upon the Earl of Gowrie, were hanged in St Johnstoun, for drawing their swords in the time of the tumult; yet confessed they nothing which might smell of knowledge of any conspiracy. Mr Thomas Cranstoun, brother to Sir John Cranstoun of that ilk, exhorted the people to forbear imprecations against themselves; for he had now found by experience, that they wanted not their own effect. For that he himself had used three kinds of imprecations, viz., 'God nor a sword go through me!'—'I shall be taken for a traitor!'—'God nor I be hanged!' 'I have been taken,' said he, 'for a traitor; but I thank God I am not one. I was stabbed through with a sword at this last tumult; and now, I am to be hanged!' He conceived a fervent prayer, at which time, in the midst of a cloudy darkness, glanced a sudden brightness, to the astonishment of the beholders."

The 29th of September was set apart as a day of thanksgiving for his majesty's delivery. In "Fleming's Chronicle" we find the following entry:—"There were bonfires set forth in Perth and all parts of the country, for his majesty's delivery from that treason: and preaching appointed every Tuesday in every burgh."

The first of November was fixed for the trial of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. The two corpses were transmitted to Edinburgh from Perth two days before. An adjournment took place to the fourth of

the month, on which day Sir Thomas Hamilton, his majesty's advocate, produced in the presence of the lord commissioners, a summons of treason, duly executed and indorsed, against William Ruthven brother and heir apparent to the late Earl of Gowrie and Mr Alexander Ruthven, and the said William's tutors, curators, if he has any, and all others having or pretending to have interest in the matter of treason underwritten, to hear and see it found and declared that the said John Earl of Gowrie and Mr Alexander Ruthven to have committed treason, in attempting to murder the king in St Johnstoun, on the 5th of August last. The heralds and messengers were sworn to the veracity of the execution at Dirlton, at the market crosses of Edinburgh, Haddington, Perth, and Scone, as well as at the pier of Leith.

The king's advocate also produced summons of treason against Alexander and Harry Ruthven, sons to the late Alexander Ruthven of Freeland; Hew Moncrieff, brother german to William Moncrieff of that ilk; Patrick Eviott, brother to Colin Eviott of Balhousie; and Andrew Henderson, chamberlain of Scone.

None of the parties appeared, of course, excepting Andrew Henderson, with the dead bodies of the earl and Alexander, which were placed at the bar. After the customary legal formalities were gone through, Henderson was again remitted to prison, and the proceedings adjourned to the 11th of the month. On that day the same scene was enacted, with this difference, that Mr Thomas Henderson, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, appeared in court, and produced a pardon for Henderson, subscribed by the king, to the following effect:—

REX,

Advocate it as our will, and we command you, that upon sight hereof ye delete Andrew Henderson, chamberlain to the late Earl of Gowrie, his name forth of summons of treason and forfaulter, raised and executed against him, for his being art, part, counsel, and concealing of the late treason conspired by the late Earl of Gowrie, his late brother, and accomplices, against our person, as ye will answer to us thereupon, keeping these presents for your warrant.

Subscribed with our hand, at Holyrood House, the 11th day of November, 1600.

(Sic subscribitur,)

JAMES R.

The trial was proceeded with on the 15th, and the libel being found revelant, the evidence to prove the treason was taken by the lords of

the Articles. A number of witnesses were examined, whose depositions are given in the proper place. The same day the parliament unanimously found the two brothers guilty of treason; declared their name, memory, and dignity to be extinguished, and their arms cancelled and deleted from the books of arms and nobility; their posterity forever as incapable of enjoying any office, honour, dignity, or property in Scotland; their lands forfeited to the crown, and their bodies to be taken to the market cross of Edinburgh, on Monday the 19th of November, and in presence of the people to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the different parts to be affixed on the most conspicuous places in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Stirling. Various acts of parliament having reference to the Ruthven family were subsequently passed: one discharged all persons whatsoever to move or intercede for them, under high pains and penalties; another abolished the surname of Ruthven for ever, and such of them as were innocent of the treason were ordered to take other names. Sentence of death and forfeiture was also passed against the parties formerly mentioned as included in the treason; and before breaking up of the parliament, an act was passed appointing the 5th of August ever after to be annually observed as a day of public thanks-giving for the king's deliverance.

Depositions of the witnesses examined in presence of the Lords of Articles, taken from the public records by Lord Cromarty.

The Duke of Lennox sworn and examined, depones, upon the fifth day of August last bypast, this deponer, for the time being in Falkland in company with his majesty, he saw Mr Alexander Ruthven speaking with his grace before the stables, betwixt six and seven in the morning, and shortly thereafter, his majesty passing to the hunting of the buck, and having slain one in the park of Falkland, his highness spake to the deponent, desiring him to accompany his majesty to Perth, to speak to the Earl of Gowrie. And immediately thereafter, this deponent sent his servant for another horse, and for a sword, then mounted and followed his grace. And as this deponent overtook his grace, Mr Alexander Ruthven was speaking with his majesty, and shortly after the deponent's coming to the king, his highness rode apart, and spake with this deponent, saying, ye cannot guess, man, what errand I am riding for? I am going to get a pose in Perth; and Mr Alexander Ruthven has informed me that he has found a man that has a pitcher full of coined gold of great sorts. And in the meantime his highness inquired of the deponent of what humour he thought

the deponent to be of; who answered, that he knew nothing of him, but as of an honest discreet gentleman. And after that his highness had declared to this deponent, the whole circumstances of the man who had the said gold, the place where it was found, and where it was kept; this deponent answered, I like not that, sir, for that is not likely. And then riding beside the Bridge of Earn, his majesty called to the deponer, that Mr Alexander desired him to keep the matter of the pose secret, and take nobody with him; and then his majesty both at that time, and thereafter at St Johnstoun, within the Earl of Gowrie's hall, said to this deponer, take tent where I pass with Mr Alexander Ruthven, and follow me. And as his majesty was within a mile of Perth, after that Mr Alexander had come a certain space with his highness, he rode away and galloped to Perth before the rest of the company, towards his brother's lodging; of purpose, (as the deponent believes,) of advertising the Earl of Gowrie of his majesty's coming there; and as his majesty was within two pair of butt-langs to the town of Perth, the Earl of Gowrie, accompanied with divers persons, all on foot, met his highness in the Inch, and saluted him; and immediately thereafter, his majesty, accompanied with this deponer, the Earl of Mar, Inchaffrey, Sir Thomas Erskine, Laird of Urchil, James Erskine, William Stuart, Sir Hugh Herries, Sir John Ramsay, John Murray, John Hamilton of the Grange, and John Graham of Balgowie (Balgowan), past all together in the Earl of Gowrie's hall, the said Earl of Gowrie and the said Mr Alexander Ruthven being both present at the time. And after their entry, his majesty cried for a drink, which was a long time of coming. And it was an hour after his first coming, before his majesty got his dinner: and in the time that his majesty got his desert, the Earl of Gowrie came to this deponent and the Earl of Mar, and remaining persons foresaid, and desired them to dine, which they did in the hall; and when they had almost dined, the Earl of Gowrie came from his majesty's chamber, to drink his health to my lord duke and the rest of the company, which he did. And immediately after the health had passed about, this deponent rose from the table, to have waited upon his majesty, conform to his former direction; and then the Earl of Gowrie said to this deponent, that his majesty was gone up quietly some quiet errand. And then the Earl of Gowrie cried for the key of his garden, and passed in company with this deponent to the garden, accompanied by Lindores and Sir Hugh Herries, and certain others; and shortly after their being in the garden, Mr Thomas Cranstoun came down to the

garden, crying, the king's majesty is on horseback, and ridden through the Inch : and then the Earl of Gowrie cried, horse, horse ; and the said Mr Thomas Cranstoun answered to him, your horse is in town ; to which the Earl of Gowrie made him no answer, but still cried, horse, horse. And this deponent and the Earl of Gowrie came first out of the garden through the hall, to the close, and came to the outer-gate ; and this deponent asked at the porter if the king was forth, who answered, he was assured that his majesty had not come forth of the place. Then the Earl of Gowrie said, I am sure he is first always ; stay, my lord, drink, and I shall go up and get the verity and certainty thereof ; and the said Earl of Gowrie passed up, and incontinent came again to the close, and he affirmed to this deponent, that the king's majesty was forth at the back gate and away. Whereupon this deponent, the Earls of Gowrie and Mar, and the whole company passed forth by the fore gate of the lodging, and stood before the same gate upon the street ; and as they were standing there, advising where to seek the king, incontinent, and in the meantime, this deponent heard a voice, and said to the Earl of Mar, that is the king's voice that cries, be where he will ; and so they all looked up to the lodging, and saw his majesty looking forth of the window, wanting his hat, his face being red, and a hand griping his cheek and mouth ; and the king cried, I am murdered ! treason ! My Lord Mar, help, help ! And incontinent, this deponent, the earl of Mar, and their company, ran up the stair of the gallery chamber, where his majesty was, to have relieved him ; and as they passed up, they found the door of the chamber fast, and seeing a ladder standing beside, they rushed at the door with the ladder, until the steps of it broke, and then sent for hammers ; and notwithstanding large forcing with hammers, they got not entrance into the said chamber, till after the earl of Gowrie and his brother were both slain : that Robert Brown past about by the back door, and came to his majesty, and assured his highness that it was my lord duke and the Earl of Mar that was striking up the chamber door, and the hammer was given through the hole of the door of the chamber, and they within broke the door and gave them entry. And, at their first entry, they saw the Earl of Gowrie lying dead in the chamber, Mr Alexander Ruthven having been slain and taken down the stair before their entry ; and at their first entry within that chamber where the king's majesty was, the deponent saw sundry halberts and swords striking under the door of the chamber and sides thereof, by reason

the same was not a close door : that he knew none of the strikers except Alexander Ruthven, one of the defenders, who desired to speak with this deponent through the door, and asked at him, For God's sake tell me how my Lord of Gowrie is? to whom this deponent answered, he is well ; and the said deponent desired Alexander Ruthven to go his way—that he was a fool, as he would get little thanks for that labour ; and, in the meantime, as they were continuing to strike with halberts under the door, John Murray, servant to Tullibardine, was stricken through the leg ; and as soon as the said Alexander Ruthven had heard the said lord duke speak, he and his whole accomplices past from the said door, and made no more trouble thereat, and passed down to the close and stood there ; saw none of the remaining defenders present, except by report, but the said Alexander Ruthven ; but says that he saw Hugh Moncrieff, and Alexander Daithvenies, and Patrick Eviot, with the Earl of Gowrie at the king's dinner that day ; and that before and thereafter, looking over the chamber window, he saw George Craigingelt and Alexander Ruthven ; and did see others of the Earl of Gowrie's servants whom this deponent knew not, standing in arms within the close ; and also saw other persons carrying a joist from the town to the close of the Earl of Gowrie's lodging : and declares that there abode sundry persons within the said close, and in the High Street, before the Earl of Gowrie's lodging, crying and making tumult, for the space of two hours and more after the death of the said Earl of Gowrie and his brother.

(Sic Subscribitur)

LENNOX.

The Earl of Mar, sworn and examined, depones, conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox's deposition in all things substantial, except that his lordship saw not Mr Alexander Ruthven in Falkland, while about ten hours the day libelled, shortly before the slaying of the buck ; and also, overtook not his majesty that day, while his majesty was near the bridge of Earn ; and that after dinner my lord of Mar passed not to the garden in company with the Earl of Gowrie, but passed to another chamber where the king dined, and saw nothing of the joist.

(Sic Subscribitur)

MAR.

We are now to hear the deposition of Andrew Henderson, who was by many believed to be a supposititious witness and actor in the tra-

gedy. The reader will see what agreement there is betwixt this and his deposition emitted at the precognition in Falkland upon the 9th August.

Andrew Henderson, chamberlain of Scone, sworn depones, that he is of the age of thirty eight years, declares, that upon Monday at night, the fourth day of August last, this deponent being in company with the Earl of Gowrie and Mr Alexander Ruthven after supper, within my lord's own chamber, the Earl of Gowrie inquired of this deponent what he had to do to-morrow ; to whom this deponent answered, that he had to ride to Ruthven to speak with the tenants. Then the earl of Gowrie answered, Stay that journey, you must ride to Falkland in company with my brother, Mr Alexander, and take with you Andrew Ruthven ; and that you be ready to ride by four hours in the morning : and haste thou back with answer, as my brother orders you, by writ or otherwise ; and let Andrew Ruthven remain with my brother. And in the morning, after four hours, they rode all three to Falkland ; and coming to Falkland they lighted at John Balfour's house, and seeing that Colonel Edmund was there, they lodged in one Lam's house ; and the master sent this deponent about seven hours in the morning, to see what the king's majesty was doing ; and as he was within the place, he saw the king's majesty coming forth, midclose, booted ; and then he returned back again to the master, and said to him, haste ye, the king's majesty is coming forth ; and incontinent, the master followed his majesty, and spake with his majesty opposite the equerie, and the king laid his hand on his shoulder and clapped him, where they spoke together for the space of a quarter of an hour. And thereafter the master directed this deponent to ride to Perth in haste, as he loved the lord Gowrie's and his honour, and advertise his brother, that his majesty will be there with a few number incontinent ; and cause him make his dinner ready. Then this deponer asked, shall I ride presently ? The master answered, No ; but stay a while and follow the king and me, while I speak with his majesty again ; and as his majesty was riding through the breach of the park dyke, the master spake to his majesty, and immediately thereafter, the master bade this deponent pass to St Johnstoun, with all possible diligence, according to his former directions ; and, at this deponents coming to Perth, it was shortly after ten hours in the morning, he entered into the Earl of Gowrie's chamber, where he saw his Lord speak with George Hay and Mr Peter Hay : and how soon my Lord of Gowrie saw this deponent, and enquired secretly, what word he had brought

from his brother ; and if he had brought a letter ? This deponent answered, that the master, his brother, bade tell his lordship, that his majesty would be there incontinent ; and bade haste his dinner. Then the earl bade this deponent follow his lordship to the cabinet, and asked at him how he had taken with his brother ; he answered, that he was well taken with him ; and when he did his courtesy, the king laid his hand upon his shoulder. The earl asked what number of persons was with the king at the hunting ? who answered that he knew not well, but that there was sundry of his own with him, and some Englishmen ; and then the earl asked, what noblemen was with him ? he answered, none but my lord duke. And thereafter, this deponent passed to his own house in the town, and took off his boots, and returned to the earl within an hour ; and as soon as the earl saw him in his chamber, he called upon this deponent, and bade him put on his secret [a coat of mail] and plate sleeves ; the deponent inquired to what effect ? The earl answered, I have an highlandman to take in the *Shoe-gate* ; and then the deponent past to his house, and put on his secret and plate sleeves, came back again to the Earl of Gowrie's house ; and about half an hour to one, the earl commanded this deponent to take up his dinner, and this deponent passed and took up the first service by reason Charles Craigingelt was sick. And incontinent, the said earl passed to his dinner, accompanied with Mr John Moncrief, Laird of Pitcrief, Mr James Drummond, Alexander Peebles, and the Baron of Findowne. And shortly after the first service was set down, my lord sitting at the table with the foresaid company, Andrew Ruthven came in from the master, and rounded to the earl, but heard not what he said ; and shortly after, this deponent passing down to take up the second service, Mr Alexander Ruthven and William Blair came in to the earl, my lord sitting at his dinner ; and as soon as my lord saw them, he and his whole company rose from the table, and then this deponent hearing my lord on foot, bid this deponent send for his steel bonnet and gauntlet, believing that my lord was going to take the said highlandman. And as this deponent perceived my lord passing to the Inch, and not to the *Shoe-gate*, he sent home his steel bonnet, and threw his gauntlet in the pantry, and thereafter followed the earl to the Inch, where he saw the said earl with his majesty, the duke and the Earl of Mar, and came in all together to the earl's house. The Master of Ruthven asked at this deponer, where the key of the gallery chamber was ? who answered, that he handled not that key since the earl came to Scotland. Then the master bid this deponent

speaking to Mr William Rynd to give to him the said key. The master passing up the gallery, Mr William Rynd followed him and gave to him the said key. And thereafter, immediately after his majesty's sitting down to his dinner, Mr Thomas Cranstoun came to this deponent, and bade him go to the Earl of Gowrie, which he did. And the earl spoke to him secretly in the outer chamber where the king dined, and bade him pass to the gallery to his brother : so he passed up, and the earl followed him ; and they being all three together in the gallery chamber (whereof he had the key from Mr William Rynd) the earl said to deponent, tarry still with my brother and do anything he bids you. Then deponent came to the master, and asked what will you do with me, sir ? Then the master said to my lord let Andrew Henderson go into the closet of the chamber and I will lock him in, and take the key with me. Deponent remained there alone half an hour or thereby, having his secret, plate sleeves, sword and whinger with him, and wanting his steel bonnet. And all this time deponent feared some evil to be done, that he kneeled and prayed to God ; and about the end of this half hour Mr Alexander opens the door of the room, and entered first within the same, having the king's majesty by the arm, and puts his hat upon his head, draws forth deponent's whinger, and says to the king, having the drawn whinger in his hand, " sir, you must be my prisoner—remember on my father's death." And as he held the whinger to his majesty's breast, deponent drew it out of his hand ; and when the king attempted to speak, the master said " hold your tongue, sir, or by Christ ye shall die." Then his majesty said to Ruthven, " ye and I were very great together, and as touching your father's death, man, I was but a minor, and my council might have done anything they pleased ; and farther, man, though ye bereave me of life ye will not be King of Scotland, for I have both sons and daughters, and there are men in this town and friends that will not leave it unrevenged." Then Ruthven answered, swearing a great oath, that it was neither his life nor his blood that he craved ; and the king said, what then though ye take off your hat, and then he took off his hat. The king said, " what is it ye crave, man, if ye crave not my life ?" Who answered, " sir, it is but a promise." The king asked " what promise ?" Ruthven answered, " my brother will tell you." The king said " fetch hither thy brother ;" and syne he said to the king, " sir, you will not cry, nor open the window till I come again," which the king promised not to do. Then Ruthven past forth and locked the door, and went not from it as he believes. In

the meantime his majesty entered into discourse with deponent, and said "how came you in here man?" and deponent answered, "as God lives I am shut up here like a dog." His majesty asked, "will my lord of Gowrie do me any evil, man?" Deponent answered, "I vow to God I shall die first;" and then his majesty bade deponent open the window, and he opened the window that looked to the Spy Tower; and the king said, "fy, the wrong window man;" and deponent past to the other window, nearest to his majesty, to open it, but before he got there Ruthven opened the door and came in, and said to the king, "by God, there is no remedy;" and then he sprang to the king and got him by both hands, having an garter in his hands. Then the king answered, "I am a free prince, man, and will not be bound." So his majesty cast loose his left hand from Ruthven, and at the same time deponent draws away the garter from Ruthven, his majesty getting free from him, but following his majesty, and with his left hand round his neck, put his right hand in his majesty's mouth: so his majesty wrestling to be quit of him, deponent puts his hand out of his majesty's mouth. And thereafter deponent did put his hand over his majesty's shoulder, and pulled up the broad of the window, whereunto Ruthven had thrust his majesty's head and shoulders, and with the force of the drawing up of the window, presses his majesty body about, his right side to the window, at which time his majesty's cries out "Treason, treason." So the master said to deponent, "is there no help with thee? Wo worth thee, villian, we will all die." So twining his hand on the guard of his sword; and immediately his majesty put his hand on the master's hands, and stayed him from drawing of his sword; and they being both grasped together, came out of the cabinet to the chamber, and opened the door thereof to escape himself, and let his majesty's servants in; and as soon as he opened the door, John Ramsay came in, with a hawk on his hand, and passed to his majesty, and laid about him, and drew his whinger; and as he saw him brandishing his whinger, deponent went out at the door, and passed down the turnpike. As deponent went through the close, and came to the foregate, he saw the Earl of Gowrie, accompanied by sundry persons, of whom he remembers none; but remembers well that the earl had on deponent's head piece, and two drawn swords in his hands; and immediately thereafter deponent passed to his own lodging, where he remained while the king passed into the town; and then deponent passed to the bridge, and walked up and down for the space of an hour, and did not return to the earl's lodging; and at the time of his entry

to his house that night, deponent's wife enquired at him what trouble was within the place? to whom he answered, if I had not been there the king would have been twice sticked this night; but woes me for the thing that has fallen out. And deponent being asked by John Moncrieff, after his return from Falkland, where have you been with your boots on? answered, that he had been two or three miles beyond Earn, but durst not tell him the truth, as he had been charged by the Earl of Gowrie to tell nobody. Deponent farther declares, that when he saw the Earl of Gowrie standing with the drawn swords before the gate, he spoke not to him, neither yet the Earl to him, but passed to his own house.

(Sic Subscribitur)

ANDREW HENDERSON.

Sir Thomas Erskine, of the age of 36 years, sworn, depones, that immediately after he heard his majesty cry from the window, "Fy, help, I am betrayed, they are murdering me!" he ran with diligence to help him; and before his entry, seeing the Earl of Gowrie, deponent and his brother seized him by the neck, and said to him "Traitor, this is thy deed." When the earl answered, "what is the matter—I ken nothing." Immediately the earl's servants released him from deponent and his brother. He then entered within the close, and met Sir Hugh Herries, who demanded what the matter meant, and in the meantime he heard Sir John Ramsay crying out at the turnpike head, "fy, Sir Thomas, come up to the head of the turnpike." He had only proceeded up five steps when he met Mr Alexander Ruthven, blooded in two parts of his body, in his face and neck; and immediately deponent cries to Sir Hugh Herries, and others that were with him, 'fy, this is the traitor, strike him!' and immediately he was stricken by them and fell; and as he was falling he turned round his face and cried "alas! I had not the blame of it;" deponent being standing above him on the turnpike. Thereafter deponent passed to the head of the turnpike, and entered within the chamber at the head of the gallery, where the king and Sir John Ramsay were there alone present; and at the first meeting he said to his majesty "I thought that your majesty would have entrusted more to me, nor to have commanded me to have waited your majesty at the door. if ye thought it not meet to have taken me with you." Whereupon his majesty answered to deponent, "alas! the traitor deceived me in that as he did in the rest. for I commanded him expressly to bring you to me, which he promised to do, and returned back, as I thought to fetch you, but he did no-

thing but shut the door." Shortly thereafter, Sir Hugh Herris followed the deponent into the chamber, and George Wilson, servant to James Erskine; and immediately Mr Thomas Cranstoun, with his sword drawn, followed by the Earl of Gowrie, with a drawn sword in each hand and helmet on his head, entered into the chamber, and struck at deponent and his colleagues for some time, which they defended and struck again; and that deponent was hurt in the right hand by Cranstonu, and deponent heard Earl Gowrie speak some words at his entry, which he did not understand. At last Sir John Ramsay gave the Earl of Gowrie an death stroke, and then the Earl leaned him on his sword, and he saw a man hold him up whom he knew not; and so soon as the Earl fell to the ground, Cranstoun and those that were with him departed and passed down the turnpike; and deponent remembers that at that time there were more persons in the chamber with the Earl of Gowrie besides Cranstoun, but knew none of them, except he believes that an black man that was there in company within the chamber was Hugh Moncrieff; but deponent knows not well whether or not it was Moncrieff.

(Sic Subscribitur)

THOMAS ERSKINE.

Sir John Ramsay, of the age of 23 years, sworn, depones, that immediately after he had dined in the Earl of Gowrie's house, he took his majesty's hawk from John Murray, to allow him to dine also; and missing his majesty, and meeting the Laird of Pittencrieff in the hall, and asking him where his majesty was, the Laird first conveyed the deponent to the chamber where the king had dined, thereafter to the garden, hoping that his majesty had been there, and finding him not there he conveyed deponent to a gallery, where he never was before, and having remained there for some time beholding the gallery, they both came down to the close, where they met with Mr Thomas Cranstoun in the midst of the close, who said to them that his majesty was away up the Inch on horseback, whereupon deponent and Pittencrieff parted, and he passed forth of the gate to the stable for his horse, and being standing at the stable door, he heard his majesty cry, knew his highness's voice, but understood not what he spoke; whereupon he came immediately within the close, and finding a turnpike door open, he enters within the same, and runs up the turnpike, till he comes to the door on the head thereof, and hearing a struggling and din of men's feet, he ran with his hail force at the door at the turnpike head, which enters to the chamber at the end of the gallery, he having the

hawk on his hand, and having forced open the door he saw his majesty and Mr Alexander Ruthven in others arms, striving and wrestling together, his majesty having Mr Alexander's head under his arm, and Mr Alexander being almost on his knees, had his hand upon his majesty's face and mouth; and his majesty seeing the deponent cried — Fie! strike him laigh, because he has a pyne doublet upon him. Whereupon the deponent cast the hawk from him, and drew his whinger, wherewith he struck the said Mr Alexander, and immediately after he was struck, his majesty shot him down the stair by which this deponent had entered; thereafter this deponent went to a window, and looking forth thereat, saw Sir Thomas Erskine, when the deponent cried, Sir Thomas, come up this turnpike to the very top. In the meantime, his majesty did place his foot upon the hawk-leash, and held her a long time, until this deponent came and took her up again, at which time Sir Thomas Erskine entered. And further says, that when the deponent first entered the chamber, he saw a man standing behind his majesty's back, but he did not know who he was, neither did he remember what sort of apparel he had on, but after this deponent had struck Mr Alexander, he saw that man no more.

(Sic Subscribitur)

Sir JOHN RAMSAY.

I, Andrew Roy, one of the bailies of the burgh of Perth, by these presents testifies upon my conscience, and in the sight of God, as I shall answer to him in the great day; That upon the fifth day of August, one thousand and six hundred years, I being in the late Earl of Gowrie's lodging, when his majesty was there, saw his majesty, after his dinner, accompanied by the Master of Gowrie, rise from the table, and go forth of the chamber where he had dined, but to what place I know not, being beholding the late Earl of Gowrie's entertainment of the noblemen, in drinking his majesty's health to them, which his majesty, before rising from the table, had commanded him to do. After this, the lords, viz., my lord duke, my Lord of Mar, my Lord Lindores, and my Lord of Inchechaffrey, with sundry of his majesty's gentlemen and servants, accompanied by the Earl of Gowrie in person: and shortly after dinner had missed his majesty, and enquired where he would be; they went to the front gate, and asked the porter if he saw the king go forth at the front gate: and heard the porter answer, that his majesty was not gone forth that way. Also that the Earl of Gowrie said to the porter, ye lie, knave, he is forth; and the porter replied, that he should give his head, in case his ma-

jeasty was forth. Yet upon the Earl of Gowrie's assurance, that his majesty was gone to the Inch, the lords issued out in haste at the front gate, and asking where the king was. I saw some person open the long-front window in the north side of the turret, upon the Highgate; but who opened it I know not. And farther, saw clearly his majesty put forth his head and arm at the foresaid window, and heard his majesty cry loudly, fy, treason! treason! and murder! help, Earl of Mar! Whereupon, I being very much surprised, and wonderfully astonished, at the cruel and terrible sight, and pitiful and woful cry, I not knowing what the matter meant, but perceiving his majesty in extreme and great danger, ran with all possible diligence through the streets, crying loudly, fy, treason, treason against the king! For God's sake, all honest men, haste and relieve the king; and commanded to ring the common bell, that all men might come in haste to his majesty's relief; and then I returned with all possible diligence, with a great number of the people with me, and came before the foresaid turret and window, where I saw his majesty first cry out; and then I cried, how is the king? But my lord duke, and the Lord of Mar answered, the king is well, (praise be to God). Then I cried again up to his majesty, to shew his majesty, that the bailies and township were then come in all haste, to supply and relieve his majesty; and therefore besought his majesty to command what was his majesty's will, and best to be done. And then his majesty beckoned forth his hand to me and to the people, commanding me to cause the people retire to their lodgings. Which commandment I immediately obeyed, and commanded all manner of men, to retire themselves to their lodgings; and likewise past to the market cross, and, by open proclamation, commanded in his highness's name, that all men should retire to their lodgings, under the pain of treason who obeyed immediately after my charge. And this I testify to be of verity, by the faith and truth of my body, so far as I justly remember. In witness of which I have subscribed these presents with my hand the thirteenth day of October, one thousand and six hundred years, before these witnesses, Mr Patrick Galloway, minister to his majesty, James Drummond of Letchel, Oliver Young, Constantine Mellis, Thomas Johnstone, bailies, Henry Elder, clerk; Robert Anderson, Andrew Mowat and William Jack, burgesses of Perth.

(Signed)

ANDREW ROY, Bailie.

Patrick Galloway, Witness, &c. &c.

Robert Christie, porter to the late John Earl of Gowrie, of the age thirty years, depones, that he was porter to the Earl of Gowrie, the fifth day of August libelled : and also for the space of five weeks before. And shortly after the dinner, this deponent saw my lord duke, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Gowrie, come to the close ; and my lord duke asked at the deponent, if his majesty went out by the close ? the deponent answered, that he had not gone out. Then the Lord of Mar said, Billy, tell me the verity, if his majesty be out or not ? and he answered, in truth, he is not out. The Earl of Gowrie looking with an angry countenance, said, thou lied, he is gone at the back-gate, and through the Inch. Then the deponent answered, that cannot be, my lord, for I have the key of the back-gate, and of all the gates of the place. Thereafter, the deponent heard and saw his majesty looking out of the window of the round, and crying, treason ! treason ! fy, help, my Lord of Mar ! and immediately, my lord duke, the Earl of Mar, and others, ran up the stair of the turnpike to the gallery : and thereafter, the Lord of Gowrie came from the High Street, within the close, having a steel bonnet on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand, accompanied with Alexander and Hary Ruthvens, Patrick Eviot, Hugh Moncrieff, and Mr Thomas Cranstoun ; all having drawn swords in their hands, and passed altogether with my lord up the old turnpike ; but what was done within the house and place thereafter, knows not but by report : neither saw he any joist brought to the place, by any of the town. And knows no more of the matter.

(Signed)

ROBERT CHRISTIE.

A number of other persons gave evidence ; but as it was only corroborative of that already given, we have thought proper to leave it out, as not being essential to a proper understanding of the conspiracy, and the forming a conclusion on the subject. But the most important documents connected with this extraordinary transaction, yet remain to be submitted to the reader. We refer to the letters of Logan of Restalrig.

Eight years had passed away since the "Gowrie conspiracy" had taken place, and the public had ceased to interest themselves about it, when the subject was again forced upon their attention through the disclosures of George Sprot, notary in Eyemouth. Sprot, it would appear, had told an acquaintance that the late Robert Logan of Restalrig was an accomplice with the Earl of Gowrie in the plot against the king. This person communicated the intelligence he had received

from Sprot to the Earl of Dunbar, then entrusted with the management of affairs in Scotland, who laid it before the crown lawyer ; and the result was the apprehension and committal of Sprot, as "art and part of the said most heinous, detestable, and treasonable conspiracy." When taken before the privy council, Sprot stated, that about the beginning of July, 1600, he was aware that several letters and messages had passed between the Earl of Gowrie and the Laird of Restalrig—when at Fastcastle, he saw and read the beginning of a letter written by Logan's own hand, and addressed to the Earl of Gowrie, which was sent with laird Bower, who returned within five days with a letter from Gowrie. Bower stayed all night with Restalrig at Gunsgreen ;* the latter left the next morning for Lothian. Sprot further deponed, that he saw and heard Restalrig read the letter which Bower brought from Gowrie, and their conversation concerning it. He heard Bower also say, "Sir, if ye think to make any commodity by this dealing, lay your hand to your heart ;" and Restalrig answered, "that he would do as he thought best ; and that though he should sell all his land he would stand by the Earl of Gowrie, for that matter would give him greater contentment than if he had the whole kingdom ; and rather than not fulfil his promise to the Earl of Gowrie, he would spend all he had in the world, and hazard his life with his lordship." Bower answered, "You may do as you please, sir ; but it is my counsel that you should not be so sudden in that other matter. But, on the condition of getting Dirlton, I should like very well of it." "I am at my wits end," replied Restalrig. Sprot further deponed, that a short time after, he entered into conversation with Bower, and asked, "What was doing between Restalrig and the Earl of Gowrie ?" and Bower answered, "That he believed that the laird should get Dirlton without either gold or silver ; but feared it should be as dear to him." And Sprot enquiring, "how that could be ?" Bower said, "They had another pie than the selling of the land ;" but prayed Sprot for God's sake, that he would let be, and not trouble himself with the laird's business ; for he feared within a few days the laird would be landless or lifeless. Sprot affirmed as he would answer upon the salvation and condemnation of his soul, that the deposition he had made was true ; and that all the former points and circumstances contained in this his deposition, with the deposition made by him on the 5th of July last, and the whole remnant depositions made

* A house of Restalrig's

by him since that day, are true which he will take upon his conscience, as he hoped to be saved of God, and he would seal the same with his blood. And further, being demanded where the above letter, written by Restalrig to the Earl of Gowrie, is now, deponed, "that he quietly abstracted it from Bower in looking over and reading his letters, which he had in keeping of Restalrig; and that he left it in his chest among his writings when he was taken away, and that it is closed and folded within a piece of paper."

The above deposition was made on the 10th of August, 1608, in presence of the privy council, and is authenticated by the Earls of Dunbar and Lothian, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Scone, Mr Patrick Galloway, &c. Sprot was again examined the following day, when, "with many tears," he affirmed the truth of his deposition. On the 12th his trial took place, when the jury unanimously "found, pronounced, and declared the said George Sprot, according to his own confession, judicially made in their presence and audience, to be guilty, culpable, and convicted art and part of the said most heinous, detestable, and treasonable conspiracy." Sprot was sentenced to be hanged; and on the afternoon of the same day, he was brought to the scaffold, where, before being thrown over, he ratified his former depositions as to his knowledge and concealing of Restalrig's guiltiness of Gowrie's treason, for which he humbly craved the forgiveness of God and his majesty. He lamented in bitter terms his keeping company with Restalrig and Laird Bower, who were without religion and the fear of God, and had brought him from one sin to another till he committed that for "which most justly, worthily, and willingly, he was to render his life." Before ascending the ladder, he offered up a most fervent prayer; and at the top of it he asked liberty to sing the sixth psalm, which being granted, "the same was taken up and sung by himself," accompanied by the multitude, the most of whom were in tears. After the psalm was ended, he repeated his former deposition, "and with that recommending his soul to God, he was cast over, and so ended his mortal life."

Archbishop Spottiswood, who was present at Sprot's execution, in his *History of the Church of Scotland* says that "when Sprot was to be thrown off the ladder, he promised to give the beholders a sign for confirming them in the truth of what he had spoken, which also he performed, by clapping his hands three several times after he was cast off by the executioner."

On search being made among Sport's papers, five letters were discovered relative to a projected conspiracy. Three of them were addressed to a person of rank and consequence, but whose name is still a mystery; one to Laird Bower, a follower of Logan's, and who acted as messenger between Restalrig and the Earl of Gowrie; and another to the Earl of Gowrie. Logan, the writer of the letters, was a person of a good house, and true to his friends, according to the principles of that border code under which he had been bred. Yet he was unprincipled, reckless, and of a profligate disposition, having run through a large estate, in every kind of dissipation and excess, a mocker of religion, and deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties. Logan seems to have been known to Sir Rober Cecil, for the latter making some enquiries about him in 1599, received from Lord Willoughby, the then governor of Berwick, the following character of him:—"There is such a Laird of Restalrig, as you write of, a main loose man, a great favourer of thieves reputed, yet a man of a good clan, as they here term it, and a good fellow." Bower appears to have been a more desperate character than his brother conspirator, Logan. He had received his education from David Hume, of Mandaston, who was generally known by the cognomen of "Davis the Devil;" and in this satanic school had become a more debauched and daring ruffian than his master, who described him, in a letter to the Earl of Gowrie, as "a worthy fellow, who would not spare to ride to *hell's yett* to pleasure him."

As to the authenticity of the letters there cannot, we conceive, be the least doubt. They were produced at the trial of Logan, and sworn to by a number of respectable witnesses as being in his hand writing; and on that occasion the estates which belonged to him—he himself having died in 1606—were escheated to the king, his name, memory, and dignity extinguished and abolished. The original letters are still preserved in the General Register House, among the warrants of parliament, and other national records.

It may be necessary before submitting to the reader these productions, and the evidence attesting their genuineness, also to mention that Logan's letter to the Earl of Gowrie was an answer to one received from the latter. Unfortunately, Gowrie's letter is not now in existence, but is said to have been to the following effect:—

"GOOD LAIRD OF RESTALRIG,

"You understand what conditions should have been between us of before; indeed, I purposed to have come by your house,

but understanding of your absence in Lothian, I came not. Always I wish you either yourself to come west, or else to send some sure messenger, who may confer with me anent the purpose you know. But rather would I wish yourself to come, not only for that errand, but for some other thing I have to advise with you.

(1.) LETTER, *Robert Logan of Restalrig to . . .*

“RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

“My duty with service remembered. Please you understand, my Lord of Go. and some others, his lordship's friends and well-wishers, who tender his lordship's better preferment, are upon the resolution you know, for the revenge of that cause; and his lordship has written to me anent that purpose; whereto I will accord, in case you will stand to and bear a part: and before ye resolve, meet me and Mr A. R. [Alexander Ruthven] in the Canongate on Tuesday the next week; and be as wary as ye can. Indeed, M. A. R. spoke with me four or five days since; and I have promised his lordship an answer within ten days at farthest.

“As for the purpose, how M. A. R. [Mr Alexander Ruthven] and I have set down the course, it will be a very easy done turn, and not far different from that form, with the like stratagem, whereof we had conference in Cap. h. But in case you and M. A. R. meet, because he is somewhat flighty, for God's sake be very wary with his reckless *toys of Padua*; for he told me one of the strangest tales of a nobleman of Padua that ever I heard in my life, resembling the like purpose. I pray you, sir, think nothing, although this bearer understand of it; for he is the special secretary of my life; his name is Laird Bower; and was old Manderston's man for dead and life, and even so now for me. And for my own part, he shall know all that I do in this world, so long as ever we live together; for I make him my household man: he is well worthy of credit; and I recommend him to you. Always to our purpose, I think it best for our plot that we meet all at my house of Fastcastle; for I have concluded with M. A. R. how I think it shall be meetest to be conveyed quietest in a boat by sea; at which time, upon sure advertisement, I shall have the place very quiet and well provided. And as I receive your answer, I will post this bearer to my lord. And therefore I pray you, as you love your own life, as it is not a matter of mummary, be circumspect in all things, and take no fear, but all shall be well. I have no will that either my brother, or yet, Mr. W. R. my lord's old pedagogue, know any thing of the

matter, till all be done, that we would have done ; and then I care not who gets wit, that loves us. When ye have read, send this my letter back again, with the bearer ; that I may see it burnt myself ; for so is the fashion, in such errands : and if you please, write your answer, on the back hereof : in case ye will take my word, for the credit of the bearer, and use all expedition ; for the turn would not be long delayed. Ye know the king's hunting will be shortly ; and then shall be best time, as Mr Alexander has assured me, that my lord has resolved to enterprise that matter : looking for your answer, commits you to Christ's holy protection.

Your's to utter power ready,

RESTALRIG.

From Fastcastle, the 18th day of July, 1600.

(2.) LETTER, Robert Logan of Restalrig to Laird Bower.

LAIRD BOWER,

I pray you haste you fast to me about the errand I told you, and we shall confer at length of all things. I have received a new letter from my lord of Go., concerning the purpose that M. A. his lordship's brother, spake to me before ; and I perceive I may have advantage of Dirlton in case his other matter take effect, as we hope it shall. Always, I beseech you, be at me to-morrow evening ; for I have assured his lordship's servant that I shall send you over the water within three days, with a full resolution of all my will touching all purposes. As I shall indeed recommend you and your trustiness to his lordship, as ye shall find an honest recompense for your pains in the end. I care not for all the land I have in this kingdom, in case I get a hold at Dirlton ; for I esteem it the pleasantest dwelling in Scotland. For God's sake keep all things very secret, that my lord, my brother, get no knowledge of our purposes ; for I would rather be buried alive. And so looking for you, I rest till meeting.

RESTALRIG.

From the Canongate the 18th day of July.

I am very ill at ease, and therefore speed you hither."

(3.) LETTER, Restalrig to . . .

"RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

"All my hearty duty with humble service remembered. Since I have taken on hand to enterprise with my Lord of

Go. [Lord of Gowrie,] your special and only best beloved, as we have set down the plot already, I will request you that ye be very circum-spect and wise, that no man get an advantage of us. I doubt but ye know the peril to be both life, land, and honour, in case the matter be not wisely used. And, for my own part, I shall have a special respect to my promise that I have made to his Lo. and M. A. his Lo. brother, although the scaffold were set up. If I cannot get to Falkland the first night, I shall be timely in St Johnstoun on the morrow. Indeed, I expected my lord himself, or else M. A. his Lo. brother, at my house of Fastcastle, as I wrote them both. Always I repose on your advertisement of the precise day with credit to the bearer; for although he be but a silly, old, squinting carle, I will answer for him that he shall be very true.

"I pray you, sir, read, and either burn or send again with the bearer; for I dare hazard my life, and all I have else in the world, on his message, I have such proof of his constant truth. So commits you to Christ's holy protection."

RESTALRIG."

From the Canongate, the 27th day of July.

(4.) LETTER, Robert Logan of Restalrig to the Earl of Gowrie.

"MY LORD,

"My most humble duty, &c. At the receipt of your Lo. letter I am so comforted, especially at your Lo. purpose communicated to me therein, that I can neither utter my joy, nor find myself able how to encounter your Lo. with due thanks. Indeed, my lord, at my being last in the town, M. A., your Lo. brother, imparted somewhat of your lordship's intention anent that matter unto me; and if I had not been busied about some turns of my own, I thought to have come over to St Johnstoun, and spoken with your Lo. Yet always, my Lo., I beseech your Lo., both for the safety of your honour, credit, and more than that, your life, my life, and the lives of many others, who may, perhaps, innocently smart for that turn afterwards, in case it be revealed by any; and likewise, the utter wrecking of our lands and houses, and extirpating of our names; look that we be all as sure as your Lo.; and I myself shall be for my own part; and then I doubt not, but, with God's grace, we shall bring our matter to an end, which shall bring contentment to us all that ever wished for the revenge of the Machiavelian massacring of our dearest friends.

"I doubt not but M. A. your Lo. brother, has informed your Lo. what course I had laid down to bring all your Lo. associates to my house of Fastcastle by sea, where I should have all materials in readiness for their safe receiving a-land, and into my house, making as it were, but a matter of pastime in a boat on the sea, in this fine summer tide; and no other strangers to haunt my house until we had concluded on the laying of our plot, which is already devised by Mr Alexander and me. And I would wish that your lordship would either come or send M. A. to me; and thereafter I should meet your Lo. in Leith, or quietly in Restalrig, where we should have prepared a fine *hattit kit*,* with sugar confits and wine, and thereafter confer on matters; and the sooner we brought our purpose to pass it were the better, before harvest. Let not M. W. R. [Mr William Rynd,] your old pedagogue, know of your coming; but rather would I, if I dare be so bold to entreat your Lo. once to come and see my own house, where I have kept my Lo. Bo. [Lord Bothwell] in his greatest extremities, say the K. and his council what they would. And in case God grant us a happy success in this errand, I hope both to have your Lo. and his Lo. with many others of your lovers and his, at a good dinner before I die. Always, I hope, that the king's buck-hunting at Falkland this year shall prepare some dainty cheer for us against that dinner the next year. *Hoc jocose*, to animate your Lo. at this time; but afterwards we shall have better occasion to make merry.

"I protest, my Lo., before God, I wish nothing with a better heart, than to achieve to that which your Lo. would fain attain unto: and my continual prayer shall tend to that effect; and with the large spending of my land, goods, yea, the hazard of my life shall not affright me from that; although the scaffold were already set up, before I should falsify my promise to your Lo., and persuade your Lo. thereof. I trow your Lo. has a proof of my constancy ere now.

"But, my Lo., whereas your Lo. desires, in my letter, that I crave my Lo., my brother's mind anent this matter; I utterly dissent from that, that he should ever be a councillor thereto: for, in good faith, he

* Coagulated milk; prepared, by milking from the cow upon butter milk, kept till it is pretty sour, so sharply, as to form a sort of froth. The mess is made in a particular kind of wooden *bicker* or *kiss*, having a pin or plug near the bottom, by which the *whig* or whey is allowed to escape, after having stood for several hours. It is also called "*sour cogue*," and "*Corstorphine cream*;" and, if properly made, is a very palatable dish, eaten with sugar and cream; though some prefer in its sour state, for when fresh it has a very agreeable acidity.

will never help his friend, nor harm his foe. Your Lo. may confide more in this old man, the bearer hereof, my man Laird Bower, nor in my brother; for I trust my life, and all I have else, in his hands; and I trow he would not spare to ride to hell's yett to pleasure me; and he is not beguiled of my part to him. Always, my Lo., when your Lo. has read my letter, deliver it to the bearer again, that I may see it burnt with my ain een, as I have sent your Lo. letter to your Lo. again, for so is the fashion, I grant. And I pray your Lo., rest fully persuaded of me, and of all that I have promised; for I am resolved, although I were to die to-morrow, I must entreat your Lo. to hasten Bower, and give him strait direction, on pain of his life, that he take never a wink of sleep until he see me again, or else he will utterly undo us. I have already sent another letter to the gentleman your Lo. knows, as the bearer will inform your Lo. of his answer and forwardness with your Lo.; and I shall show your Lo. farther, at meeting, when and where your Lo. shall think meetest. To which time, and ever, commits your Lo. to the protection of Almighty God.

Your lordship's own sworn and bound man, to obey and serve with sincere and ever ready service, to his utter power, to his life's end.

RESTALRIG."

From Gunnsgrreen, the 29th of July, 1600.

"P.S.—Prays your lordship hold me excused for my unseemly letter; which is not so well written, as need were; for I durst not let any writers know of it; but took two sundry idle days, to do it myself. I will never forget the good sport that Mr Alexander, your lordship's brother, told me of a nobleman of Padua. It comes so oft to my memory; and indeed it is in point to this purpose we have in hand.

(5.) LETTER, *Robert Logan of Restalrig to . . .*

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"My hearty duty remembered, ye know, I told you at our last meeting in the Canongate, that Mr Alexander, my Lord of Gowrie's brother, had spoken with me anent the matter of our conclusion, and for my own part I shall not be hindmost. And sinsyne, I got a letter from his lordship's self, for that same purpose, and upon the receipt thereof, understanding his lordship's frankness and forwardness in it; God knows, if my heart was not lifted ten stages. I posted this same bearer to his lordship, to whom you may concredit all your heart in that, as well as I: for, and it were in my very soul, I durst make him messenger thereof, I have such experience of his truth

in many other things. He is a silly, old, glyde carle, but wonderous honest; and as he has reported to me, his lordship's own answer, I think all matters shall be concluded at my house of Fastcastle; for I, and Mr Alexander Ruthven, concluded, that ye should come with him and his lordship, and only another man with you, being but only four in company into one of the great fishing boats, by sea to my house, where ye shall land all safely, as on Leith shore; and the house against your lordship's coming to be quiet; and when you are about half a mile from shore, as it were passing by the house, to cause set forth a signal. But for God's sake let neither any knowledge come to my lord my brother's ears, nor yet to Mr W. R. my lord's old pedagogue; for my brother is not to be trusted, and dare not enterprise for fear, and the other will dissuade us from our purpose with reasons of religion, which I can never abide. I think, there is none of a noble heart, or carries a stomach worth a penny, but they would be content, and glad, to see any contented revenge of Grey Steil's* death; and the sooner the better his lordship be quick; and bid Mr Alexander remember on the sport he told me of Padua: for I think with myself, that the cogitation on that, should stimulate your lordship. And, for God's cause, use all your courses *cum discretione*. Fail not, sir, to send back this letter; for Mr Alexander learned me that fashion, that I may see it destroyed myself. So, till your coming, ever commits you heartily to Christ's holy protection."

From Gun's-Green, the last day of July, 1600.

The Subscription is torn from this last Letter.

The following is the deposition of the witnesses.

Mr Alexander Watson, minister at Coldingham, of the age of fifty years, married, depones, The five missive letters subscribed by the Laird of Restalrig, and produced in process by the Lord Advocate, for proving of the reasons of treason pursued against Robert Logan, son and apparent heir to Robert Logan of Restalrig, being shewn to this deponent, and he having at length sighted and considered the same, depones, That he takes upon his conscience, that he verily believes, that the said five missive letters, and every one of them, are verily and truly written by the said late Robert Logan of Restalrig, with his own hand; and proves this of some of his knowledge, that not only

* William, Earl of Gowrie, who was beheaded May 28, 1584, for his treasonable part in the Raid of Rnithven. He was known among his contemporaries by the name of "Grey Steil," a hero of a popular romance.

he thinks, that the character of every letter resembles perfectly the said late Robert Logan's hand-writ every way ; but also agrees with his fashion of spelling, which he has perfectly remembered in every one of the said missive letters, in these points following :—First, that he never used to write an *z* in the beginning of any word, such as *zou*, *zor's*, *zeld*, *zea*, and such like ; but always wrote *y* instead of the said *z*. That he wrote all words beginning with *w*, with a single *v* ; and when that letter *v* fell to be in the midst or end, he wrote a double *w*. That when he wrote *quhan*, *quhair*, *qlk*, or any such words, which uses to be written and spelled by others, with which he wrote only *qh*, *qhen*, *qhair*. And such like whenever a word began with *con*, he never wrote *con* at length, but wrote with an *7*. Whenever *t* fell to be in the end of a word, he wrote it without a stroke through the *t*, and did the like whenever it fell in any other part of a word. And for farther confirmation of the premises, he produced three letters written every word, and subscribed by the said late Robert Logan of Restalrig, and comparing them with the five other missives produced by the advocate, shew evidently the direct conformity of the same, as well in the character and true resemblance of the hand-writing, as in the spelling and writing of divers writs, syllables, and letters, according to the particulars above specified.

MR ALEXANDER WATSON.

Mr Alexander Smith, minister at Chirneside, of the age of thirty years or thereby, married, depones, That he was well acquainted with the late Laird of Restalrig, by reason he was pedagogue to his children, and has seen very many of his hand writs ; and having seen, read, and at length considered the five missive letters produced by the advocate ; and inquired if he knew the same to be the Laird of Restalrig's proper hand-writ ; Declared upon his great oath, that he certainly believes the said five letters, and every word thereof, to be the Laird of Restalrig's proper hand-write ; because he finds the character thereof to agree every way with the shape of his ordinary writing ; and remarked very particularly the manner of Restalrig's spelling of many words otherwise nor other men commonly use to write and spell, according to the whole particulars remarked of before, by Mr Alexander Watson, the witness immediately preceding ; and, in these points, and in all others, conform to the said Mr Alexander's deposition in all things. *Reddens causam scientiæ*, Because he was perfectly acquainted

with the Laird of Restalrig's hand-writ in his lifetime ; and was pedagogue to his children many years, and in his company.

MR ALEXANDER SMITH.

Sir John Arnot, Provost of Edinburgh, of the age of three-score ten years, or thereby, married, depones, That he was well acquainted with Robert Logan of Restalrig, and with his hand-writ, because he had received divers of his letters himself, and seen many other letters written by him. And the five missive letters produced by the advocate, being shewn to him ; and he having seen and considered the same, remembered that he had seen, read, and perfectly considered the Laird of Restalrig's hand-writ, as the letters written by the deponent at any time, for his own hand-writ. And so takes on his conscience, that the foresaid five missive bills, produced by the advocate, are the proper hand-writ and subscription of the said late Laird of Restalrig, by his judgement. And, for verification thereof, has produced four writs, all written by the said late Laird of Restalrig, and sent to Archibald Johnston, agreeing perfectly in spelling and character, with the said missives.

SIR JOHN ARNOT.

Alexander Cuik, Sheriff-Clerk of Berwick, of the age of fifty years, or thereby, married, depones, That he was well acquainted with the late Laird of Restalrig, and has seen many and sundry of his writs, and received divers of his letters directed to himself ; and being desired to see the five letters produced by the advocate, and to declare whether he knew and esteemed to be all written by the late Laird of Restalrig, *reddens causam scientiæ* ; because not only the character agrees every way with the shape of Restalrig's hand-write ; but also the spelling in many particulars, wherein Restalrig differed from other men's form of writing. And in the particulars thereof, depones conform to the two first witnesses, the ministers of Coldingham and Chirneside.

ALEXANDER CUIK.

William Home in Aytoun-mill, of the age of thirty-three years or thereby, married, depones, That all the five missives above written, being shewn to this deponent, and having at length considered every one of them, takes upon his conscience, that to his knowlege, that

the said five missive letters are all written and subscribed by the late Laird of Restalrig ; for the special reasons contained in the depositions made by Mr Alexander Watson, and Mr Alexander Smith, ministers ; and Alexander Cuik, sheriff-clerk of Berwick ; to whom he is conform in all things.

WILLIAM HOME.

John Horne, notary in Eymouth, of the age of forty-two years, or thereby, *solutus*, depones, The foresaid five missive bills, being at length sighted and considered by this deponent, depones and declares, upon conscience, to his knowledge, all the said five missives are the Laird of Restalrig's proper hand-writing and subscription, for the deposition of William Home.

JOHN HORNE.

Mr William Hogg, minister at Aytoun, of the age of thirty years, or thereby, married, depones, that he knew well the Laird of Restalrig, and has seen his writs, and produced a letter written by Restalrig to the Laird of Aytoun, as written by Restalrig's own hand. And having considered the five writs produced by the advocate, declares, that he thinks them likely to his writs ; and that the same appears to be very like his write, by the conformity of letters and spelling.

MR WILLIAM HOGG.

Having thus given the evidence and other documents relative to the Gowrie Conspiracy, it remains, before leaving the subject, to endeavour in some measure to unravel and explain the melancholy occurrences of the 5th of August. The king's narrative is drawn up in such a way as that it is expected every one who peruses it, will come to the conclusion that Mr Alexander Ruthven really intended to assassinate the king. To produce such an impression, much irrelevant matter is introduced into it. Two things especially are brought prominently forward : first, that the earl was addicted to the study of magic ; and in the next place, the great danger to which his majesty was exposed from the tumultuous conduct of the citizens of Perth. The latter statement has been already satisfactorily disposed of ; it having been shewn that James had nothing to fear from the inhabitants of the " Fair City." And as to Gowrie being skilled in magic, it matters little whether he was so or no, when viewed in connection with a charge of conspiracy against the king ; except James

had endeavoured to prove, which he has not done, that Gowrie, from his profound knowledge of the occult sciences, had used some of his enchantments to procure an undue ascendancy over him, and bend him to his purposes, as he is represented by Wemyss of Bogie, as wishing to do with the adder killed in Strabran. The truth is, in analyzing the account of the conspiracy published by authority, the facts must be separated from the conclusions which the writer wishes to be drawn from it; and we hesitate not to affirm that the facts therein stated, by no means warrant the inference that the design of the Gowries was of that atrocious nature as to become the murderers of their sovereign.

To prove that the Gowries were sorcerers and necromancers, was proving nothing at all. The age was a most superstitious one: the belief in witchcraft and an intercourse with the unseen world, through the agency of fairies and spirits, being almost universal. James himself, notwithstanding his learning and his knowledge of king-craft, was as great a dupe of superstition as the most illiterate old woman in the country. The burning of the poor creatures who professed, or were suspected by their neighbours of holding an intercourse with the devil or the "Ffarye folk," abundantly demonstrates this.

It is to be remarked, also, that towards the close of the sixteenth century the science of chemistry was in its infancy; and those who studied it were placed in the same category as the dabblers in judicial astrology, and the believers in witchcraft.

The partizans of the king have dwelt much on the fact of the Ruthven family being addicted to the scientific pursuits followed in that age. To us it appears that the Ruthven family were in advance of their contemporaries, and being more intellectual and refined in their tastes and pursuits, brought down upon themselves the slander of their less enlightened countrymen, and the envy of the court and its parasites. Keith, in the appendix to his history gives a "discourse of the troubles, &c.," by Patrick Lord Ruthven, grandfather of Gowrie. In it is the following, which has been brought forward to shew the magical propensities of the Ruthvens:—"Then her majesty asked the said Lord Ruthven, what kindness was betwixt Murray and him? "Remember you," said she, "what the Earl of Murray would have me do unto you for giving me the ring?" Ruthven answered, "that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as for that ring, it had no more virtue than another ring, but was a little ring with a pointed diamond in it." "Remember you not," said her majesty, "that you said it had a virtue to keep me from

poisoning?" "Liketh your grace," said he, "I said so much that the ring had that virtue but to take [i. e. only with the view of taking] that evil opinion out of your head of pre-supposition that you conceived that the protestants would have done, &c."

Let it be borne in mind that the king and his attendants were the slayers of the two brothers; and being so, they felt that the real facts of the tragedy did not bear them very well out in visiting them with so much severity. Accordingly, the only resource left to vindicate what they had done, was to exaggerate collateral circumstances, and make a strong appeal to the superstitious prejudices of the nation.

To perceive the force of these remarks, let us glance for a moment at what took place between the king and Alexander Ruthven in the study. After the latter locked the door, we are told that he changed his countenance, put a hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from the other man's girdle, held the point of it to the king's breast, avowing, now that the king behoved to be in his will, and used as he list, swearing many bloody oaths, that if the king cryed one word, or opened a window to look out, that dagger should presently go to his heart, affirming that he was sure that now the king's conscience was burdened for murdering his father. His majesty was taken by surprise at this sudden alteration in the conduct of Alexander Ruthven, he having no other armour on but his hunting horn. The king, however, appears to have quickly plucked up courage: for though standing betwixt two traitors who had conspired against his life, he enters into a solemn conversation with the intended assassin, tells him how horrible it was for him to meddle with his majesty's innocent blood, vindicates himself for the conduct pursued with regard to his father, and appeals to Ruthven, upon his conscience, if he did not deserve well at the hands of all his race, in restoring to his family their lands and dignities, as well as making his sisters maids of honour to the queen. The king also reminded him of the education he had received, and above all, promising that if his life was spared, he never would reveal to any flesh living what was between them at that time, nor bring him to any account for the same. The king produced an impression on Ruthven: for the latter takes off his hat, protests his majesty's life would be safe if he would make no noise, and that he would bring the earl, his brother, to speak with his majesty. After some other conversation, Ruthven goes as if for his brother, locking in the king and the man in armour. He returns in a little, and on entering the room tells the king that he must die, and endeavours to bind his hands with a garter. A struggle

now ensued between the king and Ruthven ; the former said that he was born a free king, and should die a free king ; and when Ruthven seized him by the wrist to bind his hands, he suddenly relieved himself from the gripe of the latter.

Now who does not see, on the showing of the king himself, that his life was in no immediate danger. It was not necessary, surely, before murdering him that his hands should be tied up. Ruthven had sufficient opportunity of despatching the king without having recourse to the clumsy method of first binding him before doing so. The truth is, that we are forced to come to the conclusion, taking all the circumstances into account which transpired in the study, as detailed by the king himself, that it was not the object of the Gowries to murder him. Moreover, we have no hesitation in stating, that James and his partizans gave no sufficient reason for despatching the Earl of Gowrie and Alexander Ruthven in the summary way in which they did. That in doing so, an indelible disgrace attaches to their names ; and on them must ever rest the blame, in the two brothers not being brought to justice, of rendering this extraordinary transaction, mysterious, obscure, and inexplicable.*

* There is no doubt it was mainly owing to the summary vengeance inflicted on the Gowries by the king and his attendants, that Mr Robert Bruce resisted every argument used by James to convince him of the truth of the conspiracy. This is strongly brought out in one of the conferences Bruce had with the king, and is worthy of being preserved :—" You must subscribe my innocence," said the king. " Your own conscience, sir, can do that best," said Mr Robert, " it is very hard for me to do it." " Why is it hard ?" asked the king. " Then," said Mr Robert, " your majesty will not be offended if I speak freely." " No," replied the king. " I was reading," said Mr Robert, " upon Ammandus Polanus touching the slaughter of the magicians whom the king of Babel commanded to be slain. Ammandus dispath the question whether the king did well or not. First he says *animi gratia*, it would appear he did well for he had the plain law of God before him in many places ; yet he concludes against the king that he did not well, for though he had the law, yet he looked not to the law nor had regard to God nor his glory. Therefore, sayeth he, though the magistrate has the sword and may most justly use it, yet if he have nothing but his own quarrel before his eyes, God nor his glory, he is a murderer. Now, sir, I pray, what can I, or any man, say what your majesty had before your eyes, or what quarrel you had." " It is true," says the king, " and therefore I will give you leave to ask me upon the grounds of quarrel." " Then, first, if it please you," said Mr Robert, " had you a purpose to slay my lord ?" " As I shall answer to God," said the king, " I knew not my lord was slain till I saw him in his last agony, and was very sorry, yea prayed in my heart for the same." " What say you then concerning Mr Alexander," said Mr Robert. " I grant," said the king, " I am art and part of Mr Alexander's slaugh-

The conduct of the king and his attendants on this occasion, has led many to take the part of the Gowries; and they have not scrupled openly to charge the former with having come to Perth with the design of murdering the Earl of Gowrie and his brother. It must be admitted that there are a variety of circumstances which seem to favour this view of the case. A number of these may be mentioned :—The opposition which the Earl of Gowrie gave the king in the convention of the estates, in the matter of the taxation proposed by the latter to be levied on the country; the manner, too, in which an opponent was got rid of in that age; the undisguised hostility which was shewn by the king to the Earl of Gowrie, on account of his wealth, rank, and influence; the little value which the king set on human life, as exemplified in the cruelty he inflicted on those who were guilty of what, in the present age, would be esteemed as venial crimes; the low and sordid motive which he says brought him to Perth; the unprepared state for his reception in which the Gowries were found; and, above all, the contradictory nature of the depositions of the witnesses.

Notwithstanding, however, these seemingly favourable presumptions in favour of the Gowries, it must not be forgotten that there is every reason to believe the two brothers were aware of the hostile disposition of the king and a number of the courtiers towards them; and that the exclamation of Sir David Murray, as applied to the earl, had sunk deep into their hearts—"Alas! yonder is an unhappy man; his enemies are but seeking an occasion of his death, and now he has given it." If the Gowries were, in fact we think it indubitably certain that they were, fully alive to the jealous feelings with which the court regarded them, is it at all improbable, under such circumstances, that

ter, for it was in my own defence." "Why brought you not him to justice," said Mr Robert, "seeing that you would have had God before your eyes." "I had neither God nor the devil, man, before my eyes," said the king, "but my own defence." Here the king began to fret. "He took all these points upon his salvation and damnation, and that he was once minded to have spared Mr Alexander, but being moved for the time the motion prevailed." Farther, Mr Robert demanded of the king, "if he had a purpose that day in the morning to slay Mr Alexander." The king answered, "upon his salvation, that day in the morning he loved him as a brother." Mr Robert, by reason of his oaths, thought him innocent of any purpose that day in the morning to slay them. Yet because he confessed he had not God nor justice before his eyes, but was in a heat and mind to do wrong, he could not be innocent before God, and had great cause to repent, and to crave mercy for Christ's sake.

they should concert measures to baffle the designs of their enemies? Neither is it at all unlikely that in maturing their plan these ardent, enthusiastic young men would decide on that which, in the event of being successful, would meet with the general support of the nation. To the king they considered themselves as under no great obligation; for the death of their father would be ever uppermost in their minds. But a regard for their own preservation would dictate to have full security that no attempt would be made upon their lives, or their proper influence in the country circumscribed by the court or any faction, it was not only necessary to get the *ear*, but also gain possession of the person of the king. But while a regard for their self-preservation would lead them thus to act, the more they thought upon the subject they would become the more enamoured of the design. Through it an opening for their rising ambition would present itself; and although the feeling of private revenge may have had little to do in the formation of their plan, yet they would see, in having the king under their controul and exercising the government in his name, that the judgment of God had followed him for the death of their father. The support, too, they might expect to receive in anything they undertook against the king would strongly fortify them in their resolution. Elizabeth had long been annoyed with intrigues carried on by James among her subjects. The Earl of Gowrie had the confidence of the party whom he headed in the convention of estates, namely, the lesser barons and the influential body of the burghs. Neither can it be doubted the moment the Presbyterian party saw the king secure in the possession of the Earl of Gowrie, they would rise to a man and insist on the full re-establishment of the Presbyterian polity, which James for a series of years had been gradually undermining, to prepare the way for Episcopacy. It was not, then, an ill-founded or an irrational supposition for the Earl of Gowrie and his brother to expect assistance from the quarters now pointed out. In our opinion, though the enterprise was somewhat rash and daring, yet there was a likelihood of it succeeding if Andrew Henderson had had the courage to enact the part assigned him in the plot.

The reader will at once perceive from the tendency of the above remarks, that we incline to the view of this matter which charges the Earl of Gowrie and his brother with having conspired to detain the person of the king. Now what amid all the exaggerated statements of the king and his friends, and the acknowledged obscure and contradictory nature of the evidence has led us to adopt this

opinion is the evident authenticity of the letters of Logan of Restalrig.* We conceive that the evidence adduced at the forfeiture of Logan incontestably proves that they are in his own hand-writing; and that if any effect is to be given to human testimony at all, the witnesses must be believed.

"These letters explain themselves," says Mr Tytler; and with his remarks upon them we leave the subject of the Gowrie conspiracy. "Their import cannot be mistaken; their authenticity has never been questioned; they still exist; and although they do not open up all the particulars of the intended attempt, they establish the reality of the Gowrie conspiracy beyond the possibility of a doubt. The first proves that the Master of Ruthven and Logan had set down the course or plot for the preferment of Gowrie and the revenge of his father's death; that the conspirators were to meet at Fastcastle†; and that they had fixed 'the king's hunting' as the most favourable time for their attempt. Logan, it is seen from the same letter, did not think his brother, Lord Home, or Gowrie's old tutor, Mr William Rynd, by any means safe

* We are aware, of course, that the letters have been by many considered as forgeries, and that Sprot was noted for his imitation of the handwriting of others. These statements are, in our opinion, mere gratuitous assertions, unsupported by nothing but traditionary rumour. Several writers have also considered Sprot as unworthy of credit, on account of Archbishop Spottiswood's remark, that the statements made by the former relative to his intercourse with Restalrig "seemed a very fiction and to be a mere invention of the man's own brain." Now, we conceive it is not very difficult to see why the Archbishop disbelieved Sprot: he perceived that the revelations made by the humble notary of Eyemouth gave a different complexion altogether to the affair: that instead of the Gowrie's intending to murder the king, now it was made certain they intended only to detain him for some purpose or another; consequently, that the story of the king was so far falsified, and which he himself had endeavoured to spread far and wide. Being, moreover, a fawning, servile courtier, of course it was not to be expected that he would openly give credit to what an individual such as Sprot might say, when it impeached the veracity of his royal master, and ran counter to what the king wanted the world to believe.

† Fastcastle, the residence or den of Logan, was a single square and massive feudal tower, standing on the brink of a steep and almost perpendicular black rock, which rose to the height of two hundred feet above the German Ocean. From the sea it was completely inaccessible, unless to those who knew the secret of its steps cut in the rock, and could unlock the iron bolts and doors which defended them; and on the land side, the isthmus on which it stood was connected with the main land by so narrow a neck, that any attempt to force its little drawbridge was hopeless. The distance from Gowrie House to Fastcastle, by sea, was about seventy miles; from Fastcastle to the English border, about twenty-five miles.

persons to be entrusted with the secret of the conspiracy. In the second letter to Bower, we have a glance at the rich bribe by which Gowrie had secured the assistance of Logan, the estate of Dirlton; and in the third, his resolution to keep his promise "although the scaffold were set up," with his expectation to have speedy intimation sent him of the precise day when the attempt was to be made, and his presence required at St Johnstoun. Logan's letter to Gowrie is still more minute. It contains the determination to revenge the Machiavelian massacre of their dearest friends; the intended rendezvous of the associates at Fastcastle, who, under the mask of a pleasure party by sea, were to be conveyed into that stronghold; the previous secret conference to be held at Restalrig over their "*hattit kit and wine*;" the good cheer and happy success which the king's buck-hunting was to bring them; the solemn and earnest injunctions of secrecy—life and lands, name and fame, hanging on the issue; the allusion to the strange tale of Padua, so similar to their present purpose, that it seems to have haunted the "consety" or high-wrought imagination of Mr Alexander Ruthven; the necessity of destroying their letters: all this is contained in Logan's letter to Gowrie himself; and in his last letter to the unknown conspirator, we have the direction how the signal is to be given at sea to those who were to be on the look-out from Fastcastle; the exultation and joy at Gowrie's frankness and forwardness; the last consultation appointed to be at Fastcastle; Logan's candid character of himself, as utterly unable to abide all arguments from religion: his exhortations to be speedy, and his anticipation of a glorious revenge for the death of "Grey Steil," the affectionate sobriquet or nickname of the late Earl of Gowrie. All this is so clearly established by the correspondence, and so clearly proves the existence of Gowrie's plot for the surprise of the king, and the meeting of the conspirators at Fastcastle, that he who doubts must be too desperate in his scepticism to be reached by any evidence whatever.

CHAPTER IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING the events narrated in the preceding chapter, James' policy was to be on an amicable footing with the citizens of Perth; and to testify his good will towards them, he addressed the following loving letter "To his trusty friends, the provost, bailies, council, deacons of crafts, and others having vote in the election of magistrates within the burgh of Perth":—

"Rex,

"Trusty friends, we greet you heartily well, having proof and experience of the loyalty, affection, and good service of you the present provost, bailies, and council of our burgh of Perth; we are no wise of mind that ye shall be altered, at the time of your election approaching, and therefore have thought good to will and desire you with such of your neighbours as have a vote in the election of magistrates within our said burgh, to continue you, and every one of you, in your particular offices within the same without alteration or change, whereby we may have a full testimony of your good will, honest duties, and service severally, so we commit you to God. From Brochin the 28th September, 1600.

(Sic Subscritur)

JAMES R."

"Which letter being read," says the town council records, "the said provost, council, and deacons of crafts, all in one vote but variance, obeyed his majesty's letter with all hearty good will, and therefore continues the present provost, bailies, and council for the year to come, and because of the ill parts of Oliver Peebles, and Andrew Henderson, who is registered at the horn and summoned for treason, the counsel by most votes, has elected Andrew Arnot, and Gavin Dalziel, to be in their place for filling up the council."

On the 15th April, 1601, the king visited Perth. The town appears to have made a great effort on the occasion. In Mercer's chronicle is the following account of the manner in which he was received:—"The king's majesty came to Perth, and was made burgess at the market cross. There were eight puncheons of wine set there, and

all drunk out. He received the banquet from the town, and subscribed the guild book with his own hand. JACOBUS REX, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*."

On the 11th September the same year, the convention of the estates, assembled at Perth; the proceedings do not appear to have been either very lengthened or of great importance. The national records mention two acts only as having been passed; one "anent a new coinage of gold and silver," and the other "anent claith making." By the act for the new coinage the gold was to be of "twenty-twa carrit fyne, with two grains of remeid of fynnes alsweil abone as under, at threttie-sax pundis the unce, and to be set forth at sax punds the piece, with twa grains of remeid of wecht upon ilk piece alsweil havie as lycht." The gold coin was to have on one side a sceptre and sword in form of St Andrew's cross, with a thistle on each side, the whole being surmounted by a crown, with the date and the motto—*SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX*, with a small rose on each side; and on the reverse the royal arms within a shield, surmounted by a crown, and the inscription—*JACOBUS D. G. R. SCOTORUM*. The silver pieces were to consist of merks, half-merks, forty-penny and twenty-penny pieces; the devices on the one side to be a thistle with two leaves surmounted by a crown, the date and the inscription—*REGEM JOVA PROTEGIT*, and on the reverse the king's arms, and the words—*JACOBUS SECTUS D. G. R. SCOTORUM*.

A parliament assembled at Perth on the 1st July 1606. Among the numerous enactments passed, we find one in favour of the Burgh of Perth in "consideration of the antiquity of the Burgh of Perth, decay of their bridge, and good service done by them and their predecessors to his majesty and his predecessors." The act goes on to confirm all the privileges possessed by the town, especially those given under the great seal, "of the date of Holyrood-house the 13th November, 1600;" and also gifts to the town the parsonage house and the right of patronage to the vicarage of Perth. There is another in favour of David, Lord Scone, "erecting the Abbey of Scone into a temporal lordship." It may be noticed that this parliament was the last held in Perth, and was known by the name of the "Red Parliament of Perth." A programme of the procession, or "riding," as it was called, at the opening of this parliament is still extant; it is inserted here as affording an illustration of the love our ancestors had for pomp and pageantry, and how great sticklers they were for the precedency of rank.

The riding of the Parliament of Scotland, 1606.

Perth, July 1606.

The Lords of Secret Council, willing that a decent and comely order shall be observed and kept by the estates of this kingdom in the riding of this present parliament, has therefore set down the order following, to be kept by them at this time of parliament, viz :—

That the whole estates shall attend the Commissioner's Grace at his lodging, and convoy him therefrom to the Parliament House in this order :

First the commissioners of boroughs to march foremost, two and two in rank on horseback, with foot mantles.

Next, the abbots and priars two and two in rank.

Thirdly, after them shall ride the temporal barons, or lords of parliament, two and two in rank ; and that every last created shall march together foremost all in their robes.

Fourthly, the bishops and archbishops, two and two in rank, according to their place and dignity.

And immediately, after the earls ranked as said is, and the latest of creating to ride foremost.

And then the honours immediately before the commissioners, and after his grace the marquess. And that the trumpeters, macers, per-sevants, and heralds, with the king at arms, keep their own places and ranks, according to their bygone custom.

And that none of the estates repair to the parliament house until the commissioner's grace be ready ; and that they attend and wait upon him, and convoy him in their ranks and order as written, as they will be answerable upon their obedience ; and ordains publication to be made hereof, by open proclamation at the market cross of Perth, wherefore none may plead ignorance of the same.

Notwithstanding of the act, neither commissioners of burghs nor barons ride for want of furniture by reason of the untimely warning ; but it is true, that one only parliament in Edinburgh the commissioners rode without foot-cloths, siclike notwithstanding. This act is granted to the bishops, and they are in use to have the place of all earls, and rides altogether two and two ; the macers ride on every side of the honours, the heralds and per-sevants before the same, with the trumpeters before them, according to their degrees.

All officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, secretary, are in the parliament-house before the estates come.

The constable and marshall attend, to guard the parliament-house.

The honours are borne by the first in degree, viz., the crown next the commissioner's grace, the sceptre next, and the sword foremost.

The captain of the guard directly behind his grace, leaving place always to the marquess and other noblemen attending his grace that are out of ranks. The master of the horses rides behind his grace, something aside; and after his grace is entered the parliament-house, and set in his chair of state upon the throne, every nobleman takes his place round about, according to his place and rank, &c.*

During the meeting of this parliament, a conflict took place between the adherents of the Earls of Eglinton and Glencairn, on the South Inch. The fighting lasted from six o'clock afternoon till ten at night; many were wounded on both sides, and one of Glencairn's men killed; the town rose in arms, and separated the combatants. It seems the feud between these two families had been of long standing; and after this fray, by the king's command, their disputes were referred to a council of twelve, six being chosen from each side, who finally adjusted the differences between them.

For a number of years we do not find Perth associated with any memorable event. Scotland during this period, through the bigoted obstinacy of James, made but little progress in civilization: the king was bent on introducing his favourite Episcopacy into his native country, and left no means unemployed to effect his purpose. But the Presbyterian clergy, as well as the great body of the people, were as resolute in defending their peculiar views on ecclesiastical polity, as he was determined to force upon them "black prelacy." Hence was kindled the flame of religious controversy, which left the country both unable and unwilling to mind anything else. High church writers pretend to be exceedingly wroth at our Presbyterian ancestors for re-

* In looking over the Town Council Records, we find that the inhabitants of Perth were put to considerable trouble and expense in preparing for, and during the sitting of parliament. There is an entry dated June 20th, 1606, appointing Friday next to be a *weapon-shawing*, and to see what preparations may be had anent the parliament. June 28th, orders were given to pay for the proclaiming of parliament and precept for exchequer accounts, and order to furnish green "claithes," to the parliament. Order prohibiting the *salting of salmon*, more than for their own use in their houses during the meeting of parliament, nomination of persons to be governors and guides of the multitude (during parliament.) Order to provide a ton of wine, the one half to be given to the Earl of Montrose, his majesty's commissioner, and the other to the Earl of Dunbar.

fusing to acknowledge the bishops which James obtruded upon them. They have been very liberal in their abuse, and been pleased to denominate them illiterate and narrow-minded fanatics, who waged war with everything that bore the marks of refinement or a cultivated taste. Judging, however, our countrymen by a test which, in the present day, is admitted by men of every shade of religious opinion, namely, that man is not responsible to his fellow-man for his religious belief, it will at once be seen on whose side lies the blame of originating and keeping up the religious disputes which terminated in civil convulsions nearly half a century later. Who that has the least spark of candour but will say that they are the guilty party who by physical force attempted to change the religious convictions of the nation, and not those who resisted the tyrannical, infatuated, and weak minded monarch. To further his darling object of bringing about a religious uniformity in the two countries, James, after an absence of fourteen years, again visited Scotland, accompanied by a splendid train of English nobility. The citizens of Edinburgh received him with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The most fulsome adulation was heaped upon him, the deputy town clerk complimenting the monarch in the following strain:—

“This is that happy day of our new birth,” exclaimed the enraptured deputy, “ever to be retained in fresh memory, wherein our eyes behold the greatest human felicity our hearts could wish, which is to feed upon the royal countenance of our true phoenix, the bright star of our northern firmament, the ornament of our age, wherein we are refreshed, yea revived, with the heat and beams of our sun—the powerful adamant of our wealth—by whose removal from our hemisphere we are darkened, deep fear and sorrow had possessed our hearts. The very hills and groves, accustomed before to be refreshed with the dew of your majesty’s presence, not putting on their wonted apparel, but with pale looks representing their misery for the departure of their king!” “Receive then, dread sovereign, from your majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects, the magistrates and citizens of your highness’ good town of Edinburgh, such welcome as is due from those who, with thankful hearts, do acknowledge the infinite blessings plentifully flowing to them, from the paradise of your majesty’s unspotted goodness and virtue. Wishing your majesty’s eyes might pierce into their very hearts, there to behold the excessive joy inwardly conceived of

the first messenger of your majesty's princely resolution to visit this your majesty's good town."

After remaining for a few days in Edinburgh, he resumed his progress through the principal counties, and was received wherever he went with the greatest demonstrations of joy; pageants and entertainments were got up in honour of him, and addresses were delivered, clothed in the most classic dress in which their authors were able to put them. In case, however, that there might be a lack of loyalty, or the proper enthusiastic feelings not displayed in the places which the king visited, special instructions were sent to the authorities as to what preparations ought to be made for his reception; even an outline of the subjects to be embraced in the speeches presented to his majesty were not forgotten. As the king intended to visit Perth in his progress, the privy council communicated to the provost and magistrates how the latter might best testify their loyalty to his majesty. As the letters sent to the "provost and bailies of Perth" show how royal visits were managed in the olden time, we present them to the reader.

"After our very hearty commendations, the king's majesty being desirous that in the special boroughs of this kingdom, which his majesty intends, God willing, to visit, the time of his being here such shows of ornament, comeliness, and civility may be seen as may give his majesty contentment, and may make the strangers who are to accompany his majesty perceive and see that this country is not so barren of order and civility as they ignorantly apprehend; his majesty has therefore commanded, that at his first entry into the said boroughs, at the port thereof, the chief and principal inhabitants, in their most comely, civil, and formal order, shall attend his majesty, and that a speech shall be made to his majesty, by some person (not being of the ministers of the town), in name of the whole town, congratulating his majesty's coming to the town, and making his majesty heartily welcome, and that this speech be delivered in sensible, ticht, and good language; as also, that at the principal ports of the town whereat his majesty is to enter, his majesty arms be engraven and set up, both within and without; and seeing his majesty, God willing, intends to visit that town, we have thought meet to acquaint you with his majesty's will and pleasure in these points, to the effect that accordingly you may provide yourselves in time, to give his majesty satisfaction thereinto; and recommending the same to your diligence, care, and performance, as special points highly concerning his ma-

jesty's contentment, and the credit of your town, we commit you to God.

From Edinburgh the 14th day of April, 1617.

(Sic subscribitur,) Your very good friends,
A. L. CHANCELLOR BINNING, and
Mr AY. OLIPHANT."

Written on the back :—

"To our right trusty friends, the provost and bailies of Perth."

"After our very hearty commendations, having written unto you of late anent decorating the ports of your town with his majesty's arms, both within and without, and anent the speech to be made to his majesty at his first entry, we have thought meet of new to put you in remembrance thereof, and to advertise you that his majesty's arms must contain the arms of both kingdoms, according to the impression and print of the great seal, putting the Scottish arms in the first quarter ; and the detail of the arms must be drawn in fair letters of gold. And anent the speech that is to be made to his majesty, you shall inform him whom you are to trust with that matter, that first, in name of the town, he make his majesty welcome, and then, in sensible and good language, he shall set forth his majesty's own praise, by innumerable comforts and blessings which this country hath had, both in kirk and police, under his majesty's most happy government ; and lastly, so far as modesty may permit, he shall speak to the praise of the town, both anent the antiquity thereof, the services done by the same to this crown, and state the willingness of the present inhabitants to their best endeavours to serve his majesty in all and every thing lying in their possibility, without any private respect or consideration, and the constant and firm resolution of the town to continue in all dutiful obedience to his majesty, and his royal progeny and successors in all time coming. This being the substance of the speech, you shall cause it to be delivered, in the best form that may be ; and remitting the same to your own grave consideration, as a point highly importing the credit of your town, we commit you to God.

From Edinburgh, 17th day of April, 1617,

(Sic subscribitur,) Your very good friends,
A. L. CHANCELLOR BINNING.
GEORGE HAY, and
MURRAY BALFOUR, of Burley."

Written on the back :—

"To our right trusty friends the provost and bailies of Perth."

The king came to Perth on Saturday the 5th July, 1617. A speech was delivered by John Stewart, merchant, according to the receipt given by the privy council, filled with the most fulsome flattery, and with which James expressed his great satisfaction and delight. A number of elegant Latin poems were also on this occasion presented to his majesty, by merchants and other gentlemen of Perth.

The presence of the king in his native land, however, instead of promoting peace and concord, was only the means of sowing more thickly the seeds of contention and strife. His journey was a complete failure : the ministers and the nation at large still clung to their Presbyterianism, notwithstanding the external respect with which they received him. James, therefore, in a short time left Scotland in a sullen and discontented mood, sadly mortified at the small success that had attended his endeavours to persuade his Scottish subjects to embrace Episcopacy.

In 1618 was held the General Assembly at Perth, in which were passed what is known by the name of the "Five Articles of Perth." The king had granted his license, authorising the calling of this assembly, on the 10th of July, and on the 3d of August, the arch-bishops, bishops, ministers, and others were summoned to attend, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh. On the 25th of August, the assembly was opened at Perth; Lords Binning, Scone, and Carnegie being commissioners for the king. Among the nobility and gentry who attended as assessors, were the Earl of Lothian, Lords Ochiltree, Boyd Crichton of Sauquhar; Sir Gideon Murray, the depute treasurer; Sir William Oliphant, lord-advocate.

In accordance with an intimation made in St John's church on the previous Sabbath, the first day of the meeting was observed as a fast, and two sermons were preached; the one in the morning by Bishop Forbes, from Ezra vii. 23; and the argument he endeavoured to maintain was, that nothing should be done nor determined in the Church by any superior power whatever, but that which is according to the commandment of the Almighty King. In the forenoon, Archbishop Spottiswood preached in the little kirk, from 1 Cor. xi. 16, which occupied two hours in delivery. The sermon was afterwards printed; in it is defended ceremonies in general, and the "five articles" in particular, though he makes the solemn asseveration that they were sent to him without his knowledge, and were not intended to be proposed to the church, but to be inserted among the canons then in preparation. The archbishop commenced his discourse by stating, that "the business for which the assembly had met was to take resolution in their

articles, which they were requested to admit into the church by that power unto which they were all subject. He then denies most explicitly that they came by the suggestion of the English church, or of any one at home; and after giving what he considers sufficient proof of the truth of what he advances, he solemnly protests, as in the presence of Almighty God, and of the honourable assembly he addressed, and then says, "that without my knowledge, against my desire, and when I least expected, these articles were sent to me, not to be proposed to the church, but to be inserted among the canons thereof, which were then ingathering, touching which point I humbly excused myself, that I could not insert among the canons that which I was not first advised by the church, and desired they might be referred to another consideration. So as I spake before, I would, if it had been in my power, most willingly have declined the receiving of these articles; not that I esteem them either unlawful or inconvenient, for I am so far persuaded of the contrary as I can be of anything, but I foresaw the contradiction which would be made, and the business we should fall into. Therefore let no man deceive himself. These things proceed from his majesty, and are his own motions, not any others." The archbishop concludes his discourse with the following remarks:—"The kingdom of God consists not in them—the five articles—but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Away with fruitless and contentious disputings. Remember the work we are sent for is to build the church of God, and not to destroy it; to call men to repentance; to stir them up to the works of true piety and love; and not to make them think they have religion enough when they have talked against bishops and ceremonies." After other preliminaries had been gone through, the assembly proceeded to business. A long table was placed in the little kirk,* with seats for the bishops, noblemen, and other members, and at the head of it a cross table, with chairs for the king's commissioner and the moderator. Archbishop Spottiswood took the chair, as moderator, and when a feeble attempt was made to urge an election by Mr George Grier, minister of Haddington, the archbishop replied that the assembly was convened within the limits of his own diocese, and he would allow no one to occupy his place. The king's letter was then presented by Dr Young, dean of Winchester, by birth a Scotsman. It began with a statement that he had at one time fully resolved not to allow any more general assemblies for "ordering things concerning

* What is now known as the West Church.

the policy of the church," on account of the conduct exhibited in the former assembly at St Andrews. It is a document of considerable length, arguing the whole matter, and abounding with expostulations. Archbishop Spottiswood then rose, and after stating that the five articles now to be submitted were not his suggestion, for he considered them inexpedient at the time, yet he knew the anxiety of the king on the subject, and warned them of the consequences both to the church generally, and to themselves individually, if the articles were refused. "I know," he observed, "that when some of you are banished, and others deprived, you will blame us, and call us persecutors; but we will lay all the burden upon the king, and if you call him a persecutor, all the world will stand up against you." The archbishop then asked the dean of Winchester if he had any inclination or authority to make known his sentiments. The dean addressed the assembly in a long speech, complimenting the king on his intentions, and exhorting them to conformity. After the dean concluded his speech, some objections about the mode of voting and other minor details were repelled by the archbishop. The primate then nominated a large number of the nobility and gentry, all the bishops, and thirty-seven doctors and ministers, who were to form a "privy conference," and who met in the afternoon to discuss the five articles.

On the following day the assembly met at eight in the morning, and the five articles were again debated. Another meeting was held in the afternoon. On the morning of the ensuing day bishop Cowper preached a sermon on Rom. xiv. 19, after which was the last sitting. Archbishop Spottiswood now urged the assembly to conform. He refuted sundry scandals and misrepresentations which had been industriously circulated by malicious persons, and declared his conviction that "there was neither man nor woman, rich nor poor, in Scotland, some few precise persons excepted, who were not only content, but also wished the order of kneeling (at the communion) to be received, of which he had good proof and experience in his own city of St Andrews, and in this town of Perth since he had come hither." The archbishop then mentioned the circumstance of a pamphlet having been found in the pulpit at Edinburgh, charging the bishops with attempting to introduce the Roman Catholic religion; but in reply he maintained that "ceremonies make not separation betwixt us and the Roman church, but their idolatry, which if the Romanists would forsake, they would meet them midway and join with them." Before the calling of the roll the king's letter was again read. The presbyterian party attempt-

ed to limit the right of voting purposely to exclude certain persons ; but Archbishop Spottiswood would not allow this proposal, and declared that "if all Scotland were there present they should vote." The vote was then taken, and the five articles were ratified by a great majority. After some routine business the assembly was dissolved. On the 21st of October the articles were sanctioned by an Act of the Privy Council ; and the king's proclamation to that effect was published at the cross of Edinburgh on the 26th.

The five articles of Perth were—1. Kneeling when receiving the holy communion ; 2. The administration of the holy communion to the sick, dying, or infirm persons in their houses in cases of urgent necessity ; 3. The administration of baptism in private, under similar circumstances ; 4. The confirmation of the young by the Bishop of the Diocese ; 5. The observance of the five great commemorations of the christian church—the "birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost." The five articles were ordered to be read and enforced in all the parish churches, and proclamations made at all the market-crosses of the principal towns, enjoining obedience and conformity to them. The opposition given by the more resolute Presbyterians involved them in a deal of trouble ; many of the ministers were fined, imprisoned, and banished. The historian Calderwood especially suffered severely for the determined opposition he gave to the articles.

Mr Scott informs us of the manner of their reception at Perth, which corroborates the statement of Archbishop Spottiswood in the general assembly. A meeting of the kirk-session was held on the 5th of March 1619, present Mr John Guthrie and Mr John Malcolm ministers :—"Preposition being made, if they (the kirk session) will agree and consent that the Lord's supper be celebrated in the burgh conform to the prescription of the act of the general assembly made thereanent last holden at Perth or not, viz. that the ministers give the wine and bread with their own hands to the communicants, and that they (the communicants) be humbled on their knees, and reverently receive it ; and, being voted, *all agreed in one that the celebration thereof be made according to the said act.*" "The order of the (administration) of the communion," observes Mr Scott on this extract from the kirk-session register, "seems to have been as follows :—The tables were placed in the choir or east part of the church. The communicants were to enter in the morning by the south door, where, to add to the solemnity, and to do honour to the occasion, several of the magistrates and

others were to stand in due form with their elders. The communicants were there to give their tokens (or tickets of admission) along with their alms, and then to pass either directly to the tables, or to seats in the choir allotted for them. Such as were not to communicate, at least on the first day of the communion, were to enter the church by the north door, and were there to give their alms. After the consecration of the elements the minister, followed by the bearers of the bread and wine, was to go through the tables, giving, as he went along, the elements with his own hands to each of the communicants kneeling; after which they who had communicated would depart from the table, and be succeeded by such as were next to communicate." Mr Scott refers to the conduct of many persons in Edinburgh about kneeling at the tables. "Even some of the ministers," he observes, "did not at first conform, but administered the sacrament to the people sitting. There was, however, no such opposition, at least from the kirk-session at Perth."

In the year 1625 James VI. died, without having accomplished the object nearest to his heart—the full conformity of the Scottish church to the gorgeous ritual of the church of England. His son and successor, Charles, however, proceeded in the same path, but with still greater energy and zeal. Being a bigot in religion, of an obstinate and persevering temper, and entertaining the most extravagant ideas of the regal power, it is not to be wondered at that the disputes between him and his subjects soon came to a crisis. Charles saw, however, that fully to carry out his favourite project of establishing Episcopacy in Scotland, required larger funds than Scotland could afford for such a purpose. In this dilemma the king and his advisers resolved, by one sweeping act, to revoke all alienations of the lands, or other patrimonies of the crown made by himself and his predecessors. This statute remained inoperative; Charles had not the power of putting it into execution, and it served only to awaken the suspicions of interested parties, without being of the least service to him. The king, however, issued a commission under the great seal, appointing a number of nobleman and gentleman, both of those who paid tithes, and those to whom they were due, commissioners for surrendering the superiorities to the king, to be retaken from him upon the payment of a certain sum, as redemption money; as also, for relieving the owners of the ground by empowering them to buy the tithes, at a rate of purchase restricted to seven years rent. These alterations were attended with the most beneficial advantages to the country; but the nobles

murmured in secret at their diminished influence.* Charles visited his native country in 1633, for the purpose of being crowned. His entry into Edinburgh was of surpassing splendour: the streets were sanded and railed, magnificent triumphal arches were erected at the most public places where he passed, and the nobility and gentry, by their gorgeous dresses, added much to the brilliancy of the spectacle. The king was crowned at Holyrood House, on the 18th June, Archbishop Laud preaching the coronation sermon. As a specimen of this prelate's adherence to the merest punctilios, it is said that during the ceremony he pulled the Archbishop of Glasgow from his seat, because the latter appeared in a different dress from that in which the king had ordered the bishops to be clothed.

But although Charles was received at first with much respect and affection, yet his conduct soon created distrust and alienation. He pressed upon the bishops, who had hitherto only worn plain black gowns, the use of the more splendid vestments of the English church. The Presbyterians were, as a matter of course, highly offended at this change of dress, who thought they saw in it an attempt gradually to bring back the nation under the papal power; while the nobility, remembering that they had been partly deprived of their tithes, and that their possession of the church lands were in danger, saw with great pleasure the obnoxious prelates, for whose sake the revocation had been made, incur the odium of the people at large. Charles, to win over to his views as many persons of influence as possible, distributed with a liberal hand titles of nobility, and endeavoured in every imaginable way to ingratiate himself with the people. The king went in great state, on the 24th of June, to the Chapel Royal; and after making a solemn offertory at the altar, allowed himself to be touched for the king's evil by an hundred persons, putting about each of their

* To perceive fully the benefits accruing to the country from the commutation of the tithes, a short view of the way in which they were exacted from the Reformation, it is hoped will not be unacceptable. When the Reformation took place, the nobility and influential gentry got grants of these tithes from the crown, binding themselves to pay the stipends of the clergy, to whom they gave as little as possible. They who held such gifts were called "titulars of tithes," and used the privileges possessed by them with the greatest rigour. A farmer could not lade a sheaf of corn from the field until the tithe had been selected and removed. In fact they exercised their rights with far more severity than had been done by the Roman Catholic clergy, who usually accepted a sum of money in lieu of the tithe, and thus left the proprietor to improve his land as his means or his industry enabled him.

necks a piece of gold, coined for the purpose, and suspended by a white silk ribbon.

After the rising of the parliament, Charles visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline—the place of his birth—Perth,* and Falkland.

His entry into Perth, is recorded in the register kept by the Glover Incorporation as follows :—“ His majesty king Charles, of his gracious favour and love condescended himself to visit his own city and burgh of Perth, the eighth day of July, where, at the entry of our south inch port, he was received honourable, by the provost, bailies, and aldermen, and by the delivery of a speech mounting to his praise and thanksgiving, for his majesty's coming to visit this our city, who stayed upon horseback and heard the same patiently, and thereafter conveyed by our young men in guard, with partizans clad in red and white, to his lodging at the end of the south gate, (Gowrie palace) belonging now heritable to George Earl of Kinnoul, high-chancellor of Scotland, &c. The morrow thereafter he came to our church, and in his royal seat heard a reverend sermon, immediately thereafter came to his lodging and went down to the garden thereof; his majesty being there set upon the wall next the water of Tay, whereupon was a floating stage of timber, clad round with birks, upon which, for his majesty's welcome and entry, thirteen of our brethren of this our calling of Glovers, with green caps, silver strings, red ribbons, white shoes, and bells about their legs, shewing rapiers in their hands, and all other abulzement, danced our sword dance,† with many difficult knots, five being under

* The Town Council Records give us some insight as to the preparations made for Charles's reception; the following enactments were made :—Act by the council as to forty fed oxen to be allowed the king on his coming to Perth. The best houses ordered to be kept for Englishmen, that malt barns be kept for stables, and that the sword dance be on the Tay on the coming of the king. Nomination of the Dean of Guild to go to Edinburgh, to consult with the chancellor as to the king's entry to the town; and orders to persons well clad go out with the magistrates to meet the king. Beggars discharged during the king's atay, and women prohibited from wearing plaids. Act for cleansing the causeway. Allowance of two hundred merks to the two boys who made the speech to the king for their habiliments; and entry as to the sword dance, danced before his majesty, by the skinners, opposite the Chancellor's Yard, on a raft on the water. Acts respecting the weapons wearing. Permission to the provost to wear his bent rapier, and for the bailies having white staves.

† Considerable diversity of opinion exists respecting the introduction of the Morrice-dance into Britain. The name points it out as of Moorish origin; and so popular has this leaping kind of dancing for many centuries been in this country, that

and five above upon their shoulders, three of them dancing through their feet and about them, drinking wine and breaking glasses, which, God be praised was acted and done without hurt or scaith till any. Which drew us till great charges and expenses, amounting to the sum of 350 merks, yet not to be remembered because it was graciously accepted by our sovereign and both estates, to our honour and great commendation."

Thereafter, the following poem, by Andrew Wilson, one of the bailies—which is called a comedy, acted by David Black and George Powrie, two tailors on the water of Tay—was pronounced before the king.

David Black, in name of the Tay, says—

What means this roaring and these toucking drums?
 What shouts of joy! from whence this clamour comes?
 Thus proudly bold to interrupt our rest,
 Amidst our deeps our quiet to molest;
 While as our greatness in retiredness plays,
 And shrinks us up in halcionian stays;
 Hence take occasion in disdain to trample
 Our liquid belly, and our arms so ample,
 That running reaches from Breadalbane,
 To pay our triton tribute to the sea,

when Handel was asked to point out the peculiar taste in dancing and music of the several nations of Europe—to the French he ascribed the minuet; to the Spaniard, the saraband, to the Italian, the arietta; to the English, the hornpipe, or Morrice-dance. The Glover Incorporation of Perth have preserved entire among their relics the attire of one of the Morrice-dancers, who, on this occasion, exhibited his paces 'to the jooose recreatment' of Charles. "This curious vestment is made of fawn-coloured silk, in the form of a tunic, with trappings of green and red satin. There accompany it *two hundred and fifty-two* small circular bells, formed into twenty-one sets of twelve bells each, upon pieces of leather, made to fasten to various parts of the body. What is most remarkable about these bells is the perfect intonation of each set, and the regular musical *intervals* between the tone of each. The twelve bells on each piece of leather are of various sizes, yet all combining to form one perfect intonation in concord with the leading note in the set. These concords are maintained not only in each set, and also in the intervals between the various pieces. The performer could thus produce, if not a *tune*, at least a pleasing and musical chime, according as he regulated with skill the movements of his body. This is sufficient evidence that the Morrice-dance was not quite so absurd and unmeaning as might at first be supposed; but that a tasteful performer could give pleasure by it to the skilful, as well as amurement to the vulgar."

With silver streams that lovingly enclose him,
By kind embrace in azure Neptune's bosom.
Thus uncontrolled who dare our course reclaim?
Till they're disgorged we lose our force and name.
Can Caledonia's forests furnish beams,
Or Grampians stones to overvault our streams?
Whom they have seen for many a thousand age
Pass by their banks with unresisted rage;
While crowned with icy alabaster towers
Of storm, that from their snowy tops down pours,
While in a verdant mantle mildly tracing,
Alongst Napæas' tents, and them embracing;
Whilst rushing to the ocean like a king,
With noise that makes the rocky mountains ring,
To whom the ocean when we meet gives place,
And under sandy Drumly hides his face.
Come, swift-foot Almond, call our vassal rills,
Our rivers, brooks that kiss the Grampian Hills,
Command them all to pay us what they owe,
And back our forces with dissolved snow,
O'erflow their banks, and with impetuous course
Lead with them captive every neighbouring source;
In passing haste let there no lingering stay,
T' impede their dues to rough stone rolling Tay,
Who wrong resents, and with an ireful grudge
Avows these plains to cover with deluge.
Let Garry, gliding on his gravelly ground,
Whose rolling streams the flowering meadows mound;
Land-louping Lyon, from his flockful glen,
With restless speed come to augment our train;
And trout-full Tummel, with his tumbling torrent,
Come to us, marching with a course full current;
And break-bridge Bran, with slow returning billows,
Come meet our powers at Caledonian willows;
Impetuous Isla, do him also cite,
With all his branches he our grandeur meet;
Charge Kerbat kyth from the Angusian fields,
Alongst great Glammis, where he his homage yields,
To rashy Dean, with bodies bound with arches,
Where he dissolves while towards us he marches;

Bid ireful Ericht with his dreadful dins,
 Leave gainful sport about his lofty lins,
 Address him hither with his murmuring voice,
 To 'wake the valleys with a streaming noise.
 What mean the Perthians in their pride of mind,
 To mock our weakness, brawling in this kind ?
 And think they not, how that our force before
 O'turned their bridge, their bulwark, and their shore ?
 Their watercourse, their wardhouse, common wall,
 And threat their town, their turrets with a fall :
 Their mother Bertha felt our power and rage,
 For worth and strength the glory of her age ;
 Where the imperial Tyber's children stood
 Afraid, and pitched their tents besouth my flood ;
 The Danish blood by us was borne away,
 When they were vanquish'd by the valiant Hay.

George Powrie answers for Perth.

Yes, yes, it is the Perthian youths indeed
 Tread on thy belly now, but fear or dread,
 O'erjoy'd because they have King Charles the great
 Within their walls, to view their ruined state,
 With power and love can by himself alone
 Cause bind thy belly with a bridge of stone ;
 And shall thy now divided lands unite,
 To serve thy subjects with a paved street,
 Which to the country shall great comfort bring,
 And make us pray for great Charles our king.

Tay, David Black.

Oh ! do I wake, or is it but a dream ?
 How do I tremble at King Charles' name !
 Then humbly here I prostrate at his feet,
 For now I see the prophecy complete :
 In elder times it long since was foretold
 That he my streams should by a bridge infold ;
 And well I knew that none durst bar my flood ;
 Nor was their any but King Charles the good,
 As heaven ordains, none can the fates eschew ;
 Then, royal sir, I render here to you

My low subjection, ready at command,
 And joy I'm chained by thy great royal hand,
 And ever vow while I am named Tay,
 Not to expatiate nor overflow my brae.

Perth, George Powrie.

Come dive, my lads, the bottom of his deep,
 From henceforth he his boundaries shall keep,
 Quite spoil the treasure of his scaly shore,
 Empty his streams and throw them quite ashore.

An anecdote shewing the religious enthusiasm which at this period was necessarily engendered by the almost exclusive attention given to theological subjects, may not be altogether out of place. A poor man, named Peter Mackie, who had become crazed on the subject of religion, thought he had arrived at that pitch of faith which could enable him to walk upon water. He intimated that by a certain day that an experiment for doing so would take place. Accordingly, at the time appointed, an immense number of the citizens of Perth assembled on the North Inch to witness the performance of Peter on the river Tay. Peter approached the water with great apparent confidence, but paused a moment at the shore, and ordered saw-dust to be thickly sprinkled over the river, to prevent the water, as he said, from dazzling his eyes. This being done, he walked, not *on* the water but *into* it. Still he walked in, and in ; but, of course, instead of rising to the top of the water, he only sank the deeper, till at length it reached the poor man's throat, when he lost all hope, and, amidst the laughter and derision of the assembled spectators, exclaimed, in a half-choked voice, "Oh, Lord ! ye'll surely no drown poor Peter Mackie this way, gaun your ain errands."

Charles, under the guidance of Archbishop Laud, proceeded to introduce a liturgy into the Scottish Church, compiled from the English service book, but in many parts approaching more nearly to Popish tenets. Easter-day, 1639, was appointed by solemn proclamation for the introduction of the liturgy. Owing to the opposition, however, manifested by the nation at large to its use, it was delayed till the 23d July, in the hope that the discontent and prejudice against it might be allayed. On that day the Dean of Edinburgh read the service book in St Gile's Church, before the two Archbishops, a number of the privy councillors, the lords of session, the magistrates of Edinburgh,

and a numerous concourse of persons. The moment that the dean, arrayed in his surplice, opened the service book, a tumult ensued : an old woman named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green stall in the High Street, bawled out, "The deil colick in the wame of thee, thou false thief ! dost thou say the mass at my lug ?" with that she flung at the dean's head the stool upon which she had been sitting. But the clapping of hands, the hisses, the curses, and the exclamations of the greater part of the congregation, rendered the dean wholly inaudible. The women of the lower orders flew at him, tore his surplice, and were drawing him out of the pulpit, when the Bishop of Edinburgh came to his rescue, who endeavoured to appease the tumult, and had not a friendly hand averted a stool which was thrown at his head, the probability was he would have been silenced for ever.

In the midst of the ferment into which the nation was plunged by this ill-timed attempt to force upon it the ritual of the Episcopal Church, the prelates proceeded to enforce that every parish should be provided with two copies of the liturgy. This, of course, was only adding fuel to the flame of discontent which burnt in the breasts of the Presbyterians. A part of the Presbyterian clergy, headed by the well-known Alexander Henderson, presented a supplication, praying for a suspension of the charge, on the grounds that the new service was neither warranted by the authority of the general assembly, nor by any act of parliament ; while the liberty of the church had been settled and secured by several statutes ; that the ministers of the church were the fittest judges of what was necessary to be corrected, and in this book some of the main ceremonies had originated disputation, division, and trouble, from their near approach to those of Rome ; and that the people would never consent to receive the new service, even although their pastors were willing. About thirty peers, and a great proportion of the gentry, together with the most of the royal burghs, also agreed not merely to oppose the service book, but resist any further prelatic innovations. They entered into a union, and formed committees, or, as they were called, tables, or boards of management. The chief leaders among the nobility were Lords Balmerino and Loudon, who, by their persuasive eloquence, animated and encouraged their countrymen to perseverance in pursuing their object, "the banishing of the liturgy, and to make the best use that wisdom and diligence could of every occasion that presented itself to get free of the detested books."

The Presbyterians were also joined by the Earl of Montrose, who had just returned from his travels, and being esteemed a young nobleman of great promise, his adherence to their cause was considered a great accession. The result of the deliberations of the *tables* was the drawing up of the celebrated national covenant, having for its object the defence of the true religion, and the rooting out of the prelatic innovations introduced by Charles and his father into the Church of Scotland. In a very short time it "was sworn to by hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of every age and description, vowing with uplifted hands and weeping eyes, that, with the divine assistance, they would dedicate life and fortune to maintain the object of their solemn engagement."

The king seeing the determination of the Scottish subjects, opened negotiations with them, and after much procrastination agreed to the calling of a general assembly of the church at Glasgow. It sat on the 21st November, 1638, and in it the covenanters carried all before them. All the acts of former general assemblies, since 1605, were rescinded; the service book and the five articles of Perth were condemned; the covenant approved of; Episcopacy abolished; and the bishops deposed. The assembly, after having sat twenty-six days, was dissolved by Alexander Henderson, the moderator, who gave utterance to the following exclamation:—"We have now cast down the walls of Jericho—let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

The covenanters took up arms to support these bold and decisive measures. The numerous officers who were trained in the continental wars were recalled to Scotland; and the newly raised army was committed to the command of Alexander Lesley, a veteran general, of skill and experience. The national fortresses were also surrendered into the hands of the covenanters; and in every part of the country the greatest enthusiasm was manifested on the side of the Presbyterian party.

At this important juncture the citizens of Perth were not backward in assisting their countrymen in the struggle now going forward to maintain their civil and religious liberties. The Covenant was heartily and numerously signed, the service book discarded, arms were purchased, men enlisted, and money freely given to uphold the cause of the covenanters. In the town-council records we find that one hundred muskets, sixty pikes, and a puncheon of matches were ordered to be procured.

Robert Arnot is also appointed to go to Dundee, Arbroath and Montrose, to purchase powder, lead, matches, and other artillery.

Under the date 3d February, 1639, Thomas Durham and others, are appointed to be commissioners to the "Committee of War." 150 pikes, and 60 muskets are ordered; and George Brown, at the mill of Collace, is appointed to drill those who have engaged to serve in the army. One hundred men were also sent by the town to join the Earl of Montrose, who had been sent to keep in check the Episcopalians in the north. Each man was supplied with fourteen day's provisions—furnished equally by the magistrates and the incorporated trades—one pound of powder, one and a half pounds of lead, and a pound of matches; together with a barrel of powder, with instructions, if the latter was not used, to be sent back.

Men were also sent by the town to the south; and the council passed an act that every fourth man in the town should be obliged to join the army. They also furnished their *quota* of twelve men towards what is called a "flying army" to be assembled at Leith. The expense incurred by the town from 1637 to 1640 was no less than £19,748 Scots money.

The king with an army of twenty-three thousand men entered Scotland, determined to subdue and force upon it a form of religion which they thoroughly hated. He found, however, the covenanters animated with a spirit of resistance not unworthy of their valiant ancestors, who had been so often called upon to resist a foreign foe. They were well disciplined, considering the short time they had been on foot, and consisted of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men; their camp was defended by forty field pieces. The highest Scottish nobles acted as colonels, and their captains were gentlemen of rank and fortune.

It is foreign to our subject to give a general detail of the proceedings that took place between Charles and the covenanters; suffice it to say, that without a battle taking place, the king granted a declaration, that all matters concerning the regulation of church government should be left to a general assembly, to be immediately convened, and also that both armies be disbanded. Accordingly the forces of the covenanters were dispersed, and the king's troops again occupied the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other strongly fortified places. It was evident, however, from the disposition of the two parties, that the agreement now made could not be lasting; for when the general assembly met on the 12th of August, 1639, it confirmed all that had

been done at Glasgow the previous year ; declared Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God ; ratified and approved of the covenant, and ordered it to be subscribed by persons of all ranks within the kingdom. To these measures the Lord High Commissioner gave his concurrence. The parliament, too, which assembled on the 31st of August, approved of all the proceedings of the assembly, and demanded several privileges ; among these were a security for freedom of debate ; that a parliament should be held at least once in three years ; and that no foreigner should be entrusted with the command of any of the national fortresses ; nor any person appointed without the approbation of the estates. The Earl of Tarquair, the king's commissioner, refused to ratify the proceedings of parliament, until he received further instructions from the king. Charles, as was to be expected, would not accede to such demands ; he thought that they were a scheme formed to undermine his royal authority ; and prepared to renew the war. The king, however, found his English subjects very unwilling to engage in war against the Scots. The parliament of England being taken up with their own grievances, refused the supplies demanded to carry on the war. The king was obliged to dissolve them, and have recourse to compulsory loans ; aid from Ireland ; and the convocation of the church. Scotland, however, presented a different appearance to that of England. Whilst in the latter all was inaction and unwillingness, in the former country, on the other hand, the utmost zeal and activity was displayed. "The wealthy readily contributed their money, plate, or credit ; the women brought their ornaments to the public treasury, and provided cloth for the soldier's tents ; and the voluntary contributions at the church doors were increased to a considerable amount by the accumulated offerings of the lower and middling ranks of society."

The covenanters manifested the greatest alacrity in the renewed contest between them and Charles ; instead of waiting till the king should invade Scotland, they at once crossed the Tweed, entered England, and advancing as far as the river Tyne, found Lord Conway posted at Newburn, with six thousand men, having batteries of cannon in his front, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river. The English, however, through the undaunted courage of Major Ballanden, were driven from their works ; a passage was cleared for the whole army, who immediately attacked the English. The latter fled at the very first charge, leaving 80 killed, and 400 made prisoners.

Charles was much surprised at this defeat and justly distrusting

the faith of many who were in his army and near his person, retreated with all his forces into Yorkshire.

Negotiations were as usual had recourse to with the Scots. The king intimated his intention of summoning a council of nobles to meet at York, and requiring the Scots to state their demands, which he would submit to the consideration of the peers, and with their advice would resolve in such matters as might not derogate from his honour or be inimical to the welfare of his dominions. In answer to this proclamation of the king, the Scots stated that the king should confirm the acts of the last parliament; that the castle of Edinburgh and other fortresses be placed in the hands of those whom the parliament appointed; pay all the expenses of the war; and that those of the king's councillors who had advised the late hostilities should be punished as incendiaries. Owing to the circumstances in which Charles was placed—his English subjects being vehement and determined for a redress of grievances, and rather courting the presence of the Scottish army in England than animated by a hostile disposition towards it—he wisely considered it but prudent policy to accede to the demands of his Scottish subjects. It was at this period that the Earl of Montrose was won over to the side of Charles. The former had been long dissatisfied with the covenanters; their objects and aim did not well correspond with his. Desirous only of distinguishing himself as a warrior or an intriguing statesman, he had no real sympathy with the deep religious feeling of the great body of his countrymen. He had the penetration also to foresee that if the covenanters were successful in the struggle with the king, there was but little hope of acting that conspicuous part which his ambition pointed at. What perhaps more immediately determined Montrose to close with the king, notwithstanding his services to the cause of the covenant, was the Earl of Argyle being preferred to him by the heads of the party, and chiefly by the clergy. Montrose was as active in the service of Charles as he had been in that of the covenanters. During the treaty at Ripon he had procured the subscription of nineteen noblemen to a bond, engaging themselves to unite in support of the king, and carried on a secret correspondence with him after returning to Scotland. The defection of Montrose came sooner to light than accorded with his plans: a letter of his was intercepted and the story of the bond was discovered also; and before he was imprisoned a very curious conversation took place between him and Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, and Mr John Robertson, minister of Perth, concerning this latter affair.

Montrose was living with Lord Stormont at Scone, in March, 1641, and being anxious to explain the motives of his conduct, and refute the calumnies and suspicions propagated against him, he sent for the most influential clergymen in the neighbourhood for this purpose. The earl desired the ministers to meet at Scone, and hold the conference; but for some reason or other, they preferred having it in Perth. Accordingly, Montrose, and the two clergymen above-mentioned, met together in a public-house, where the following dialogue occurred, which is extracted verbatim from the original deposition, made by Murray before the committee of estates.

Montrose commenced the conference by complaining that this minister had been for some time past very unwilling to meet with him, and had shown a disposition to shun his presence.

Murray.—Your lordship has been taken up with much company, and I was loathe to come, except to meet with your lordship in private.

Montrose.—You were an instrument of bringing me to this cause. I am calumniated and slandered as a backslider in this cause, and I am desirous to give you, and all honest men, satisfaction respecting my conduct therein.

Mur.—Why did your lordship subscribe the bond that was contrary to the covenant.

Mon.—It was not contrary to the covenant—it was for the covenant.

Mur.—Why was it done in private? Any bond that had been for the covenant might have been avowed.

Mon.—We saw some few particular men taking some particular courses, contrary to the cause and the covenant; and, therefore, we behoved to strengthen ourselves for the maintainence of the cause and covenant, by that bond.

Mur.—How does that appear?

Mon.—There are some few upon courses for changing the form of government; there has been a motion for deposing the king. Next there was a motion for setting up a dictator; and that failing, there was another motion for placing a general within the country, as there is one without the country. This was left, and another course taken for making a triumvirate, one to rule all benorth Forth, and two besouth Forth.

Mur.—These things seem very strange, for we have neither heard, thought, nor dreamed of such a thing, and there is no likelihood thereof.

Mon. " 'Tis true. And to accomplish the last point, there was a bond offered to me at Chowaly Wood, before the army crossed Tweed, to be subscribed, for establishing a particular man beyond Forth, by which the subjects were to be obliged in fidelity and fealty; but I refused to subscribe it, and would rather die than do it. These particulars are of my own knowledge; but there are ten or twelve others who will bear no witness; and for all I have now said there will be some one or other to prove it, or take it off my hands. Argyle was the man named to rule benorth Forth, and it was he who discoursed of deposing the king."

Mur.—"These things are strange—I cannot believe them—they seem to be very unlikely."

Mon.—"I might accuse them. But I will not do it, until first I have cleared myself before the parliament and assembly."

Mur.—"You are all agreed now in Edinburgh, and I beseech you to keep unity; for the breach thereof is a mean to do most harm to this cause."

Mon.—"I shall do nothing to prejudice *the cause*, but will maintain the same with life and means."

Mur.—"Was it or not your lordship's intention, that the parliament should meet in November (1640), in order to reverse the acts of parliament made in June last; or at least to call them in question, that so his majesty might get a ground of complaint against these acts to our Commissioners, who are endeavouring to obtain their publication in his majesty's name?"

Mon.—"I desired the parliament to have sat, but not for that aid; it was, that they might have added some to the committee; for many able men are left out, who might strengthen the committee if they were in it."

Mur.—"Had you no purpose to question those acts?"

Mon.—"I had not, for I subscribed them, and I would maintain them with my blood."*

The Scottish army were scarcely returned to Scotland when Charles proposed a visit to his native country. The object which he had in view in doing so, of course may be easily guessed at. He had found the Scots hitherto acting with much unanimity in the differences with him, and which was so unlike their being usually divided into factions, that he was determined to try and sow division among them.

* Original Deposition—M.S. 9.—Advoc. Lib.

For this purpose, titles and gifts were distributed in Scotland with an unsparing hand. General Lesley was made Earl of Leven; on Lords Loudon and Lindsay were conferred the same rank; and others who had taken a lead in the late invasion of England were appointed to various offices in the government. But although favours were thus lavishly bestowed, they produced but little effect: for it was considered that he gave only what he could not rightly withhold.

Charles soon saw, however, from the state of parties, that little hope could be expected of at present dividing them; so, after shewing considerable duplicity and manoeuvre, he left Scotland at least under the outward appearance of mutual concord, the people apparently satisfied, and the government entrusted to a popular administration.

Montrose, after his release from imprisonment, went to England and openly sided with the king; and when, in 1643, the Scottish army entered England, we find him devising means to forward the cause of the king in Scotland. He collected a body of royalist horse on the frontiers of England, to burst at once into the centre of Scotland at their head, and force his way to Stirling, where a body of cavaliers had promised to assemble and join him. Montrose, on his journey northward, possessed himself of the town of Dumfries, and there set up the royal standard; but being defeated shortly after by the Sheriff of Teviotdale, he retreated to Carlisle, and thence to Morpeth and Newcastle, the garrison of the former place surrendered to him whilst he victualled and fortified the latter. Montrose having heard, whilst on his way to join the king's forces in Yorkshire, that Prince Rupert had been defeated at Marston Moor, he had no other alternative to escape from the victorious army of the parliament but to enter Scotland in disguise; so dismissing all his attendants except Colonel Sibbald, and Sir William Pollock, and himself disguised as the groom of one of them, who assumed the dress of private troopers, they traversed the whole country to Tulliebelton, situated at the foot of the Grampians, the residence of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, a near kinsman of his own. On the road Montrose had been recognised by a soldier who had served under him when a leader among the Covenanters; the man saluted him respectfully by his name and title. Montrose endeavoured to persuade the soldier that he was mistaken; the latter however persisted, though with the utmost respect and humility of deportment. "Do I not know my noble lord of Montrose?" he said; "but go your way, and God be with you." Montrose gave the man a piece of gold, and pursued his journey.

Montrose remained about a week at Tulliebelton, and passed the time in solitary rambles among the mountains during the day, resting in an obscure cottage during the night. Bad news reached him that the Marquis of Huntly and his adherents were dispersed without striking a blow; while Gordon of Haddow, an active royalist, was taken prisoner, and publicly executed by order of the Scottish parliament. Rumours, however, of the approach of the Irish at length cheered him; but instead of an army of ten thousand, as he had been led to expect, only about sixteen hundred desperadoes, who had been trained to arms by the Earl of Antrim, landed at Ardnachurchan, Argyleshire. On their route to Athole, at which place Montrose had engaged to meet them, they laid waste the surrounding country, drove the cattle into their camp, set fire to the houses, destroyed the standing grain, carried away and pressed into their service all the young men whom they could lay hold of.

Montrose joined the Irish at Blair, having left Tulliebelton in the dress of a Highlander, accompanied by only one single attendant. At first they could not believe that one so meanly habited, and so poorly accompanied, was the great general they had been led to expect. When, however, they saw the Highlanders pay such deference to him; and Charles' commission produced appointing him his lieutenant, they acknowledged his authority. The men of Athole, attracted by his name, flocked to the royal standard in vast numbers; so that in a short time he had an army under him amounting to three thousand men. He instantly marched for the low country, and commenced his career by plundering the lands, destroying the corn, and burning the houses of several hostile clans.

His situation was critical and admitted of no delay. Argyle was behind him in full pursuit of the Irish, and there was rendezvoused at Perth an army under the command of Lord Elcho and the Earl of Tullibardin, amounting to between six and seven thousand men.

In such circumstances retreat was impossible, and to prevent being hemmed in it was necessary to move and force his way through the raw and undisciplined troops of Elcho.—On his march he was joined by Lord Kilpont, and Sir John Drummond, son to the Earl of Perth, with four hundred men from the western parts of Perthshire, who had been ostensibly raised to support the covenanters.

The troops of the covenanters, though superior in numbers to those of Montrose, were perfectly unaccustomed to warfare, officered by men who had never seen any engagement, and the leaders justly sus-

pected of being disaffected to the cause. They had been drawn mostly from the burghers of the towns in Fife and Perthshire, and though unquestionably well disposed to the cause of the covenant, yet their former habits of life totally disqualified them from exhibiting anything like military valour when they came in actual contact with the Irish veterans and the Highlanders who had been accustomed to savage and irregular combat.

The covenanters drew up their army upon the large plain of Tibbermuir, and awaited the approach of Montrose. On Sunday, the 1st September, 1644, when engaged in devotional services, a firing of musketry gave intimation that the enemy was at hand. Montrose arranged his troops as preconcerted with some of the opposite leaders. The Irish, armed with muskets alone, he placed in the centre, and, as he had no cavalry, he stationed the Highlanders, accustomed to the sword, and able to wield it with tremendous effect on the flanks, to sustain the attacks of the enemy's horse. At the first onset of the Highlanders the cavalry of the covenanters gave way, overpowered, it is said, by a shower of stones, but which is more likely, were induced to fly by the treachery of Lord Drummond and the Laird of Gask.

Montrose charged the covenanters at the head of the Highlanders, supported by a heavy fire from his Irish musketeers. The whole of the foot were thrown into instant and irremediable disorder, and fled in the direction of Perth in the utmost terror and confusion, throwing away their arms on the road as incumbrances in their flight. But few of the covenanters were killed in the battle, if battle it can be called. The route was complete, the Highlanders doing great execution in the pursuit; upwards of three hundred were slain; and many honest burghers, by the extraordinary speed which they made in flying from the enemy, broke their wind, and died the same night without having received the least wound.

The artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of Montrose, who sustained little or no loss. Drummond and the Laird of Gask joined Montrose immediately after the battle, fully confirming the accusation of treachery made against them.

Montrose, the same afternoon, surrounded Perth; but the authorities not deeming it able to sustain a siege, surrendered it the next day, the 2d September, to the royalist general, who then entered it, and provided his troops with clothing and ammunition, of which they were but scantily supplied. The town was plundered of money, goods, and

whatever was necessary for the troops, or whatever articles were valuable and could be easily carried away. All the horses in the town were seized. The stoutest young men were also pressed into his service; and, after remaining three days, he crossed the Tay with the intention of storming Dundee; but the town being reinforced by forces from Fife, refused to open its gates. And as he dreaded the approach of Argyle, who entered Perth a day or two after, Montrose continued his route northwards, rather than continue a protracted and doubtful siege.

The government were exceedingly enraged at the defeat at Tibbermuir, but especially at the surrender of Perth; it deemed that they were acts of cowardice or treachery, or both, and appear to have thought of holding the clergymen of the town responsible for the losses sustained.

Accordingly, the following defence in behalf of the town was transmitted either to the parliament or the committee of estates, by Messrs John Robertson, and George Halyburton, ministers of Perth; it is entitled:—

Reasons for the Surrender of Perth.

If Perth be blamed for any thing, it must be either for that they did render at all, or, 2, because the terms of rendering were not honest and honourable, or, 3, because the carriage of the inhabitants was bad after the entry of the enemy. As for the first, we could not but render upon these grounds: 1. The strength of the town was not in their own walls or inhabitants, but in the army of friends that were in the fields, which being shamefully beat and fully routed, did so exanimate and dishearten the poor inhabitants that they could not exert the very natural act of moving, let alone of resolute reason. For that miserable flight was, for its suddenness and unexpectedness, as the clap of judgment; and then, 2, a reason of great amazement. For they shall be confounded that trust in the arm of flesh. The trust of the inhabitants was as the trust of their friends,—too, too great, yea, the mean was more looked to than the principal efficient cause, which self trust God punished justly, both in the one and the other. Secondly, Our men were very few, not extending to six score. For we had in the field a company of musketeers, (under Captain Grant, who was there killed,) which, for the most part, fled, suspecting that the town should become a prey to the enemy's cruelty.

Others of the town, confident of the victory, went out to the moor carelessly, and so, in the flight, by running, were made useless. A third part of the town timorously fled at the first report of the enemy's victory. Could the town trust itself to the defence of so few, and so few disheartened men? Thirdly, Our friends in Fife and Strathearn that came unto us, they were either unwilling or unable to assist us. Their unwillingness consisted in this, that all, when they came in at the ports, either went to the boats or to houses, out of which no entreaty could draw them. The truth of this is proven; for the provost of the town, with a minister going alongst the streets, with a trumpet three times, could not, of inhabitants and friends both, make up so many as to guard three ports. let be five forbye all the walls and posts of the town. Whereas it is said, or may be said, that the Fife men offered to assist us. Its truth there were seen 12 or thereabout unarmed men, and some of them drunk, come to the provost in the porch of the kirk offering themselves to serve. But such a few number could not be trusted to, so many having feared the enemy's forces before and fled. 2. They were unable who came in, for first they were all fore-fainted and bursted with runniug, insomuch that nine or ten died that night in town without any wound. 3. An overwhelming fear did take them, that did absolutely disable them from resistance of such a cruel enemy. Their fear kythed in this, that multitudes breaking up cellars did cast themselves down there, expecting the enemy's approach. The provost came into one house amongst many, where there were a number lying panting, and desired them to rise for their own defence. They answered, their hearts were away, they would fight no more although they should be killed. And then, although they had been both willing and stout, yet they were unable to resist, for they had cast away all their arms from them by the way, and we in the town had none to spare. 4. In town we had no ammunition, for Dundee refused them, and that which was got out of Coupar was for the most part had out in carts to the Moore. 5. Our enemies that before the fight were naked, weaponless, ammunitionless, and canonless men, and so unable to have laid seige to the town, by the flight of our friends, were clothed, got abundance of arms, and great plenty of ammunition, with 6 pieces of canon. So our friends disarming us, and arming our enemies, enabled them, and disarmed us. 6. If our friends had come and fled at our ports and forsaken us, we would, with the assistance of honest men about, defended ourselves. The Master of

Balmerino and the Laird of Moncrieff can witness the town's resolution the Friday before the fight, when we were alone, for then we would expected help from Fife, and Angus, and Strathearn in 24 hours, to have raised the siege. But after the fight and flight we were out of all hopes. For, on the north, Athole was an enemy, on the east, Angus, on the report of the defeat, disbanded, or at least a few of them fled to Dundee. For Fife, they were so disbanded that there was little hope of a sudden levy. For my Lord Marquis of Argyle we knew not if he was come from the Highlands or not. And so this proved. For the first friends that we saw was the eleventh day after the dismal fight. If so few faint-hearted men without meat or drink, (of which the town was very scarce,) could have stood so long against so many cruel desperate enemies, let the reasonable judge. 7. The hounds of hell were drawn up before our ports newly deeply bathed in blood, routed with hideous cries for more, and in the meantime there abode not one gentleman of Fife to give us counsel, save one who is a useless member among themselves at home, and, consequently, could not be but useless to us. Neither a gentleman of the committee of our own shire, save Balhousie; so exanimate with fear, and destitute of counsel, we could not stand out.

After the sight and serious consideration of these reasons, and of the miserable consequents of outstanding, being so unable, as, namely, the razing of the city, the loss of all our means, and the cruel massacring of our own persons, we began to think upon a surrender of the city, if in any terms we could have our consciences and our covenants preserved entire. If any ways the enemy would meddle with these, the ministers gave counsel to lose life and all, which was accorded to by all the town council, as may appear by the town's letter of answer to Montrose his demand.

So to the next point. Being, by strength of reason, and extreme necessity, urged to render, we thought on articles to propone, which, not being satisfied, we all resolved to die before we gave over. In the meantime, a letter came from Montrose, desiring us to join in service to his majesty. We answered, If, by joining in service, he meant all that civil obedience that did tie our free subjects to be performed, we would join with all good subjects; but if, by joining, he meant to encroach on our consciences, and to make us break any point of our covenants, we should not join with him nor any, lest by so doing God should be highlier provoked, and moved to bring down a heavier judgment than he had done that day on us. The articles proposed

with the answer were these five. 1. That our town and parish should not be urged with anything against their conscience, especially against the two covenants. 2. That the town should not be plundered or rifled, neither the adjacent landward. 3. That in all things we should be used as free subjects, and so that none of our men should be pressed. 4. That no Irishes should get entry or passage through our town. 5. That all our good friends and neighbours in town should have a pass safely to go to their own homes. The honesty of these articles may be proved by the first article, the honourableness of them by the rest. Its honesty, to adhere to our covenant; and honour, (being npt able to do otherwise,) to keep ourselves and our friends free of skaith, and give our enemy no full entry. Look what hath been called honest and honourable capitulations in the like cases of rendering abroad, and we in these articles shall not be found far short of them.

As for the third point, the gesture and carriage of the town towards the enemy. If by the town be meant the ministers, they are here, let them be tried. If by the town be meant the magistrates, they did show no countenance either welcoming them, eating or drinking with them. If by the town be meant the body, welcomes were so far, that we wish to God the voice of snch joy be never heard on the streets of Edinburgh; we may boldly say, in the face of any will say the contrary, that consider the number, and our weeping was as great as lamentings of Achor's valley. We will be bold to say, it was the saddest day that ever the town did see; and that enemy the saddest sight, nay it was to them as the very sight of the executioner upon the scaffold. If by the town be meant particular men, we can not be answerable for every particular man's carriage. If any can be found, let these be tried and punished for being so unnatural. The hearts of none we know, but the outward carriage of all our town was humble, demisse, sad, sorrowful, very far from the expressions of any joy.

Two things are proponed to be considered: 1. Whether the rendering of the field or the town was most disgraceful and prejudicial to the cause and country. The town was rendered, not being able, for the former reasons, to stand out, upon honest and honourable capitulations.

The field was rendered, having two to one, of which many horse, and good cannon, by a shaweful groundless tergiversation. 2. The town's rendering, being unablottotstand out, saved the effusion of much

blood ; for, being unable, and yet stand out, we should have been accessory to our own massacre ; but the field's render was the cause of much blood, ten only being killed standing, and all the rest flying, so that being able to stand, and yet fled, they seem to be accessory to much blood they might have saved. 3. The town's rendering was the very immediate necessary effect of the field's rendering ; let any man having considered this infer the conclusion.

Again, let the events of rendering and not rendering the town be compared, and see which should have been most hurtful to the cause and country. By rendering (not being able to stand) we kept our cause and covenant inviolate. We kept our city,—we kept our lives,—and our means for maintenance of the cause and country in time coming. By not standing, (being so unable,) the country had lost a city, a number of poor souls, men, women, and babes, with all their fortunes and means. Was it not better then to have rendered with such honesty, as to have resisted with such certainty of danger.

They who would have had us in Perth, offer ourselves a bloody sacrifice for our country, and with more honest terms could save ourselves for our country's service ; and, in the meantime had not the courage for their country to withstand the force of sworn enemies themselves, to say no more they are too uncharitably cruel against us, and too partial lovers of themselves.

As for that the town held in their friends to be captived, it is true for a little while they were detained ; but as soon as we saw it impossible to stand out, we let all our boats pass, and Fife men, with other men, so thronged, that sundry were drowned, both horse and foot. Our boats passed that night till eleven hours at evening. Our port we could not open, neither could they pass. For the cruel dogs were even hard at the inch, and had a company betwixt that and the bridge waiting the massacre of such as we should let out. It is apparent if we should let out the Fife men, and they been killed between our town and the bridge, that they should have said in Fife that we would not harbour them, but chase them out to the slaughter. God judge us according to the charity some of us shew to them.*

* Mr Hallyburton, (one of the writers of the foregoing letter,) notwithstanding his zeal in behalf of the covenant, as displayed in the above curious document, was suspected by his brethren of having strong leanings in favour of the king and episcopacy. We find in " The History of Scottish affairs, by James Wilson, bairnher of Dumfries," published in the " Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth,"—"That the commission of the General Assembly, which

As a sequel to the foregoing account of the Battle of Tibbermuir, and surrender of the town, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to peruse what a citizen of Perth has recorded of these affairs, in a manuscript history left by him :—" Upon Sunday the first day of September, 1644, an army of all this country forces of Perth and out of Fife, both horse and foot, amounting to the number of 6000 or thereby, and Montrose and Colcatochies forces, consisting of three or four thousand or thereby. This being a terrible day not to be forgotten they fought on the Muir above Cultmalundy, called Lamerkin Muir, betwixt twelve and two afternoon, or in the space of half an hour, Montrose's forces with Macleod's Irish being one (joined) they got the victory, and many of our people and of Fife were killed, and the dead bodies were stripped naked and left on the ground, about three or four hundred. Among them, the young laird of Rires, in Fife, Patrick Oliphant, younger of Bachilton, George Haliburton of Keilor, in Angus, David Grant, Captain for the burgh of Perth, Alexander Ramsay, John Duff and Andrew Anderson, with many brave men from Fife, the burghs of St. Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkaldy and other towns and sundry from the landward parishes of the shire of Perth. In which battle were from the glover calling, Patrick Watson, Thomas Dundee, Henry Paul, Andrew Kinnaird, Alexander Hutton, Alexander Nairn, Patrick Ingles, George Auchinleck, Andrew Mortimer, Andrew Gall, Robert Lamb, John Measono, Andrew Anderson, ensign, and Alexander Drummond, lieutenant, who were all safe. After the battle, our people fled to all quarters, and those who fled into the town were made prisoners, and forced to march with Montrose, the town was surrounded that night, and surrendered because not able to sustain a seige for want of commanders. Upon Tuesday and Wednesday thereafter, the 3d and 4th of September,

met in November, 1644, deposed Mr George Hallyburton, minister at Perth, and Mr George Graham, minister at Auchterarder, " for speaking with Montrose at his being in the town of St. Johnston." Probably they were not very far wrong ; for, at the restoration, Hallyburton was made bishop of Dunkeld. He is thus characterized by Kirkton :—

" Mr George Hallyburton for Dunkeld, was a man of utterance, but who had made more changes than old infamous Eccebolius, and was never thought sincere in any, he seemed to be so ingenious, and never was ; you may guess what savour was in that salt." We are told, in the memoirs of the Reverend Mr Thomas Hallyburton, that the bishop, " who proved a cruel persecutor of his former friends, was scarce well warm in his nest, when the Lord smote him with sore sickness, of which he died, and went to his place."

they marched over Tay to Angus, and took all the canon, magazine, and spoil of the town with them to the north. Thereafter upon Tuesday the 10th of September, the marquis of Argyle came from Stirling to Perth with about 1000 men who marched through the town all that week in pursuit of Montrose, and went over the river Tay in boats left undestroyed by Montrose. James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, on the 6th of September, slew lord Kilpont at Collace, because he had joined Montrose."

Sir Walter Scott, in the "Tales of a Grandfather," gives the following account of this shocking event in his usual graphic manner:—

"There was a Highland gentleman in Montrose's camp, named James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, whose birth had been attended with some peculiar circumstances, which, though they lead me from my present subject, I cannot refrain from noticing. While his mother was pregnant, there came to the house of Ardvoirlich a band of outlaws, called Children of the Mist, MacGregors, some say, others call them MacDonalds of Ardnamurchan. They demanded food, and the lady caused bread and cheese to be placed on the table, and went into the kitchen to order a better meal to be made ready, such being the unvarying process of Highland hospitality. When the poor lady returned, she saw upon the table, with its mouth stuffed full of food, the bloody head of her brother, Drummond of Drummondernoch, whom the outlaws had met and murdered in the wood. The poor woman shrieked, ran wildly into the forest, where, notwithstanding strict search, she could not be found for many weeks. At length she was secured, but in a state of insanity, which doubtless was partly communicated to the infant of whom she was shortly after delivered. The lad, however, grew up. He was an uncertain and dangerous character, but distinguished for his muscular strength, which was so great, that he could, in grasping the hand of another person, force the blood from under the nails. This man was much favoured by the Lord Kilpont, whose accession to the king's party we lately mentioned; indeed, he was admitted to share that young nobleman's tent and bed. It appears that Ardvoirlich had disapproved of the step which his friend had taken in joining Montrose, and that he had solicited the young lord to join him in deserting from the Royal army, and, it is even said in murdering the general. Lord Kilpont rejected these proposals with disdain, when, either offended at his expressions, or fearful of exposing his treacherous purpose, Ardvoirlich stabbed Kilpont mortally with his dagger. He then killed the sentinel, and

escaped to the camp of Argyle, where he received preferment. Montrose was awaked by the tumult which this melancholy event excited in the camp, and rushing into the crowd of soldiers, had the mortification to see the bleeding corpse of his noble friend, thus basely and treacherously murdered. The death of this young nobleman was a great loss to the royal cause."

As usual the Town-Council records are altogether silent as to the transactions of this eventful period. From 1641 to 1652, there is no account of the proceedings of the Town-Council extant. These records have been either lost or destroyed so as to afford, when Cromwell assumed the government of the country, no clue as to how the authorities of the town had previously acted. The only matter worthy of notice is, that in the oath of allegiance taken by the members of council, at Michaelmass 1645, acknowledging Charles I. as their only sovereign, the word "Saviour" is inserted evidently by mistake.

In 1645 the covenanters assembled a parliament at Perth. Owing to the prevalence of the plague the estates were prevented from assembling at Edinburgh. They met first at Stirling, but were soon after prorogued to meet at Perth on the 24th July. The acts passed by the estates shewed that they were alive to the dangers to which the country was exposed by the successes of Montrose. A large army was assembled at Perth under the command of General Bailie; but though their numbers were great, it was still composed of the same materials who had sustained such a shameful defeat at Tibbermuir. Montrose on hearing of the meeting of the estates at Perth, quickly marched to the south, hoping to prevent the levies in Fife—break up the meeting of the estates, and effect a junction with the detachment of horse he expected from the king. In his progress he was joined by the Athole men, and a number of other highland clans, who were attracted by the news of his success, and hopes of sharing in the honours or the spoil. Bailie, however, though at the head of a raw and undisciplined force hung on his rear, and he retreated northward to meet the expected arrival of the Earl of Aboyne. On being joined by the latter, he encamped in the wood of Methven, and threatened Perth; but having no cavalry, he declined meeting the covenanters, who made preparations to fight him, and again retreated to the hills to wait the arrival of fresh re-enforcements. During his retreat he exposed himself to have been attacked in flank, and orders were issued by Bailie to one of his generals to harrass him with Balcarras' regiment. The officer, however, who was entrusted with this duty, either through negligence or inca-

capacity, allowed the enemy to pass the ford of the Almond in safety, Bailie himself, with the foot, arriving almost as soon as he did with the dragoons, and instead of finding an enemy thrown into confusion by an unexpected charge of cavalry, saw them in the distance retreating in good order, perfectly safe from any attack by horse.

It would afford the reader but little instruction and far less pleasure to occupy our space with the discussions of the estates. We now can feel no interest in the "arraying and mustering of men and horse," "their maintenance," or "where about to be placed in the country." There is one act of this parliament, however, which we cannot overlook; it is entitled "Act against swearing, drinking, and mocking of pietie." We notice it because it is a favourite theme with a certain class of writers to represent our presbyterian ancestors as sacrificing the interests of morality to a love of Theological controversy, and that amid their wranglings for points of doctrine and forms of church government the benign precepts of the gospel were but little cared for. Such an accusation history proves to be an unfounded calumny; and no one acquainted with the history of the covenanters but will at once acknowledge that their strict adherence to the duties of life was perfection itself, when contrasted with the performance of these duties by the cavaliers and royalists.

The act after stating that when the National Covenant was sworn and subscribed by people of all ranks in 1641, the whole lieges bound themselves before God to behave themselves in their lives and conversations as becometh Christians: and that owing to the neglecting of the performance of that part of the solemn oath of the National Covenant, and the open abundance of all vices dishonourable to God, hath been the occasion of heavy judgments being poured out upon the land. It then goes on to say, "Therefore the Estates for curbing such vices as are gross and most usuall, and for testifying their detestation thereof, and for putting a mark upon the committers of the same, Statute and Ordain, That whosoever shall Swear, Curse, or Blaspheme, and whosoever shall drink excessively, especially under the name of Healths; and also all mockers and reproachers of pietie, or the exercise thereof, or who shall be found culpable of all or any one or other of the foresaid vices by any Kirk Judicatorie whereunto they are subject, having been once already censured by the said Kirks Judicatories for the same vice before, shall after the second conviction before the saids Kirk Judicatories be censurable in manner following, viz.:—That ilk Nobleman shall pay Twenty pounds for the said

second conviction, and ilk fault thereafter *toties quoties* : Ilk Baron, Twenty Merks : Ilk Gentleman Heritor Burgesse, Ten Merks : Ilk Yeoman, Fourty Shillings : Ilk Servant, Twenty Shillings : Ilk Minister, the fifth part of their years stipend : And that the Wives delinquents against this act be punished according to the quality of their husbands, and that their husbands be lyable for payment of their wives fines. And it is ordained, That the said fines be employed *ad pios usus* in the Parish where the offenders dwells. And it is further ordained, That ilk Master who shall keep and maintain any of his servants offending in the premisses in his company, after they shall be sentenced conforme to this present Statute, shall be lyable in payment of the Servants fine. And it is declared, that the executing of this Act shall be beside and without prejudice of the Kirk censure."

Every one acquainted with the history of his country, knows the result of the great civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament of England. The latter was in the struggle completely victorious. The king after sustaining several reverses had his prospects totally annihilated by the defeat of his army at Naesby. Loss after loss succeeded—the strong places which the royalists possessed were taken one after another ; and the king's cause was totally ruined. In Scotland, too, his cause suffered no less severely. The successes of Montrose indeed at first imparted a gleam of hope to the unfortunate Charles ; but it was only the flash of the expiring taper in the socket—the prelude to the sad and mournful fate which awaited him. Montrose, notwithstanding his bravery, tact, and energy as a soldier, was ultimately defeated by the sagacious old Scottish general, Leslie. The field of Philiphaugh was the turning point of his fortunes—to quote the rhyme so familiar in that part of the country where he sustained his defeat.

At Philiphaugh the fray begu'd ;
At Harehead-wood it ended.
The Scots out owre the Grahams they rode,
Sae merrily they bended.

In this perilous extremity Charles was induced to throw himself upon the Scottish army for their protection. Now it is not our purpose to discuss the grave question whether the Scottish nation were guilty of selling their sovereign in delivering him up to the parliament of England on its being stipulated that the arrears owing them should be paid. Such a discussion belongs to the general history of Scotland,

suffice it therefore to say that Charles was delivered up to the parliament, and that it was consonant with the policy of the political party who had gained the ascendancy in the state to bring him to a public trial, when he was found guilty of the charges preferred against him ; and on the 29th January, 1649, he was beheaded in front of Whitehall.

We feel that it would be altogether out of place to attempt here either a delineation of the character of Charles, or seek to shew that the men of the commonwealth were actuated solely by a disinterested patriotism in bringing him to the block. But though the king is entitled to our commiseration for his misfortunes, yet it would show the basest ingratitude for the sufferings, the self-denial, and the labours undergone by our noble minded ancestors, if we were greatly to blame them, and point to the consequences which, in their struggle for civil and religious freedom, befel the abettors of tyranny ; and in effect say you should rather have suffered to have been bound with the chains of your oppressors, than have involved them in such perils, and been guilty of the death of your sovereign.

On the death of Charles, the Scottish parliament passed an act condemning his execution, and proclaiming his son Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland ; not, however, unconditionally, for it was also enacted, "That before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things that concern the security of religion ; the union betwixt the two kingdoms ; and the good and peace of this kingdom according to the National Covenant and the solemn league and covenant." For this purpose negotiations were opened with Charles, then at the Hague. He, however, did not immediately close with the covenanters. He thought, perhaps, that proclaiming him king arose from no love they had for his family or his person, but from the enmity they bore to the Independents, who had abolished the kingly office. But his unwillingness to accede to the terms of the commissioners from Scotland, arose, we have no doubt, from the boastful manner of a number of his councillors. Montrose offered to conquer Scotland by force of arms and received a commission to levy troops for a descent ; and, ere Charles could give an answer, the time allowed the commissioners was expired, and they returned to Scotland without a settlement having been made.

A strong feeling was engendered against Charles on account of his tardy acceptance of the proposals sent him for the security of religion.

A large party in the committee of estates voted that no more addresses be sent to the king; and a violent remonstrance was also issued by the western counties, then in arms, against their treating with the king.

Charles, shortly after, was forced to leave Holland, on account of the assassination of Dorislaus, the English ambassador, and proceeded to France, where he was received with great coldness, if not positive neglect.

In such circumstances he retired to Jersey, in the hope that the Scottish nation might renew their overtures to him. He now saw there was but little hope of being received unconditionally as their monarch, and expressed himself willing to accept their own terms. Information to this effect reached the Scottish parliament, and accordingly they despatched Sir George Winsam to renew negotiations with Charles upon the same conditions as those formerly submitted to him at the Hague.

These were formally concluded at Breda the following year, to which place the King had repaired. He immediately embarked for the land of his fathers, and arrived at the mouth of the Spey in the month of June, 1650. The king proceeded slowly to the south, and did not arrive at Falkland till the 10th of July. He remained there till the 23d of the month, when he left for Perth, where the committee of estates and the more influential of the clergy were assembled. How he was received there is thus described by Sir James Balfour in his annals:—"His majesty stayed at Falkland until Tuesday the 23d of July, from whence he removed to Perth for one night, where he was feasted with all his train by the magistrates of the said burgh, in Lord General David Lesley's house. His majesty, at his entry, was met by the provost, magistrates, and council, all in mourning, with a guard of partisans, who attended his majesty during his abode there, in mourning likewise. Mr George Halyburton, one of the ministers of the town, had a pretty congratulatory oration to his majesty. After dinner on Wednesday, his majesty went to the garden house on the river, wherein there was a table covered with desert of all kinds; there the provost, on his knees, presented to his majesty his Burges Bill, and one other to the Duke of Buckingham. His majesty, at my desire, wrote in their book of privileges * his name and motto thus:

24th July, 1650.

CHARLES R. Nemo me impune lacessit."

* The "Book of Privileges," mentioned by Sir James is the entry book of the Guildry Incorporation of Perth, which is still extant, containing the autographs and

Charles, with his court, remained at Perth very ill at ease indeed, under the restraints which the covenanters imposed upon them. The king was ready to listen to any suggestion to establish his authority without their support; accordingly, Charles' friends projected an extensive conspiracy in the north. The king was to make his escape from Perth; and on the same day, it was arranged that a thousand Highlanders from Athole were to seize the committee of estates; Lord Dudhope, the constable of Dundee, was to secure the town; Lord Douglas was to take arms in Angus; while the Earls of Middleton and Huntly were to raise the north. The presbyterians, however, were not unobservant of the designs of Charles and his courtiers. Orders were given signed, by Loudon the Chancellor, that a number of "the persons about him be removed from court, and ordained to depart out of the kingdom." This entirely disconcerted the plans of the king and his friends. Charles was impressed with the idea that such a proceeding was only preparatory to his being delivered up to the English; accordingly, the next day, as "if going on hawking," says Sir James Balfour in his annals, "the king went away from St Johnstoun on horseback, about half-past one o'clock afternoon, accompanied only with the following servants:—Henry Symeour, a groom of his bed-chamber; Mr Roodea, Mr Andrew Cole, and Mr Thomas Windam, gentlemen of the stable; and Mr Cartwright, groom of the privy-chamber, without any change of clothes, except what was on his body—a thin riding suit. From Perth he rode softly through the South Inch, and then at full career to the back of Inchyra, where he passed, and in an hour and a half he rode from Perth to Dudhope, by Dundee; from thence, Viscount Dudope conveyed him to Auchter House that same night; and not staying there, the Earl of Buchan and Viscount Dudope conveyed him to Cortuquhay, the dwelling-place of the Earl of Airlie, an excommunicant papist, where after a little refreshment, that same night he rode with a guard of some sixty or eighty Highlanders, up the glen to a poor cottage belonging to the Laird

moties of James VI. and Charles II., and more recently those of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. In fact, the book contains the records of the Incorporation. It is strongly boarded, with firm clasps, and is preserved in a massive box, on the lid of which is the following inscription:—"This Box, formed from a Rafter of the Old House in Carlew Row, the residence of Simon Glover, by Tradition, Father of the "Fair Maid of Perth," incloses the Venerable Guild Book, containing the Records of the Guildry Incorporation of Perth for a period of One Hundred and Sixty-Nine Years before the unfortunate Battle of Flodden. And also, the genuine autographs and mottoes of James VI., Charles II., Queen Victoria, and Prince Albert."

of Clova; in all, from Perth, he went some forty-two miles before he rested.

"On Friday night, 4th October, a little before day, having laid down to rest his wearied body, he was found by Lord Colonel Nairne, of Sanfurd, and Colonel Bynton, an Englishman, sent by Colonel Robert Montgomery (whom Scottscraige, by the way of Fife, had advertised at Forfar of his majesty's sudden departure to the malignants from his own people and court) lying in a filthy room, on an old bolster, above a matt of seggs and rushes, overwearied and very fearful."

In this pitiable plight he was found by the commissioners whom the committee of estates sent after him, with, as the writer of the annals already quoted says, "a mild and discreet letter, beseeching his majesty to return from the evil way he had taken, which might prove destruction to himself, his posterity, and his kingdom, if he did not speedily return."

In their search after the king, Montgomery and his brother-commissioners were well backed by two regiments of horse, which so overawed Buchan and Dudhope that they consented Charles should return, and conducted him back to Huntly Castle, "where he stayed all Saturday night and came to Perth on the afternoon of Sabbath, and heard sermon in his own presence chamber, the afternoon sermon in the town being ended before he entered it." We may add, that this runaway affair is known in Scottish history by the name of the *Start*.

The committee of estates and Charles came to a better understanding with each other. The former appointed a committee to make preparations for the king's coronation; and in the expectation that a vast concourse of the nobility, gentry, and the burgesses would be present on that occasion, as well as to give their attendance at the ensuing meeting of parliament, an order was issued by the committee of estates that "no more than four shillings should be taken for a gentleman's bed a-night, and two shillings for a servant's—the lodger to pay for candles and fire; and the transgressing landlord to pay one hundred pounds Scots.

After several prorogations, the parliament met at Perth on the 26th November. 1650, and the Chancellor Loudon was chosen president. On the second day of the meeting, Charles delivered the following speech:—"My lords and gentlemen, it hath pleased him who ruleth the nations, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings, by a very singular providence, to bring me through a great many difficulties into this my ancient kingdom, and to this place, where I may have

your advice in the great matters that concern the glory of God, and the establishment of my throne, and that relate to the general good and common happiness of these three covenanted kingdoms, over which he hath set me; and truly, I cannot express the height of that joy wherewith he hath filled my soul from this signal experiment of his kindness, nor how strong and fervent desires he hath created in me to evidence my thankfulness, by standing to reign for him, and with an humble and just subordination to him. That which increaseth my hope and confidence that he will yet continue to dwell graciously with me is, that he hath moved me to enter in covenant with his people—a favour no other king can claim—and that he has inclined me to a resolution, by his assistance, to live and die with my people in defence of it. This is my resolution, I profess it before God and you, and in testimony hereof, I desire to renew it in your presence, and if it shall please God to lengthen my days, I hope my actions shall demonstrate it; but I shall leave the enlargement of this, and what farther I could say, to my lord chancellor, whom I have commanded to speak to you at greater length, and likewise to inform you of my sense, not only of the folly, but the sinfulness of my going from this place, and the reasons of it.”

At the conclusion of the King's address the Chancellor gave a statement of the causes of his Majesty's departure from Perth on the 4th Oct. and of his penitence and sorrow for the same.

The Parliament also appointed two fasts to take place previous to the coronation of the King, “one for the contempt of the gospel, another for the sins of the King, his family, and nobility.” The proceedings of the Parliament met with considerable opposition from the leaders of the western counties; and those among the more rigid covenanters who pretended to skill in omens, augured no good from the measures they had taken with the King. One of the most unlucky presages that happened during the meeting of the Parliament was on the evening of the 9th December, after the “candles being lighted in the house a great stock oule muttet on the tope of the crown, which, with the sword and sceptre lay on a table over against the throne.”

Notwithstanding the growing heats and divisions which were taking place, and the evil forebodings of many, the preparations for the coronation of the King were proceeded with “on a scale of splendour befitting rather the pride than the poverty of an exhausted, broken-down, and distracted country.”

The parliament fixed Wednesday, 1st January, 1651, as the day of

Charles' coronation at Seone ; and the following full account of the interesting ceremonial on that occasion is given, because it took place in our own vicinity, and was the last time that any of our monarchs were crowned in Scotland :—" In the morning, the king, in a prince's robe, was conducted from his bedchamber, by the constable on his right hand, and the marshal on his left, to the chamber of presence, and placed in a chair of state, under a canopy, by Lord Angus, chamberlain for the day. Being seated, the nobles, with the commissioners of barons and burroughs, were introduced, and presented to his majesty, when the Earl of London, lord chancellor, thus addressed him :—" Sir, your good subjects desire that you may be crowned, as the righteous and lawful heir of the crown of this kingdom ; that you would maintain religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the national covenant, and the league and covenant, and according to your declaration in Dunfermline in August last ; also, that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your highness' protection, to govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and to defend them in their rights and liberties by your royal power ; offering themselves, in the most humble manner to your majesty, with their vow, to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your majesty's sacred person, and maintenance of your crown ; which they entreat your majesty to accept, and pray God Almighty, that for many years you may happily enjoy the same." His majesty most graciously answered, " I do esteem the affections of my good people more than the crown of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness !"

From the presence chamber the king proceeded to the church, accompanied by all the noblemen and gentlemen present. The spurs being carried before him by the Earl of Eglington, the sword, by the Earl of Rothes, the sceptre, by the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, and the crown, by the Marquis of Argyle, who immediately preceded him. He walked between the great constable on his right, and the great marshal on his left, under a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by six earls' sons, and his train borne by four lords. The church was fitted up for the occasion, a chair was set opposite the pulpit for the king, and around were benches for the accommodation of the parliament and rest of the auditory during sermon,—in the middle, a stage was erected, twenty-four feet square, and raised from the ground about

six feet, on this the throne was placed. The sermon was preached by Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and moderator of the commission, a man strongly attached to a limited monarchy, but a firm presbyterian; his text was strikingly apposite, 2 Kings xi. 12—17. "And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony: and they made him king, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and said, God save the king.—And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord's people; between the king also, and the people." The sermon has been printed, it is ingenious and able, and contains many admirable precepts, delivered in a strain of manly freedom, and with a devout earnestness, which but seldom meet the royal ear upon such occasions. The reciprocal duties of kings and subjects are inculcated with plainness and force; and the nature of the compact between sovereign and subject, in a limited monarchy, is stated with clearness and precision. The political and religious topics which divided the nation are handled with dexterity; but although he failed in presenting to the king the only remedy for the evils of sectarianism, he, with almost prophetic sagacity, in the conclusion, fervently warned him against imitating the sins of his grandfather, "the guiltiness of whose transgression lyeth on the throne, and on the family."—"Many doubt of your reality in the covenant;" continued the preacher, "let your sincerity and reality be evidenced by your steadfastness and constancy; for many, like your ancestor, have begun well, but have not been constant; take warning from the example before you, let it be laid to heart, requite not faithful men's kindness with persecution,—yea, requite not the Lord so, who hath preserved you to this time, and is setting a crown upon your head,—requite not the Lord with apostacy and defection from a sworn covenant!" After sermon, the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant were distinctly read; the minister then prayed for grace to perform the contents of the covenants, and for faithful steadfastness in the oath of God, and administered the oath to the king, who, kneeling, and lifting up his right hand, swore, "I, Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure, and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant above written; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling, and that I, for myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all acts of

parliament enjoining the same, and establishing presbyterial government, as approved by the general assemblies of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I shall give my royal assent to acts and ordinances of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." Having sworn, he subscribed the covenants, and his oath, written out upon a roll of parchment, as the charter by which he held his crown, and was entitled to his people's obedience. He then ascended the stage, and formally took possession of his throne, the lord high constable and earl marshal also ascending, proceeded to the different sides of the stage, the Lord Lyon, king-at-arms, proclaiming before them, "Sirs, I do present unto you the king, Charles the rightful and undoubted heir of the crown and dignity of this realm. This day is by the parliament of this kingdom appointed for his coronation. Are you not willing to have him for your king, and become subject to his commandments?" At every proclamation, the king presented himself to the people; and the multitude shouted, God save king Charles the second.

"His majesty, when he had been shown to the people, and accepted by them for their king, descended from the stage, and resumed his former seat. Being asked if he was willing to take the oath appointed by the parliament to be taken at the coronation, he answered, "Most willing;" and the Lord Lyon, read the act and oath as follows:—"Because that the increase of virtue, and suppressing of idolatry, craveth that the prince and the people be of one perfect religion, which, of God's mercy, is now presently professed within this realm, therefore it is statuted and ordained by our sovereign lord, my lord regent, and three estates of this present parliament, that all kings, princes, and magistrates whatsoever, holding their place, which hereafter at any time shall happen to bear rule over this realm, at the time of their coronation, and receipt of their princely authority, make their faithful promise in the presence of the eternal God, that, enduring the whole course of their lives, they shall serve the same eternal God, to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required it in his most holy word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments, and according to the same word, shall maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and due and right ministration of the sacraments now received and preached within this realm, and shall abolish and gainstand all false religions contrary

to the same, and shall rule the people committed to their charge according to the will and command of God, revealed in his foresaid word, and according to the loveable laws and constitutions received in this realm, nowise repugnant to the said word of the eternal God, and shall procure to the uttermost of their power to the kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges of the crown of Scotland, to preserve and keep inviolate ; neither shall they transfer, nor alienate the same ; they shall forbid and repress in all estates and degrees, strife, oppression, and all kinds of wrong. In all judgments, they shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception—as the Lord and Father of mercies, be merciful unto them—and out of their lands and empires they shall be careful to root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convict by the true kirk of God, of the foresaid crimes, and that they shall faithfully affirm the things above written, by their solemn oath.” When the Lord Lyon had done reading, the minister tendered the oath to the king, who, kneeling and holding up his right hand, swore, in these impressive words, “ By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath.”

The prince's robe was then taken from him by the lord high chamberlain, and he was arrayed in his royal robes. The constable put the sword into his hand, saying, “ Sir, receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ, and protection of his kirk, and of the true religion, as it is presently professed within this kingdom, and according to the national covenant, and league and covenant, and for executing equity and justice, and for punishment of all iniquity and injustice.” The king returned the sword to the constable, so soon as he had finished, who girt it to his side ; and the earl marshal put on his spurs. After which the Marquis of Argyle took the crown in his hands, and while he held it, a prayer was offered up, “ that the Lord would purge the crown from the sins and the transgressions of those that did reign before him ; that it might be a pure crown ; that God would settle it upon the king's head, and since men that set on, were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on, and preserve it.” Prayer concluded, the marquis put the crown on his majesty's head. A herald then summoned the nobility, according to their rank, to take the oath of allegiance ; who successively approached, and with their hand touching the crown, swore to support

the king to their uttermost. When each had so sworn, the whole collectively held up their hands, and swore to be loyal and true subjects, and faithful to the crown. After the nobility were sworn, the Lyon proclaimed the obligatory oath to the people, they holding up their right hands while he pronounced,—“By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your liege men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you, against all manner of folk whatever, in your service, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant.” All having sworn, the noblemen put on their coronets, and the earl of Crawford and Lindsay delivered the sceptre into the king’s hands, with this charge, “Sir, receive this sceptre, the sign of royal power of the kingdom, that you may govern yourself right, and defend all the Christian people committed to your care by God; punishing the wicked and protecting the just.” On which the king, preceded by the grand constable, carrying the sword of state, drawn, and attended by the officers of the crown, and the nobility, again ascended the stage, and was installed in the royal throne by the Marquis of Argyle, who thus addressed him:—“Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the lawful and right heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered unto you by Almighty God.” After which the officiating minister addressed to him an exhortation, seated on his throne:—“Sir, (said he,) you are now seated on a throne, in difficult times. I shall therefore put you in mind of a scriptural expression of a throne.—It is said, Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord; you are a king in covenant with the Lord; your throne is the Lord’s throne. Remember you have a King above you, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who commandeth thrones; and your people are his people. Let your government then be refreshing unto them as the rain upon mown grass. Your throne is the Lord’s throne; beware of making it a throne of iniquity; there is such a throne, Psal. xciv. 20. which frameth mischief by a law. God will not own such a throne; it hath no fellowship with him. Sir, there is too much iniquity upon the throne, by your predecessors, who framed mischief by a law—such laws as have been destructive to religion, and grievous to the Lord’s people: you are on the throne, and have the sceptre; beware of touching mischievous laws therewith. Hear the word of the Lord, O king, that sittest upon the throne; thou, and thy servants, and thy people; execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressors; and do no wrong, do no violence

to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow ; neither shed innocent blood in this place. For if ye do these things indeed, then shall enter by the gates of this house, kings sitting upon the throne of David : but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation. I will prepare destroyers against thee. But, Sir, if you use well the Lord's throne, these words, spoken of Solomon, sitting on the Lord's throne, shall belong to you : he prospered, and all Israel obeyed him." The king next showed himself to the people gathered without the church, arrayed in his kingly attire, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, of God save the king. On returning to his throne, the nobles were again introduced by the Lord Lyon : each kneeling, with his hands between the king's hands, swore fealty in the same words as the common people, according to the national and solemn league and covenant ; and, on rising, kissed his majesty's left cheek. These solemnities ended, the minister pronounced a blessing :—" The Lord bless thee, and save thee :—the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble :—the name of the God of Jacob defend thee :—the Lord send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion. Amen." And the whole proceedings of the day were closed by an address to the king, the nobles, and people, remarkable for the plainness and energy with which they were severally admonished to fulfil the obligations they had that day entered into, and the danger and crime of forgetting their vows."

The English parliament, after the death of Charles I., acted with their usual decision and energy. Foreseeing that the negotiations between Charles II. and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they sent into Scotland, under the command of Cromwell, an army of 16,000 men. The English general, as the ground of his invasion of Scotland, addressed a declaration "to all that were saints and partakers of the faith of God's elect in Scotland." It stated in most plausible language, that the Scots were guilty of the violation of the treaty between them : justified their conduct in new modelling the government, as being a free state ; and the necessity of their taking up arms to prevent Scotland from entering into a treaty with the king, for restoring him to all his dominions ; which treaty they conjured that nation, in the bowels of Christ, and fear of the Lord, to renounce, and praying, that if it should not be renounced, " the precious in Scotland might still be separated from the vile."

Scarcely a month after the arrival of the king, Cromwell crossed the Tweed and advanced without the least opposition ; the whole

country between Berwick and Edinburgh having been laid waste. The English army encamped within a few miles of Edinburgh. The Scots, commanded by General Leslie, entrenched themselves in a strongly fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and Cromwell having endeavoured in vain to draw Leslie from his lines, found it ultimately necessary for the safety of his army to retire to Dunbar.

The Scots army pursued them, and attacked the rear-guard of the English horse, threw them into confusion, and, but for a sudden darkness, occasioned by a thick cloud overshadowing the moon, they would, in all probability, have surrounded and taken them.

It was the object of Leslie to intercept Cromwell's communication with England, accordingly the former sent a small party to take possession of Cocksburn path, the only road to Berwick, and where a few were capable of effectually resisting a considerable force, "and where, as Cromwell says, in one of his despatches, "ten men to hinder, are better than forty to make their way."

Leslie and the main body of the army hovered around the march of the English. Cromwell was perfectly aware of the perilous position in which he was placed by the movements of the Scottish general; to use his own language:—

"The enemy lying in the posture above mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself, to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand; that because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen. And that he would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes." Leslie was forced against his own better judgement to come to an engagement with the English. The committee of the church persuaded him to leave his commanding position; accordingly on Monday evening September 2, 1650, preparations were made to block up more effectually the march of the English, and cut off their retreat, by placing himself in their front upon a narrow passage between the mountains and the sea at the bottom of the hill on which he had encamped.

Cromwell, who had been anxiously watching the movements of his opponent, could not well imagine what were the intentions of the enemy or "how they could place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition" and coming with Major-general Lambert to the Earl

of Roxburgh's house, he observed that the movement of the Scots gave them an opportunity and advantage to make an attempt upon the enemy. Lambert coincided with Cromwell; and Colonel Monk being called, and a number of other officers being summoned to the general's quarters, they concerted the order of battle for next morning. Six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot to form the van, and the attack to commence at day break. During the night Leslie had drawn up in the pass, but owing to some delay the assault was not made till six o'clock in the morning. The word of the Scots was "the covenant," the parliament army, the "Lord of Hosts." Before the English foot came up, the Scots made a gallant resistance, the dispute was at sword's point between the cavalry, and even the foot at first received some repulse till Cromwell's own regiment came to their support, and with their pikes drove back the enemy. The horse however with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back the Scottish cavalry and their foot, "who," as Cromwell himself says, "were after the first repulse given made by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords."

Hitherto, the morning had been thick and foggy, but at this time the sun began to appear, and Cromwell exclaimed, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered;" shortly after, turning to some about him, with astonishment, he added, "I protest they run." The whole Scottish army were thrown into confusion; "it became a total rout," the English charging them for upwards of eight miles. Three thousand were slain, and upwards of ten thousand were taken prisoners; two hundred colours, and fifteen thousand stand of arms. The whole baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the victors. Five thousand of the sick, or wounded prisoners, were dismissed from the field; and the remainder driven into England, and sold as slaves to the plantations. The loss on the part of the English is said not to have exceeded 20 men.

Charles has been represented as accounting it the greatest happiness, that could have befallen him, to have got rid of so strong a body of his enemies; and, if he was thus glad, what can we think of the consummate hypocrisy, that could dictate the following epistle, which he transmitted to the committee of estates, consoling with them regarding the defeat of the covenanters at Dunbar. "An epistle," as is well remarked, "which may vie with any of the productions of the leading characters of the day, for the piety of its sentiments, and the scriptural strain of its expressions; yet, while their productions have been held

up to ridicule, this letter has escaped censure, as if the unblushing profligacy of Charles' latter years had atoned for the unprincipled hypocrisy of those that went before." "There is nothing," says he, "under the sun that is not subject to sudden and strange alterations,—God Almighty is only unchangeable, and therefore it is, that we are not consumed,—and, of all the affairs in the world nothing is subject to so many accidents as an army in matters of war. To-day, nothing so glorious and terrible as an army with banners;—to-morrow, or in an hour's space, nothing so confused and so weak: when then the terror of God falls upon them, and they turn their backs, and that the men of might find not their hands, then that, that was before goodly and dreadful, is in an instant despicable and contemptible. We cannot but acknowledge that the stroke and trial is very hard to be borne, and would be impossible for us and you in human strength; but in the Lord's we are bold and confident, who hath always defended this ancient kingdom, and transmitted the government of it upon us, from so many worthy predecessors, who, in the like difficulties, have not fainted; and they had only the honour and civil liberties of the land to defend, but we have, with you, religion, the gospel, and the covenant, against which hell shall not prevail, much less a number of sectaries stirred up by it. We acknowledge that what hath just befallen is just from God; for our sins, and those of our house, and of the whole land, and all the families in it, have likewise helped to pull down the judgment and kindle the fierce warth. We shall strive to be humbled, that the Lord may be appeased, and that He may return to the thousands of his people, and comfort us according to the days that we have been afflicted, and the days that we have seen evil."

Cromwell was particularly severe on the presbyterian clergy, and threw the greatest share of the blame upon them, for the opposition he met with in Scotland. In the despatch after the battle of Dunbar addressed to the speaker of the parliament of England, he says, "since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing his name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the heart of those to whom we intended them; and now we hear, that not only the deceived people, but some of the ministers are also fallen in the battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the con-

sideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly politics, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end, and neglect, or trust not to the word of God. The word of the spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of the kingdom, and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes, who having lately turned too much aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the gospel; and then no doubt they will discern and find your protection and encouragement."

Cromwell, pursuing his advantage, took immediate possession of Edinburgh and Leith, but did not make himself master of the castle till the end of December. He completed the fortifications of Leith, which had been left unfinished, and shewed to the people generally the utmost civility; yet plundering, at the same time, the houses of those who had manifested towards him their hostility. He offered to the ministers, also, who had sought refuge in the castle, the utmost freedom and protection in the exercise of their functions. Instead of doing so, however, they engaged in a controversy respecting the rights and qualifications of regular pastors, the violation of the covenants, and the abuse of unlicensed individuals, usurping the work of the ministry, while the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army were filling their pulpits, and attracting large and attentive auditories.

The remains of the Scottish army retired upon Stirling, whither the committee of estates, and commissioners of the church were assembled; and notwithstanding the defeat they had sustained, proceeded in settling the disputes among themselves, and as has been already stated, making arrangements for the coronation of the king.

After the coronation of Charles, the influence of the presbyterian party strictly so called declined. At the session of parliament that met in March, Loudon was set aside as president, and Lord Burghley elected. The committee of the estates was filled with the high royalist party; and another committee was nominated for managing the business of the army, accountable only to the king and parliament, by which the Marquis of Argyle, and the whole of the moderate presbyterians, were out-voted on every question of public importance. Against this measure there was strong opposition: the king himself, who interfered, and spoke frequently on the debate, was answered by the

chancellor and secretary; who both openly reproached him with inconstancy towards his best friends, deserting those who had brought him to the country, and put the crown upon his head, for men who had been the ruin of his father, in violation of his repeated assurances and most solemn oaths, in public and private, in writing and in print; and a formal dissent was given in, subscribed by thirteen noblemen, but so much had the moderate party declined, that it was not allowed to be recorded. The ultras, now a majority, to show the sense they had of his majesty's favour, entreated him to take upon himself the conduct of the army, which he graciously condescended to do, assuring them, "That he was confident there was none there that would distrust him, since he had as much at stake as any of them all, besides the oath of God, which was on him as their king, yea, covenanted king."

Charles himself now appeared at the head of his army as commander-in-chief, with Hamilton, as lieutenant, and Leslie as his major-general. But they wisely adhered to the defensive system; and busily employed themselves in strengthening their position, and recruiting their numbers undisturbed by the English, as Cromwell during the winter months was prevented by illness, from enduring fatigue or taking the field.

"The Scottish lines rested with their left upon Stirling, their right upon the Torwood, and the river Carron protected their front: the important passes thus in their possession, they secured a supply of recruits and provisions from the north; and had they been masters of a fleet, or possessed a supporting army in the north, they might bid the enemy defiance. But they were unable to cope with the enemy at sea, and they had neglected, or were without the means of assembling any force of consequence.

"The English were aware of the difficulty, if not the impossibility of dislodging them by an attack in front, and, had besides, a superstitious dread of the ground in the neighbourhood of Bannockburn. Three different plans were therefore suggested to Cromwell, to march by a circuitous route, and attack from the west; to cross over to Fife at Inverkeithing, or Burntisland, and harass them from that quarter; or to transport a part of the army at Angus, by sea, and after dispersing any levies, or re-inforcements, which might be in preparation there, to seize on Perth, and cut off all resources from the north. With the return of spring, and the recovery of health, Cromwell recommenced his field operations. Having collected a flotilla of small craft at Leith and Musselburgh, he marched westward with a great part of his army,

making a demonstration, as if to turn the Scottish intrenchments, or attempt the fords of the Forth, while his boats made an attack upon Burntisland; but the armament being beaten off from Burntisland, and the positions of Lealie too well chosen, to allow the other movements any chance of success, the English general returned to his old quarters about Linlithgow. Partial skirmishing took place daily between the armies, in which the Scots seem in general to have had the advantage, which the English letters from the army attribute, and probably with truth, to their superior local knowledge. But while attracting the attention of their opponents to the front of their lines, and to repeated attacks upon the strongly fortified point of Burntisland, an English detachment of about fourteen hundred men, under Overton, surprised North Queensferry. Sensible of their error, in leaving so important a passage so feebly protected, a strong body of forces were despatched from Stirling, under generals Brown and Holborne, to regain it; but they were anticipated by Cromwell, who threw over a powerful support, under Lambert, to secure the important advantage. A fierce engagement ensued upon the heights, which ended in the defeat of the Scots, who were almost entirely destroyed, nearly two thousand falling in the field, and five or six hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Sir John Brown, their gallant commander, severely wounded, and who only survived a few days. Inverkeithing and Burntisland was the reward of this victory, and great part of the English army being crossed over, they soon became masters of the whole of Fife."

Cromwell immediately marched to Perth, which was surrendered to him the day following that on which he sat down before it, by Lord Duffus, the governor, who had a garrison of 600 men. Cromwell gave the following account of the taking of Perth, in the despatch addressed to the speaker:—

"SIR—In pursuance of the providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife, and finding that the enemy being masters of the pass at Stirling, could not be gotten out there without hindering his provisions at St. Johnston, we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnston, knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his pass; wherefore leaving with Major G. Harrison about 3000 horse and dragoons, besides those which are with Colonel Rich, Colonel Saunders, and Colonel Barton, upon the borders, we marched to St. Johnston, and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us, during which time we had some intelligence of the enemies marching southward, though with some contradictions, as if

it had not been so, but doubting it might be true, we leaving a garrison in St. Johnston, and sending Lieutenant General Monk with about 5 or 6000 to Stirling, to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland. We marched with all possible expedition back again, and had passed our foot, and many of our horse over the Frith this day, resolving to make what speed we can up to the enemy, who in this desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way. I apprehend that if he go for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniences, of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have, and I trust shall be as diligent to prevent as any."

Cromwell could not have been above two days in Perth, or its neighbourhood, for the despatch above quoted, is dated at Leith the 4th August. The town was taken on the 2d, and it is evident, we think, that he left the next day. He found in the town four pieces of ordnance, much arms, ammunition, and provisions; and left in it a garrison under the command of Colonel Overton, consisting of one regiment of horse, another of foot, and four troops of dragoons. The part the citizens bore in the engagement at Inverkeithing, and the means taken by them to defend the town against Cromwell, are thus stated in the manuscript by a citizen already quoted, with additional circumstances by Cant of an interview between Andrew Reid* and Cromwell.

July 6th. By order of the king, the whole citizens of Perth marched out to the South Inch, where they cheerfully made choice of a hundred men who were to march to Burntisland to watch the motions of Cromwell's fleet and army; their officers were Andrew Butter, captain, John Davidson, lieutenant, and James Dykes, ensign; this company joined a detachment from the army at Dunfermline, of 3000 men, who, on the 10th of July, were posted on Innerkeithing hill, commanded by major-general Sir John Brown of Fordel, and major-general Holburne of Menstrie, they were engaged by a superior number of Cromwell's army who debarked in the Frith, and routed our army. Holburne escaped, Brown was taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Edinburgh. 1600 foot were killed, and 1200 prisoners were taken

* Reid was a merchant in town, and is mentioned by Cant as having paid about forty thousand merks of the coronation expenses, for which he received the king's bond for payment.

at Inverkeithing and Dunfermline, with fifty-two drums, colours, and bagpipes. The English were commanded by Lambert. The Perth officers marched with the remains of their company to Perth, and lieutenant Davidson shut the gates of the city. Shortly after the king at the head of the royal army marched from Stirling to England, Cromwell and Lambert advanced with their troops to Perth, and lay one night at Fordel, about six miles from Perth, and drove in their horses among General Brown's standing corn. Next day Cromwell sat down before Perth with his army and found the gates shut. John Davidson, a bold and enterprising gentleman, ordered carts to drive up and down the streets, and a drum to beat continually through the town and at all the ports, to deceive the English generals. The town being summoned to surrender, Cromwell offered honourable terms, which were accepted, and the gates thrown open. The provost, Andrew Grant of Balhagils (Murrayshall,) attended the English officers, and conducted them to John Davidson's house (now Walter Kier's) where, after an entertainment, Cromwell asked the provost how, in his defenceless situation, he proposed to keep him at the gates. The provost simply answered, that they designed to stand out until they heard that the king was in England. Cromwell, with a sneer, called him a silly body, and below his notice ; but said, if he had time, he would hang Davidson. Andrew Reid, whom I mentioned before, came in and was introduced to Cromwell, to whom he presented the bond granted by king Charles to him. Cromwell returned it, and said he had nothing to do with it, as he neither was Charles's heir nor executor. To whom Reid replied, if your excellency is neither heir nor executor, you are surely a vitious intromittor (intermeddler). Cromwell, turning to the company, declared, That he never had such a bold tale told him. The bonds are yet to be seen in the hands of some of Mr Reid's descendants. Immediately after Cromwell's departure from Mr Davidson's house, the side wall fell down, and Davidson said, he wished it had fallen a quarter of an hour sooner, though he, Sampson-like, had perished in the ruins. Davidson had great possessions in the town, was a public notary, and fiscal of court. He translated and illuminated the town's charters ; some copies written by his hand are extant among the incorporations of trades with gilded capitals. His progenitors founded the chaplaincy of St. Leonards, and endowed it with a stipend out of their lands, the lineal representatives of that family are called Vicars of St Leonards, and reserved their title to the benefice. John Davidson gave a tack of the

lands of St Leonards to Campbell of Aberuchill, for a charging horse to fight against Cromwell, he afterwards sold them to the glover incorporation. Patrick Davidson, afterwards provost, was his heir and successor. To him succeeded his son, Patrick, Laird of Woodmiln, whose son, Patrick, an officer in the army, died unmarried. The provost's eldest daughter, married to Dr Drummond, of Gardrummond, had a flourishing family."

Cromwell was right in his apprehensions, that the Scottish army had gone in the direction of England. Thither he with all possible speed followed them, and defeated them at Worcester, which for the time annihilated the prospects of Charles, and gave the republicans the undisputed possession of the whole of Scotland.

Under the date of 1652, Whitelock, in his "*Memorials of English Affairs*," gives an account of a tumult raised by the women of Perth, against the Synod of Perth and Stirling. He shews them to have been complete *Amazons*. For the honour, however, of the "*Fair Maids*" of Perth, we are proud to say, it is in our power to free them from the misrepresentations of this generally accurate chronicler. It may be added, that the matter itself has its value, in as much as it affords a curious illustration of the manners of the time, and shews that the power of the clergy could sometimes be over-borne. We shall present the reader in the first place, with the story as related by Whitelock, and then state the real circumstances of the case.

What Whitelock says is as follows :—" Letters of the synod meeting at Perth, and citing the ministers and people, who had expressed a dislike of their heavenly government, that the men being out of the way, their wives resolved to answer for them. And on the day of appearance, 120 women with good clubs in their hands came and besieged the church where the reverend ministers sat. They sent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they basted him for his labour, kept him prisoner, and sent a party of sixty, who routed the rest of the clergy, bruised their bodies sorely, took all their baggage, and twelve horses. That one of the ministers after a miles running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a soldier fell on his knees for quarter, who knowing nothing of the matter, asked the black-coat what he meant. That these conquerors having laid hold on the synod clerk, beat him till he forswore his office. That thirteen of the ministers rallied about four miles from the place, and voted, that this village should never more have a synod kept in it, but be accursed; and that, although in

the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were called up for stoning the bishops, yet now the whole sex should be esteemed wicked."

Now in the records of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, is to be found a full detail of the matter above referred to. It is there stated, that the synod should have met at Stirling, on the second Tuesday of October, 1651; but instead of the minutes of a meeting, the following memorandum is inserted:—"There was no meeting of the synod in October, 1651, seeing that it was interrupted through the confusions and difficulties of the time, for in regard of the troubles that occurred at that time, the brethren could no ways safely meet, which is very manifest and *notour*; the English army having at this time overspread the land, and garrisons being planted both in Perth and Stirling, and no safety for travelling, nor liberty for the brethren of the synod to convene."

In consequence, however, of some private correspondence among the members of the synod, they ventured to meet at Dunning, April 13, 1652; and to satisfy some of the members, they agreed to meet next day at Aberuthven, where treating of several affairs, it was agreed, on account of what is termed, "grave and weighty considerations," to adjourn till the eighth day of June next, to meet at Dunning.

Accordingly the synod met at Dunning on the day above-named, and what occasioned the violence, which afterwards happened, is recorded. A scandal, it would appear, had been raised against two deposed ministers, Mr G. Marshall and Mr John Graham, minister of Aberuthven and Auchterarder, for preaching after sentence of deposition had been passed upon them. They were ordered to appear next day, to answer for their conduct, and a committee was appointed to consider what was to be done with them.

"At Dunning, Wednesday, the 9th June, 1652, the brethren of the synod being to meet this day, according to appointment yesterday; and, as they were going to the church of Dunning, there came from the parish of Aberuthven, a tumultuous multitude of women with staves, some men being among them, clad in women's clothes, of whom Mr John Graham's wife was the leader, who did close the kirk door, and violently opposed the brethren's entry to the church. And so the brethren retired together to a house; and after calling on the name of God, they fell upon a consultation for transporting the synod instantly to another place, where they might conveniently sit; and because the house was so straight, that the members could not meet in it, and in this respect likewise, that they who held them out of the church

should also put them out of the house, therefore they went to the public streets, where the most part of the presbyteries met. And then there being violence offered to all, and done by the said women to some of the ministers upon the streets, by beating, pursuing, and spulzeing them, and taking from them their cloaks, and from some their horses; the brethren did all therefore resolve to transport, and adjourn the synod instantly to Forgardenny, to meet there at two hours afternoon. In regard of the which violence, and unpeaceable carriage of the fore said tumultuous multitude, the committee appointed could not meet for preparing and giving in of overtures and siclike. The execution of the summons against Mr George Marshall and Mr John Graham, were therethrough interrupted."

Twenty-four ministers. with three ruling elders, met at Forgardenny, and constituted a synod; and instead of the wild resolutions mentioned by Whitelock, the synod resolved "that, as to the authors and abettors of the great wrong, and indignity done to the synod at Dunning, it was seriously recommended to the several brethren to inform themselves there anent, and to give in their information, that the brethren may consider on some course of vindication."

The result of the synod's deliberations, was that the case be referred to the presbytery of Auchterarder, who were instructed to apply to the next General Assembly for advice; but as Cromwell prohibited that body from assembling during the protectorate, the further consideration of the matter, appears never to have been entered upon.

The reader will see, that neither wife nor maiden belonging to the "Fair City," were concerned in this Indricous affair; and the blame must rest entirely on the shoulders of the minister's wife of Aberuthven and Auchterarder, whose large combativeness was so powerfully excited, as to raise, and head the female parishoners of Aberuthven, and oppose the Synod of Perth and Stirling, for summoning her husband to appear before them for preaching, after having been deposed.

After Cromwell's departure, the English troops were placed under the command of General Monk, who built strong citadels at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, Glasgow, and Perth,* besides keeping numerous

* Cromwell's army built the citadel on the head of the South Inch, a little below the Gray-Friars burial-place, to overawe the town. It was a stately and strong work, square, and with a bastion at every corner, surrounded with strong ramparts of earth, and a deep ditch full of water. The north side extended along the south wall of the Gray-Friars burying-ground, to the Edinburgh road, and to

garrisons through the kingdom at large. Our historical writers, however much they may differ on other subjects, agree in this, that from the manner in which Cromwell governed Scotland, he is entitled to the highest praise—they agree that his government was at once vigorous, upright, and impartial, though in some respects, marked by considerable severity.

The administration of civil affairs, was intrusted to a council of state, composed of nine members—including General Monk, Lord Broghill, Charles Howard, Colonels Seroope, Desborough, Whethen, Cooper, &c. Lord Broghill was president; but only two natives of Scotland, Lockhart and Swinton, were admitted.

This body had the power of levying taxes, and endeavoured to screw out of poor, miserable, and distracted Scotland £10,000 per month, which, however, was reduced to £72,000 a year—a sum too, which was paid with considerable difficulty.

The benefits accruing to Scotland during the protectorate may be shortly enumerated. Contending factions were kept in check by the strong arm of the law. Toleration to all religious sects was permitted. The presbyterians no longer exercising a control over the civil power, were unable to enforce the civil penalties annexed to ecclesiastical censures, applied themselves to their pastoral duties. They found it was easy to live with those who differed with them on religious matters—to treat them as fellow-christians, and consider themselves

the west of Marshall Place; the east side ran parallel with the Tay, forming a right angle with the chesnut tree on the east side of the Inch. The whole was composed of the earth and sand dug out of the trenches, which were originally very deep. Within the citadel on the east side was a range of stables, which could contain two hundred horses. Opposite to it they built a pier, for the loading of ships. The commanding officer ordered great trees to be cut down in the king's hunting park at Falkland, and brought to the citadel. The school-house was demolished, which contained three hundred and sixty scholars, was three storeys high, and contained rooms for the rector, doctors, and music master; they demolished the walls of the Grey-Friars, which were between six and seven quarters high, carried away the stones, with betwixt two and three hundred tomb-stones, and one hundred and forty dwelling-houses, with the garden walls, the hospital, which contained many large rooms, and was three storeys high, the town cross, not inferior to Mary Magdalen's Chapel, the stone pillars and abutments of the bridge, besides many kilns and cobles: all were carried away to build the citadel. One hundred and forty families were turned out of their houses and had starved if they had not been supplied by the town; the surface of the two Inches, which yielded two thousand merks yearly for grass, were carried off to build the ramparts.

as heirs together of a blessed immortality. The General Assembly was prohibited from meeting, though the synods and presbyteries were allowed to meet unmolested.

Public justice was also impartially administrated. The Scottish judges were notorious for their partiality.* In cases brought before them, where a relation or a friend was concerned, a decision was sure to be given in their favour. Hence justice was polluted at its very fountain, and we can easily guess what must have been the effect, produced by such a state of things, on both the public and private morality of the country at large.

The English officers whom Cromwell appointed as judges, though ignorant of the principles of Scottish law, yet deciding the cases brought before them according to the dictates of common-sense, and an unbiassed judgment, gave general satisfaction. Commerce was no less encouraged by our southern neighbours. A free intercourse with England was opened up, and many English merchants, were encouraged to form establishments in Scotland. "Among other manufactures in Scotland," says Mr Aikman, in his history of Scotland, and to whom we have been indebted for a good deal of our materials during this period, "glass-making was practised in the citadel of Leith. Tradition reports that the art of knitting stockings, and the planting of kail, were introduced by the soldiers of Cromwell; but the better authenticated facts of the importations from England to supply the wants of the army, and the quantity of money spent by the soldiery, may be considered as among the fortunate circumstances which operated for the encouragement of trade. His men paid punctually whatever they purchased; and if the taxes imposed for their support were more than what would have been raised had they been absent, they were considerably under the money expended by them in the country; the number of troops varied from nine to twelve thousand.

Scotland was also incorporated in union with England and Ireland, and as well as the latter country, sent thirty members to parliament. The following declaration of Cromwell relative to the

* Sir Walter Scott, in the *Tales of a Grandfather*, says on this subject, that when "The peculiar rectitude of the men employed by Cromwell being pointed out to a learned judge, in the beginning of the next century, his lordship composedly answered, "Deil tak them for their impartiality! a pack of kinless loons—for my part, I can never see a cousin or friend in the wrong."

election of the magistrates of burghs, shews the anxiety he manifested to allow as much local control in municipal matters, as did not interfere with his general government of the country :—

“24th September, 1655, declaration of his highness council in Scotland for elections. Whereas by an ordinance of his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, bearing date the 12th April, 1654, Scotland is united unto our commonwealth with England, and therein appears, that the shires and burghs of Scotland, by their deputies convened at Dalkeith, and again at Edinburgh, did, before the then commissioners of parliament, accept of the said union and assent thereto, and did promise to live peaceably under, and in obedience to the authority of the commonwealth of England exercised in Scotland. And whereas by an other ordinance of his highness, entitled an ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland it is desired that they may be made equal sharers with England in the present settlement of peace, liberty and property, with all other privileges of a free people, the council in pursuance thereof, taking all the premises into their consideration, as also the many prejudices that may arise to the good people, burgesses, and inhabitants of the several cities, burghs and incorporations within this nation for the want of the due nomination and election of their respective magistrates according to their laws and customs. And to the end that the inhabitants of the said burghs, cities, and towns may receive all due encouragement, and have government and justice righteously administered unto them, do declare, that all prohibitions as to the election of magistrates are taken off, and that all cities, burghs, and towns incorporate in Scotland, to whom the privilege of choosing their magistrates belongs, may from henceforth meet and convene for that end within their respective cities, burghs, and towns, and therefore proceed to the due and lawful nomination and election of their respective Magistrates, wherein the said council expects due and particular care shall be taken that no person be chosen who is dangerous to the commonwealth, disaffected to the present government, or scandalous in life and conversation ; which persons qualified, duly elected and chosen, are and shall be the magistrates for the ensuing year ; and the council do hereby farther declare, that in case this declaration shall not come so soon to all the burghs, that they shall elect their magistrates by the time limited in their charters respective ; that in such case such burghs not having such timely notice, may proceed to

the election of their magistrates that day fortnight. Provided always, that in the oath of their faithful administration of justice, and in all other cases where formerly the name and style of king, or keepers of the liberties of England has been used, in the exercise of the fore-said government of the said cities, burghs, or towns; the name of his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, be inserted and used.

“EMANUEL DOUNING,
Clerk of Council, 24th September 1665.”

But although the government of Cromwell was highly conducive to the best interests of the country, yet, it must be admitted, that in some parts it was felt to be somewhat oppressive. The citizens of Perth had their full share of its severity. The town was occupied by a large garrison; and the inhabitants, as a matter of course, were put to a deal of trouble and expense in providing quarters and provisions for the soldiers. The Town-council records contain many references on these points. There is an act “for the prevention of the ‘kirk’ being abused by the English soldiers.” And another concerning the “quartering of four troop of horsemen,” and furnishing them with bedding, coal, and candles. There is an entry, also, relating to a supplication to the governor, stating the miseries sustained by the inhabitants having so many soldiers quartered upon them. And in another, as “to the grievances for casting down of houses, barns, &c., by the English army.” The protector was ultimately applied to for redress, who promised them indemnification for the losses sustained. We find in these records, also, an order by General Monk “for affixing of certain papers on the most public places; and, that these printed papers be decorated with tapestry, if such can be found within the burgh, and that with all due solemnity; and appoints Andrew Hay to be proclaimer of said papers, and James Corbie to be reader thereof.” The above were read in presence of the garrison and council of the burgh, with firing of cannon, &c., on the 20th June, 1654.

The Town Council, though “tossed in the storm of affliction” themselves, were not unmindful of the sufferings of their country brethren at this period; and did what they could to get remitted the pains and penalties, to which their conduct had subjected them.

General Monk had issued a proclamation, whereby those who gave in their adherence to the government by a certain day, should be

pardoned; and at the same time, imposing a fine upon every parish and presbytery, if they did not discover those who continued in rebellion. In a great many instances, the proclamation was not obeyed. Those who continued enemies to the commonwealth had their goods and property confiscated; and such parishes as did not send in the names of those who were still disaffected, were severely fined.

The civic authorities of Perth, however, appear to have obeyed the injunctions of Monk; for it is stated in the Town Council records, that a list of persons who had gone out of the town to join the enemies of the commonwealth, being about twenty individuals, was given in to the governor. Not so, however, the inhabitants of the rural districts, as the following petition, which is engrossed in the Town Council records, "of the noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses" testifies. The petition is written very much in the style of the period; and while it shews the strength of Oliver's government in Scotland, it is more valuable, however, as shewing that the liberal use of scripture language in the letters and speeches of the public men of that age, was not confined to the presbyterians and independents alone; but was employed by the cavaliers and royalists also. The truth is, that the men who used such phraseology when current, are no more to be found fault with, or called hypocrites, scoundrels, and tyrants, than would a person of the present day deserve to be so denominated because, in complying with the fashion, he chose cloth of a certain colour for his coat, and wore a hat of a particular shape:—

To his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland,—

The humble petition of the noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses under subscribed, with many thousands in the county of Perth.

Sheweth—That whereas we have long laboured in the furnace of said evils by our unnatural contests and divisions, but have become bettered neither towards God nor our neighbour,—therefore, the Lord hath written in bloody characters our guilt and punishment, that he that runneth might read; but whilst our miseries increased so did our curses, the want of love and charity to sympathize with our suffering brethren in their disgrace; and distress hath like a contagious plague overspread this nation, in which we desire to vindicate God's glory and justice, by a humble confession and sincere abhorring, so we think

no offence to manifest to the world as occasion shall offer in our several callings.

Shall we then be silent in this day of our brethren's trial, especially being encouraged by the sense of your highness' goodness, and while we enjoy the fruits of peace, and are numbered amongst the people under your highness' protection? but those noblemen and gentlemen fined, (in whom we have all relations, both natural and civil,) stand debared by an impossible condition of performance, all the money of this nation being absolutely wasted by the many ways of a consuming war and perishing country.

This is the ground of our humble address to your highness in their behalf, that are now tossed in the storm of affliction, and has their hope deeply wounded by the said sentence of that ordinance.

Therefore we humbly pray that your highness would be graciously pleased to enlarge the favours of free pardon and protection, without fine or composition, for the healing of the soiled, whom we humbly conceive them to be, persons of as much civility and peaceable disposition as any in the land; so we are confident it would be cheerfully attested to, if required, by the several governors and officers in the parishes where they reside; and undoubtedly will prove the most effectual means friendly to reingage our affections and theirs in a joyful return of thankfulness and submissive obedience to the commonwealth, under your highness' government.

The prosperity of Scotland was of short duration, and the master spirit who guided it was soon called to his final reward. Worn out by anxiety amid the difficulties with which he had to contend—the plots and assassinations, he was menaced with on every side, Cromwell's spirits sank; and he departed this life, on the third of September, 1658, the anniversary of his victories of Dunbar and Worcester, at three o'clock in the afternoon. This event was the cause of great rejoicing to the Stuart family; and, as has been well observed, "it was not difficult for a sagacious mind, rising above the atmosphere of prejudice, to foresee, from the death of Cromwell, that the restoration of Charles II. was inevitable."

Various conflicting opinions have been formed of the character of Cromwell. It has fared with him as it has done with all those who have been the architect of their own fortunes. Not being allied to royal or noble blood, he has been treated by the most of our courtly writers with the greatest contempt: they consider that he showed the

most unprincipled audacity in occupying the position which of right belonged to the lineal descendants of the Henries and Elizabeth. Moreover, they represent him as destitute of even mediocrity of talent; and that if he had not been carried off by death, he would soon have been obliged to resign a power which he held by manifest usurpation. Such writers forget, in our opinion, what the real point of view is from which the character of Cromwell must be surveyed, in order to form a just estimate of it. It clearly is not by dwelling on the rank from which he sprung, nor by overdrawn and exaggerated statements, as to the means by which he reached the highest pinnacle of his ambition. We can only form a just opinion of his genius and talents, by an impartial study, as to how he discharged the duties of the high trust he imposed upon himself. It is foreign indeed to the subject on which we are treating to enter upon this field; but we cannot leave the protectorate without presenting the reader with what we consider a just view of the character of Cromwell by one who deeply studied it:—

“Cromwell was a man of great virtues, sincere in his religion, fervent in his patriotism, and earnestly devoted to the best interests of mankind. He had a frame of mind that no complication of difficulties could ever succeed to inspire with a doubt of his power to conquer them. The fertility of his conceptions, like the intrepidity of his spirit, was incapable of being exhausted. We seek in romances for characters, with qualities enabling them to achieve incredible adventures: in the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England we find a real personage, whose exploits do not fall short of all that the wildest imagination had ever the audacity to feign.

“The obstacles which Cromwell had to encounter, were of a magnitude the most serious and appalling: a young prince of promising talents and engaging manners, the undoubted heir of the preceding sovereigns of England, whose claims a vast majority of the people regarded as sacred; a multitude of fanatics of various denominations, whose resolved purpose it was not to endure a master; and the good sense and independent spirit of a large portion of the inhabitants, who regarded liberty and a government by equal laws as an inheritance never on any account to be allowed to escape from their grasp. All these he held in exemplary subjection: his reputation, as a man born to rule over his fellow-men, increased every day; and the awe and reverence of the English name that he inspired into all other states, can find no parallel in any preceding or subsequent period of our history.”

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors by the almost unanimous wish of the nation. The reaction in favour of monarchy was so decided that no party sought to exact conditions from him. Both England and Scotland soon, however, had to repent of such an oversight. Charles in his exile had learned nothing either from the fate of his father or the proceedings of the commonwealth men : his notions of the divine right of kings were as strong as ever. On his accession he had written to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, assuring them of his determination to support the church government as by law established. But this was merely to cover his ulterior designs ; for the Scottish parliament, which met in 1662, rescinded the whole acts passed since 1633 in favour of Presbyterianism ; passed an act for the restitution and re-establishment of Episcopacy ; and declared the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, unlawful, void, and null. An act was at the same time passed requiring every person who assumed an office of trust, to declare, that he judged it unlawful for subjects, upon any pretence of reformation, to enter into covenants, or take up arms against their sovereign, and to disown as seditious all that had been done by petition or remonstrance during the troubles.

The Town Council of Perth were not slow in making the required declaration, for in the records of that body, there is to be seen the following declaration, which they made at Michaelmas 1662, with the whole of their signatures attached :—

“ Declaration appointed to be signed by all persons in public trust conform to the act of parliament dated 5th September, 1662,—We, the provost, bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, council and deacons of crafts of the burgh of Perth under subscribing, sincerely affirm and declare, that we judge it unlawful in subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him, and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping council-tables, that were used at the beginning for carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious, and particularly that those oaths whereof the one was called the

National Covenant, as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter, and the other entitled a Solemn League and Covenant, were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same ; and that there lieth no obligation upon us, or any of the subjects from the said oaths, or either of them to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom."

The magistrates and council were so overjoyed with the restoration of the king, that they made a gift of Gowrie House, with the grounds attached, which cost fifteen thousand merks. It became afterwards the property of George, Earl of Kinnoul, who put it in a state of thorough repair. Charles was highly pleased with this mark of the town's favour; and as a return for the favour received, granted by royal charter to the town, the citadel standing upon the South Inch, with the whole arms, ammunition, and everything therein : and " that in consideration of their faithful services to his majesty and his royal progenitors, and for the losses sustained by them in the taking down of the houses by the English to construct the said citadel, the ruin of their trade, &c." The charter was dated Whitehall, June 28, 1661.

By a warrant from the Lords of the Privy Council, dated November 26, 1661, " Sir George Kinnaird, of Rossie, with the assistance of the magistrates, are ordered to demolish the walls, trenches and fortifications of the citadel of Perth, and to fill up the trenches thereof."

The town received considerable sums of money for the different parts of the citadel which they sold. The Laird of Kinfauns paid 900 merks for a part of it ; and an offer was made by a merchant in Edinburgh of £12 Scots, per cwt., for six of the smallest iron cannons, for a frigate he was building at Leith. The Town Council records contain many entries relative to the citadel, as to how it was to be disposed of. We notice the following : license was granted, July 30, 1661, to sell three of the greatest guns to the Provost of Aberdeen, at £12, per cwt. This bargain, however, was broken off ; for at a meeting of the Town Council on 9th August following, a letter was read from the Lord Commissioner Rothes, to give Captain Binnie a privateer, "in whom his grace hath great interest, some of the cannon ;" upon which the council appoint the cannon sold to Aberdeen to be delivered up to him ; they at the same time gave " certain stones from the citadel to the *Laird of Aldie*, for good services done by him to the town, and to encourage him to build therein."

The magistrates and council appear to have been anxious to get rid of it altogether—it being sold to the town treasurer for 4000 marks, who granted a bond for the payment. The treasurer, it would appear, had been doing business on his own account in the sale of the materials of the citadel; for in the minute relative to his bargain with the town it is stated, “and because the treasurer, since Martinmas, has been selling parts of the citadel, and that his accounts and the bargain do not clash together.”

We are now to give a sketch of a period, which presents a mournful contrast to the state of the country under the protectorate. Cromwell, who had no good will to the presbyterians, gave unlimited toleration for the exercise of their religious opinions. Now, however, they were subjected to a cruel and vindictive persecution by a prince, and his myrmidons, who had sworn the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant. In 1662 nearly four hundred of the presbyterian clergy were expelled from their pulpits; and in such circumstances, it was to be expected, that their congregations would follow them where they might listen to their instructions, and condole with them under their privations, despite of the additional severities imposed by the government upon their doing so. The curates who occupied the pulpits of the parish churches were neglected, and treated with the greatest disrespect. In some places they were assailed by showers of stones, and in others the church doors were so effectually barricaded against them, that no entrance was to be got, except by climbing in by the windows. Nor were their talents and conduct at all calculated to soften the opposition given them. Bishop Burnet says, “that the prejudices of the people against *Episcopacy* were out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the *ejected* preachers, and were, generally, very mean and despicable in all respects. That they were the worst preachers he ever heard: they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order and sacred function, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who rose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.”

The commission courts endeavoured to devise a remedy, for the defection of the great body of the people, from the episcopal clergy. Nine prelates and thirty-five commissioners from the laity, of whom a bishop, with four assistants, made a quorum, were intrusted with the

power of enforcing the acts, for the preservation of the episcopal church.

The ecclesiastical courts, or "the bishop's drag nets," as they were called, proceeded to punish with the greatest severity, all who attended conventicles, and absented themselves from the parish church. Justices of Peace were empowered also to commit without juries, those who infringed the act against separation from, and disobedience to, ecclesiastical authority; and when an offender was tried for the third offence, if he was found guilty, he was to be banished to America.

The most active persecutor of this period was one Sir James Turner. He had served under David Leslie, and afterwards in the army of engagers under the Duke of Hamilton. He made considerable pretensions to learning; having written a treatise on the art of war, and other now forgotten works, besides his own memoirs. Of a fiery disposition, he was just such a tool as the civil and ecclesiastical authorities needed; though somewhat to his credit, his proceedings against the covenanters fell short in severity to his instructions.

The Privy Council thanked him for the zeal he had shewn in seeing the laws relating to nonconformity receive due obedience.

Sir James was appointed both judge and executioner of the law, and empowered by his commission to receive information, and to impose and levy fines without any process. The violence and injustice perpetrated by Turner, and the soldiers under his command, in the south and the west of Scotland, are almost incredible.

When the curate made an accusation against any of his non-conforming parishioners, no witnesses were required to substantiate the charge; but the sentence was summarily pronounced, and a fine imposed, often far exceeding what the law appointed. If the person was unwilling or unable to pay, the soldiers were sent to live at free quarters upon him till they had destroyed ten times more than the value of the fine, and when the poor man so used was no longer able to sustain them, his little remaining property was carried off and sold for a mere trifle. By such ruffians the religious feelings of the people were trampled upon, and their private devotions held up to ridicule. Wherever family worship was engaged in, it was treated as a conventicle and contrary to law. Multitudes were dragged to church and to prison, violence being openly done to their persons for resisting the tyrannical commands of the dragoons.

The curates abetted Turner in these atrocities. They made a list of their congregations, after sermon called it over from the pulpit, and all who were absent were delated to the soldiers.

"As the churches of the old Presbyterian ministers," says Crookshank in his history of the Church of Scotland, "who were not as yet ejected, were crowded to the last degree, so the soldiers repaired to these parishes, and when the worship was near over, went armed to the church doors or church-yard gates, and obliged the people to go out one by one, and declare upon oath, whether they belonged to that congregation; and they who could not do this, though their own parishes were vacant, were immediately fined, and what money they had about them taken from them. If they had no money, then their bibles, the men's coats and the women's plaids were seized by these wretched executioners; so that, on the Lord's day, the soldiers returned from these churches laden with spoil; nay, in some places they would enter these churches by force, and interrupt divine worship. One party would stand at one door, a second at the other, and a third entered the church, and obliged the people to go all out at one door, and they, that would not presently swear that they belonged to that parish, were rifled of all that they had, and sometimes dragged to prison; and after all the poor people were forced to give it under their hand, *that they were kindly used.*"

Irritated by such manifold oppression, the covenanters of the south and the west rose in arms, and marched to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir James Turner in his lodgings, seized his papers and his money, and thence marched towards Edinburgh.

Although assuming a hostile position to the government, yet they professed obedience to the civil power; their demands were exceedingly moderate: they only required the establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government, and the restoration of the ejected ministers to their former charges.

The Privy Council, on being apprised of this movement of the covenanters, immediately despatched General Dalziel, a man of a fierce and passionate temper, to oppose them. The covenanters had been told that the whole of West Lothian was ready to rise in their favour, and that they had a large party of friends in the metropolis itself. Under these false hopes, they approached as far as Collington, within four miles of Edinburgh. Here they learned that the city was fortified, and cannon placed before the gates; that the College of Justice, which can always furnish a large body of serviceable men, was under arms, and as their informer expressed it, every advocate in his bandoliers. They learned at the same time, that their own depressed party within the town had not the least opportunity or purpose of rising.

Discouraged with these news, and with the defection of many of their army, Learmont and Wallace drew back their diminished forces to the eastern shoulder of the Pentland Hills, and encamped on an eminence called Rullion Green. They had reposed themselves for some hours, when, towards evening, they observed a body of horse coming through the mountains, by a pass leading from the west. At first the covenanters entertained the flattering dream that it was the expected reinforcement from West Lothian. But the standards and kettle-drums made it soon evident that it was the vanguard of Dalziel's troops, which, having kept the opposite skirts of the Pentland ridge till they passed the village of Currie, had there learned the situation of the insurgents, and moved in quest of them by a road through the hills.

Dalziel instantly led his men to the assault. The insurgents behaved with courage. They twice repulsed the attack of the royalists. But it was renewed by a large force of cavalry on the insurgent's right wing, which bore down and scattered a handful of wearied horse who were there posted, and broke the ranks of the infantry. The slaughter in the field and in the chase was very small, not exceeding fifty men, and only a hundred and thirty were made prisoners. The king's cavalry, being composed chiefly of gentlemen, pitied their unfortunate countrymen, and made little slaughter; but many were slain by the country people in the neighbourhood, who were unfriendly to their cause.

The government shewed little mercy indeed to those connected in any way with the rising at Pentland; they pursued such as escaped like so many blood-hounds. About forty persons died on the scaffold. These executions were far from producing the effect intended, and those who suffered rejoiced that they were called upon to be martyrs for the truth. Even those who differed in opinion from the covenanters, pitied their fate, and reprobated the cruelties exercised towards them. None of the sufferers of this period excited the commiseration of the populace to such an extent as did Hugh M'Kail, a young minister of twenty-six years of age. As a preacher, M'Kail was exceedingly popular; he was well educated, comely in person, and of an ardent and enthusiastic temperament. He was subjected to extreme torture in order to wring from him some information concerning the causes and purposes of the rising. After having received a number of strokes in the *boot*, at considerable intervals, to the severe compression of "flesh, sinews, and bones," which he bore with the greatest pa-

tience, and declared "that he could say no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as his poor leg." Being condemned to death, along with five others, they were brought to the scaffold in a few days after. Here M'Kail shewed the same heroic fortitude as he did when under torture; he spoke of his exit from the world with the most unbounded and rapturous confidence, and before being thrown over, he concluded an address to the assembled spectators in the following strain of impassioned eloquence:—

"This is my comfort," said he, "that my soul is to come into Christ's hands, and he will present it blameless and faultless, and then I shall be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! Now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! farewell the world and all its delights! farewell meat and drink! farewell, sun, moon, and stars! welcome God and Father! welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant! Welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation! welcome glory! welcome eternal life! welcome death!" Then, after praying a little within himself, he said aloud, "O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth."

The severity with which the Covenanters were treated at length attracted the notice of the English court. Charles himself viewed with aversion the persecution to which they were subjected; but his indolence prevented him from checking the conduct of those at the head of Scottish affairs. Archbishop Sharp is even said to have kept up a letter from the King to the Privy Council, stopping further executions, till such time as some of the unhappy persons under sentence of death had fallen a sacrifice to his vengeance.

Sharp, however, was removed from the administration; and the Earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray entrusted with the chief management of affairs, who endeavoured to reconcile the Presbyterians by a scheme of comprehension, as it was called. By this proposal it was intended that the authority of the bishops should be diminished, and the most obnoxious parts of episcopal church government abolished. They also gave permission to such of the ejected ministers as had conducted themselves quietly, to preach in vacant parishes, and bestowed upon them a small salary of about twenty guineas a year. This latter act was termed the indulgence. The leniency of the government, however, came too late; the sufferings to which the cove-

nanters were exposed, led them farther in their opposition to the civil power than they at first thought of. Such as complied with the indulgence were stigmatised as apostates, and those who were hostile to it betook themselves to the fields, and preached to large congregations. Their proceedings, of course, irritated the government, who now passed more severe enactments than ever against conventicles.

It is natural to enquire how the authorities of the "Fair City" acted in the midst of the religious commotions of this period. It has been already stated that they renounced to a man the covenants; and the Town Council records afford ample evidence that they continued steadfast in their loyalty to the reigning family. A new cross having been built, it was adorned with the royal arms; and on the 29th May, 1669, the anniversary of the restoration, the town treasurer was appointed to cover the terrace of the new cross with a carpet, and prepare glasses and two gallons of French wine to be drunk and run out of the mouths of lions, bears, griffins, and other heads with which it was ornamented; and in the evening bonfires to be lighted, with other public demonstrations. Their zeal in suppressing conventicles was no less conspicuous, there being many minutes in the town council records referring to the activity they displayed in such matters. As a specimen of the severe penalties to which parties in Perth and its neighbourhood were subjected, either for being present at conventicles or conniving at them, we quote the following instances:—Patrick Hay, Laird of Leys, is ordered to be confined to his house at Edinburgh; and Mr James Mercer, tutor to the Laird of Megginch, is prohibited from leaving Perth; while his pupil, Mr John Drummond, younger of Megginch, Alexander Christie, and Thomas Keltie, merchants in Perth, were taken prisoners to Edinburgh. The Laird of Megginch was fined £500 sterling, on account of his lady being at a conventicle, and his son, above mentioned, to be imprisoned until his father should pay the fine. Christie and Keltie were fined in 500 marks Scots, and the Laird of Leys in a thousand marks. George Hay of Balhousie, or Bousie as it was sometimes called, was brought before Lauderdale for hearing a Presbyterian minister, whom he kept as his chaplain, and fined in 27,000 marks. Kirkton, in his history, says, "That this money was given to the Earl of Athole to defray the expenses incurred by him for entertaining Lauderdale, who, at this time, made a stately visit to the earl, with his lady and family.

Such rigorous measures were abetted by many of the cavaliers in different parts of the country. The royalists entertained the most

inveterate prejudices against the Presbyterians. They considered them as the authors of all the commotions, civil and ecclesiastical, since 1633, and as unworthy of being tolerated, because of their disloyalty and want of respect for law and order. Hence the avidity with which private persons assisted the government to punish their covenanting countrymen. Among those who occupy a prominent place for lending a hand to suppress conventicles, is the lady of Patrick Smythe of Methven. The following story is told of her interrupting one in person. A large meeting of the covenanters from different parts of the country, including many of the citizens of Perth, had assembled in Methven Wood; Mr Smythe being then in London, she approached them at the head of about sixty followers and dependants, having a horseman's carabine ready cocked in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other. Seeing her in this hostile attitude, the covenanters sent a large party of their number to demand her intentions. Nothing daunted, and with unfaltered courage she replied, "that unless they left her husband's grounds, it should be a bloody day." The interrogators, on the other hand, answered, "they were determined to preach whether she would or not;" but finding her as resolute as themselves, and to spare the unnecessary effusion of blood, they peacefully departed to a place where, unmolested, they could engage in religious worship.

This Amazonian lady gave rather a highly coloured account of the affair to her husband, in a letter which she sent him. After stating that she was providing arms and two pieces of cannon, as the Whigs had sworn to be revenged for the insult she had put upon them, the epistle concludes thus:—"If the fanatics chance to kill me, comfort yourself it shall not be for nought. I was once wounded for our gracious king, and now, in the strength of heaven, I will hazard my person with the men I can command, before these rebels rest where you have power."

Notwithstanding, however, of the measures above detailed to suppress conventicles, they daily multiplied, especially in the western counties.

To put a stop to them, and overawe those who in any way countenanced the covenanters, a new plan was adopted. Letters of intercommuning were issued against those who had not compeared before the Privy Council, to answer for preaching, or being at field conventicles. Such as did not attend their parish churches not only subjected themselves to condign punishment, but were put altogether beyond the pale of hospitality, they were to be denied those offices of

humanity to which the unfortunate and the wretched are ever entitled. No one who wished to avoid being "considered implicated in their crimes and rendered liable to the same punishment," was to "furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, nor any other thing useful or comfortable to them; nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other way." Thus outlawed, and wandering as fugitives, the privations the covenanters endured are almost incredible. The prisons were filled with them, many were sent to the dungeons of the Bass, and others, the victims of a sterner fate, were sold as recruits for the French service. And still further to repress the exercise of the rights of conscience, a bond was framed, which all gentlemen of landed property in the western counties were required to subscribe. By this deed the subscribers became bound for the whole persons residing upon their estates, that none of them should attend conventicles, harbour, supply, nor hold communication with outlawed persons. They were also required to use their utmost endeavours to bring them to justice, under the most severe penalties. The most of the landed proprietors refused to take the bond; for they saw that the effect would be the depopulation of their estates. Lauderdale represented to Charles that the district was in a state of revolt, and received injunctions from him to let loose upon it an army of savage and undisciplined Highlanders. Their number has been variously estimated at between six and ten thousand men. "This disorderly crew," says a writer far from favourable to the Presbyterians, "issued from the most uncivilized parts of the north, and, in conjunction with the militia of Angus, and some regular forces, spread themselves over the western counties. The bond was tendered to every one, and whoever refused it, was sure to have so many of this disorderly rabble set to live at free quarters in his house. It is easy to conceive the violence and rapine which would be exercised by a set of people, who, at no time, entertained very refined ideas of property; but who, when sent to chastise the obstinacy of men, whom they were taught to consider as enemies to their prince and their religion, would think that they did a service to the king, by gratifying their own rapacity in every variety of extortion. They made a prey of whatever came within the reach of their ravenous hands; and, if they suspected any concealment, compelled, by torture, the unfortunate objects of their suspicion to discover their hidden wealth. As the Highlanders themselves were extremely indigent, not only the

more valuable effects, but also the most common household utensils, or articles of clothing, were matters worthy of acquisition; so that the extent of their spoils was measured by nothing but what they were able to carry. The voice of the nation rose against these sanctified robbers. The Highlanders were recalled; and the west was at once stripped of her effects, and liberated from her oppressors."

Under such circumstances, need we wonder that the victims of such unparalleled persecution should adopt principles incompatible with the existence of, and disclaim all submission to, a government which so cruelly treated them. It has been eloquently said, "wherever the heel of oppression is raised, there trodden misery springs up and glares around for vengeance;" and although no friend of rational freedom will vindicate all that our persecuted countrymen said and did, yet goaded as they were by oppression, stigmatised as rebels, denied every office of humanity, and every moment exposed to death, without even the forms of law or justice, by a merciless soldiery, we humbly conceive that their proceedings after the descent of the Highland host are rather to be considered in the light of grievous errors which the lovers of freedom must ever regret and mourn over, than as serious crimes that are never to be forgiven. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp on Magus Moor,* by some of the more extreme of the covenanters, afforded Lauderdale a handle for justifying and increasing the persecution of the Presbyterians. The field meetings had become so frequent that a proclamation was issued, making it lawful for the soldiery to fall upon all persons assembled at armed conventicles, and put them to death. This, of course, had just the opposite effect government intended; for it more closely united the covenanters together, and about eighty of them proceeded to Rutherglen on the anniversary of the restoration, 29th May, 1679, and after extinguishing the bonfires which had been lighted, burned the several acts of parliament, and acts of the Privy Council restoring Prelacy. They affixed also their declaration to the market cross. Graham of Claverhouse was despatched by the Privy Council to apprehend any of the party who had appeared at Rutherglen, as well as to disperse field conventicles. The covenanters were assembled on the following Sabbath, at Drum-

* The Town Council of Perth attended the funeral of the Archbishop; there is an entry in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council, of date May 26th, 1679, ordering payment of the expenses incurred on that occasion; among these are items for horses hire and entertainment.

clog, pretty well armed. Claverhouse had received instructions that, in case of resistance, he was to give battle to the enemy. He attacked them accordingly; but such was the bravery and enthusiasm of the Presbyterians, that Claverhouse and his dragoons were completely routed. Thirty were left dead on the field, and their commander is said to have owed his personal safety to the fleetness of his horse. Graham retreated to Glasgow, and expecting an attack from the victors of Drumellog, he barricaded the streets. Next day the covenanters attempted to take possession of Glasgow, but were repulsed; Graham, however, not feeling his position a very secure one, abandoned the city and retired to Edinburgh. The news of the success of the Covenanters attracted reinforcements from all quarters, but instead of following up their success in organising and disciplining their adherents, they split into divisions respecting the grounds upon which they should justify their taking arms. The Privy Council, however, displayed great activity to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat of the king's troops. The militia of the well affected counties were called out. The town of Perth's company of foot joined the king's forces, and an express was despatched for assistance from England. The Duke of Monmouth assumed the command of the royal army on the 19th of June, 1769, and on the 22d they came up with the covenanters, who occupied the same ground on the south bank of the Clyde, and were only assailable by the narrow bridge at Bothwell. Their numbers being about 4000, whilst their opponents mustered nearly 10,000. The officers of the army were of opinion that they should march directly through the river, which was there fordable, and attack the enemy. The duke however ordered that the army should cross Bothwell Bridge; on approaching it, he found it guarded by a party of the covenanters who immediately made a parley, and sent two of their number, with the terms on which a cessation of hostilities should take place—they were the following:—"That they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and that a new parliament and General Assembly, unfettered by any oaths, should be called for settling the affairs both in church and state." Though received with civility by the duke, he told them he could come to no terms unless they laid down their arms, upon which the conference broke up. The party of the covenanters who disputed the bridge were obliged to retire for want of ammunition, and retreated to the main body of the army. At the first discharge of the artillery of the royal army, the horse of the covenanters fell into confusion. In an

instant the route became universal, nearly five hundred were killed in the pursuit, and upwards of twelve hundred surrendered at discretion. The prisoners were brought to Edinburgh, and confined for several months to the Greyfriars church-yard, like cattle in a pin-fold, almost without covering, exposed to every inclemency of the weather, and plundered of what little property they had about them. Two of the ministers were executed in Edinburgh, and five others were hanged on Magus Moor, for being engaged in the murder of the primate Sharpe. Many were liberated on giving bonds for their behaviour in future, and the more obstinate sold as slaves to the colonies, but who were afterwards lost at sea by the vessel in which they sailed having struck on a rock in the Orkneys.

Monmouth procured an indulgence for the Presbyterians to attend house conventicles, for the purpose of hearing their own ministers. A party, however, who styled themselves "a remnant," headed by Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, were marked out as peculiar objects of the vengeance of government. Wandering as fugitives on the mountains, and beyond the protection of the laws, the mutual relations of sovereigns and subjects and "the duty of yielding obedience to tyrants was the frequent subject of their discourses." Amid their deliberations Cargill and Cameron drew up a declaration which they published at Sanquhar by a small body of armed men, in which they renounced their allegiance to the king—declared war against him and his supporters, and protested against the Duke of York, as a papist, succeeding to the throne.

It was not to be expected that these proceedings could be passed over with impunity. A party of cavalry were accordingly sent out to apprehend the authors of the declaration, who were still in arms, and whose numbers had increased to upwards of a hundred. They came up with them at a place called Airds Moss. The persecuted, headed by Hackston of Rathillet, drew up their horse on the edge of the moss so as to provide for a safe retreat; the king's forces consisting of cavalry only. They boldly attempted to charge through them; but the foot being ill armed and unable to support them, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, being all either killed on the spot, or wounded and taken. Richard Cameron was killed, Hackston was severely wounded, and taken prisoner; he was afterwards tried for being out in the rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, in the engagement at Airds Moss, as concerned in the death of Archbishop Sharpe, and as assisting in publishing the declaration at Sanquhar. At his trial he

declined the king's authority, and that of the Court of Justiciary. He was found guilty, condemned and executed on the same day, and his quarters put up in the chief cities of the kingdom.

Donald Cargill alone remained publicly to uphold the cause of the covenant. Nothing daunted by the fate which had overtaken his associates, he proceeded to take the extraordinary step of pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the king, the duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, the Lord Advocate, and General Dalziel. A high reward was set on Cargill's head for this proceeding, and he was shortly afterwards taken and executed along with four others, who, like himself, disowned the authority of the king.

The government became still more exasperated by the "Torwood excommunication," and the poor, wandering Presbyterians felt, with double severity the vengeance of their oppressors. "All the usual forms of law," says Sir Walter Scott, "all the bulwarks by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down, and officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish, any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles; and if they thought proper, they might put them to death upon the spot. All that was necessary to condemnation was, that the individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce the Covenant—or should hesitate to admit, that the death of Sharpe was an act of murder—or should refuse to pray for the king—or to answer any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning their religious principles."

Perhaps no trial of this period places the cruelty and injustice of the government in a stronger point of view than that of Isobel Alison of Perth; Isobel* was apprehended at Perth, and carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. When brought before the Privy Council, she was asked the usual questions, "Whether she owned the king's authority? adhered to the Sanquhar declaration?—if the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was murder?—and the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" She exhibited great courage before this tribunal, and though she answered with great spirit their ensnaring questions, yet confessed that

* She was evidently a young woman; but as to who were her relations, or what was her condition in life, we have now no means of ascertaining. In her interrogations before the Privy Council, as recorded in the "Cloud of Witnesses," it is stated that to the question, "What was her occupation?" she gave no answer.

she had heard Mr Cargill preach, and had spoken with the two Hendersons and Balfour of Burley. When brought before the Justiciary, her confession—to which she adhered, was the only evidence against her, and when one of the jury urged there was no fact proved, the Lord Advocate, in a rage, replied, that what she said was treason, and charged them to act according to law, otherwise he knew what to do. Isobel was found guilty, and was executed on 26th January, 1681, along with Marion Hervey, another young woman of about twenty years of age, who had embraced the same religious views. The following account of Isobel Alison's execution is taken from the *Cloud of Witnesses* :—

“ Being come to the scaffold, after singing the lxxxiv. Psalm, and reading the 16th chapter of Mark, she cried over the scaffold and said, ‘ Rejoice in the Lord ye righteous ; and again I say, rejoice.’ Then she desired to pray at that place, and the major came, and would not let her, but took her away to the ladder foot, and there she prayed. When she went up the ladder, she cried out, ‘ O be zealous, Sirs, be zealous, be zealous ! O love the Lord all ye his servants ; O love him, Sirs ! for in his favour there is life.’ And she said, ‘ O ye his enemies, what will ye do, whither will ye fly in that day ? For now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord's own people.’ Then she said, ‘ Farewell all created comforts ; farewell sweet bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison ; farewell Christian acquaintances. Now, into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.’ Whereupon the hangman threw her over.”

If the Covenanters thus held fast their religious opinions, notwithstanding the cruel persecution to which they were subjected, what must we think of the base subserviency of the nobility and Parliament in making a total surrender of their liberties to the crown. In the Parliament which met on 28th July, 1681, an act was passed declaring it high treason to propose any limitation or alteration of the hereditary rights of the Crown. By another, all persons in office were obliged to take a test, acknowledging the king's supremacy, professing the protestant religion, as contained in the Confession of Faith, and binding themselves up from ever making any change or alteration therein ; renouncing the covenant, and professing the doctrine of passive obedience. An exemption was made as to taking the test in favour of the royal family. This, however, was opposed by the Earl

of Argyle, who argued, that the chief danger which could arise to the Protestant religion, behoved to be from the erroneous principles of the royal family. This drew on him the indignation of the Duke of York, and speedily accomplished his ruin.

The test, at the same time that it ratified the Confession of Faith, established doctrines directly repugnant; so that the whole was a mass of absurdity and contradiction. Many that were zealously attached to the crown, refused to take it without an explanation. Accordingly, when Argyle took it, he added an explanation, importing that he took it in so far as it was consistent with itself, and the protestant religion; and further, that he did not bind himself up from making any alteration in church or state that was consistent with his religion and loyalty. Upon this innocent explanation, a charge was founded against Argyle of high treason, leasing-making, and perjury. A jury of his own rank was found infamous enough to convict, and a Court to condemn him. The king suspended execution of the sentence; Argyle escaped; but afterwards, upon his subsequent rebellion, suffered upon the same iniquitous judgment.

Many of the nobility and gentry refused to take the test by which all their hereditary offices came to the crown, as did the livings of the clergymen whose conscience would not allow them to take it. Courts were also established for trying such as had been guilty of harbouring and holding intercourse with those who were considered disaffected to the government. There was scarcely a loop-hole left whereby even the least scrupulous could escape from the fangs of informers. As has been well observed, "blood alone could not satisfy a needy and rapacious, as well as a cruel and tyrannical faction, and fines, forfeitures, and every variety of extortion, were openly and unblushingly exercised. Gentlemen of rank and probity, accused on the most malicious informations, were convicted without legal evidence, on a strained interpretation of obsolete laws, and compelled to redeem their lives at the expense of their estates, or compound with some profligate minister of state, and procure a wretched reversal for their support from the miserable remains of their property."

These severe oppressions led the covenanters, or society men as they were called, into acts which, in ordinary circumstances and under a well regulated government, would be denominated treason, and as such ought to be severely punished; yet it must not be overlooked, that the position in which the proscribed Cameronians were placed was one trying to flesh and blood. Driven from their homes—hiding

themselves in dens and caves of the earth—and hunted by the soldiers like partridges on the mountains, it was only what might have been expected, that they should endeavour to retaliate on their oppressors. Accordingly, the society men published a declaration,* in which they disowned the authority of *Charles Stuart*,—so they called the king—declared war against him, resolved to murder all who possessed any office, civil or military, all bishops and curates, all in fact who should seize or apprehend them and give information or evidence against them in any court of justice. This declaration was affixed upon many of the market crosses and church doors, and excited deep alarm throughout the country, as two soldiers of the life guards, who had been active in discovering conventicles, were put to death. Indictments of high treason were filed against those who were concerned in issuing this declaration; and such as, upon being interrogated, owned or refused to disown the principles it contained, were deemed guilty of the same crime, and suffered accordingly. An oath, abjuring this declaration of war and those principles of assassination, was accordingly ordained to be put to all persons above sixteen years of age, either male or female, and such as refused it were liable to be tried and punished capitally. A method still more decisive was taken in the parish where the soldiers of the life guards were murdered, and the parishes adjacent. A body of forces was despatched to Livingstone, who were authorised to call before them the inhabitants of that and the five adjacent parishes, and interrogate them upon the late declaration. Those who owned it, or justified its principles, were instantly to be executed by martial law; they, again, who refused to answer were immediately to be brought before a jury of fifteen men, and the sentence pronounced against them, was to be followed by immediate execution.

The privy council deliberated on the subject also; and in its registers is to be found the following reference to the “apologetical declaration:”—“It being put to the vote in council, whether or not any person, who owns or does not disown the late traitorous declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, should be immediately killed before two witnesses, and the person or persons who are to have instructions from the council for that effect? Carried in the affirmative.

* This paper was entitled, “The apologetical declaration and admonitory vindication of the true presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent intelligencers and informers.” It bore this motto, “Let King Jesus reign and all his enemies be scattered.”

"The lords of his majesty's privy council, do hereby ordain any person, who owns, or will not disown the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not to be immediately put to death; this being always done in the presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission from the council for that effect."

A form of abjuration which suspected persons were to pronounce, in order to save themselves from this massacre, was drawn up and approved by the council, and lieutenant-general Drummond was appointed to be the executioner. Numbers were shot in cold blood in the fields, or executed on gibbets in consequence of those warrants. Graham of Claverhouse was one of the principal agents in these murders, who, among other inhumanities, is said to have shot four poor unarmed country men in one day, and to have hanged two. There is reason, however, to believe that many of those barbarities were committed without that officers knowledge; and sometimes the whigs had the spirit to rise in parties, and rescue their fellow victims from the soldiers, who were leading them to execution.

At this period the magistracy of Perth was formed by the privy council, and every suspected person was disqualified, several were cited before the kirk session for attending conventicles, and put in the hands of the civil magistrate to be punished for recusancy.

The following list of the persecuted in Perth and its neighbourhood, is chiefly taken from the kirk-session register:—Mr John Wylie, one of the doctors of the grammar school, refusing to take the test before the presbytery, the moderator complained to the provost. Mr Wylie being cited before the council, declared that he had not freedom to take the oath and test, and demitted his office. Mr John Sibbald, tacksman of the common muir, being convicted by the sheriff-depute for keeping conventicles, is ordered by the magistrates to be prosecuted.*

On the 16th Oct. 1684, the following persons were summoned before the kirk session:—Margaret Lundie, relict of Alexander Leslie; Mr Andrew Playfair; James Brown, maltman; Isabel Young, spouse to Skipper Ferguson; Agnes Duncan, spouse to James Dewar; Eupheme Souter, spouse to Alexander Cruickshank; Janet Barclay,

* Cant says, "that Ranney the sheriff-depute left an unsavoury remembrance of himself among the inhabitants of Perth for his cruelty in distressing those whose consciences would not allow them to conform to the Kirk. He is said to have outlived himself, and was universally despised in Perth. He died about 1727."

spouse to John Strachan; Janet Johnston, spouse to the deceased Thomas Craigdallie; * Cecil Paton, spouse to John Cree, younger, glover; Margaret Bower, relict of Mr John Minieman, minister at Abernethy; Isabel Mitchel, relict of the deceased John Anderson, glover; Margaret Playfair, relict of Mr George Halyburton, minister at Aberdalgie Katharine Young,† spouse to Charles Wilson. Janet Boig, spouse to Andrew Davidson. Margaret Jackson. Magdalene Craw, spouse to Patrick Coupar. Laurance Johnson in Balhousie and his spouse. James Robertson in Balhousie and his spouse. Janet Young, spouse to John Dow, glover. Margaret and Christian Young, daughters to Patrick Young, tailor.

On October 1st, 1685. The former persons were again cited for recusancy together with John Strachan's mother. Martha Cree, spouse to John Drysdale; Margaret Jackson, William Schaw, and Henry Fairie.

Amid these scenes of slaughter and wanton barbarity Charles II. died, in 1685, and was succeeded by his brother James VII. Under the short reign of the latter "field murders" were multiplied and the covenanters punished with the utmost severity. "To have been found upon the road with a bible in their possession, or discovered in the act of prayer, or going to, or coming from hearing sermon, were evidence sufficient to convict the delinquents of treason, or if these suspicious circumstances were deemed scarcely justifiable grounds of condemnation, the oaths were tendered, and the refusal was punished by instant death, sometimes with, and oftener without the mock formality of calling a military jury; nor did females escape—in Wigtonshire, a woman of sixty, and a girl of eighteen, were drowned for this negative crime."

In the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh soon after James's accession the most slavish and arbitrary principles were openly adopted. They proceeded to acknowledge the king's sacred, supreme, ab-

* Thomas Craigdallie and Alexander Cruickshank were both magistrates. Craigdallie had considerable property in the town. Mr William Tullidoph, afterwards Principal in the College of St Andrews, and grandfather to the present Principal, lodged two years and preached privately in the house which belonged to Bailie Craigdallie, on the north side of the High Street, where the congregational church had their first meeting house, A.D. 1733.—*Cont.*

† This lady was mother to the celebrated Thomas Halyburton professor of divinity at St Andrews, who wrote a well known treatise on the insufficiency of natural religion. All these people were harrassed with fines, and imprisonment until they were paid.—*Cont.*

solute power and authority, which none, whether persons or collective bodies, could participate of, but in dependence on, and by commission from him. And to enable him to support these positions, they declared, that the whole nation, from sixty to sixteen, should be in readiness to assist his majesty where, and as oft as he should please to require them. At the same time, the whole excise, both on inland and foreign commodities, was annexed to the crown for ever. By other statutes, to embrace the covenant, to write in its defence, or acknowledge it to be obligatory, were declared to infer the crime of treason. And, on the other hand, every person was commanded to take the test, under a pecuniary penalty, at the discretion of the privy council.

The truth is, the "constitution was annihilated;" not only the magistrates of burghs, but the whole council were nominated by the king. A letter from James, dated September 20, 1685, was produced by the Earl of Perth, prohibiting the town-council from meeting for the election of magistrates, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. At Michaelmas following, the Marquis of Athole was appointed to attend in the Council-house, and see the nomination obeyed; when the magistrates and every other member servilely took the test. The press, too, was put under a complete censorship. No books were allowed to be printed without consent of the chancellor. Articles could not be inserted in the newspapers without license from a bishop or some member of the privy-council; and various persons were imprisoned for publishing books reflecting on popery, while those in its favour were allowed to circulate with impunity. A brighter day, however, was about to dawn on Britain. James and his popish abettors found that a government built on tyranny and oppression has no real friends—that when surrounded by perils, there are few who will lift an arm to support it. Hence, when the invasion of the Prince of Orange was first dreaded, an effort was made to organise the militia regiments of the several counties to act against him; yet, when it was ascertained that the Prince had really landed, on 5th November, 1688, Scotland declared with enthusiasm in its favour, and the revolution was effected with a celerity that appeared to deprive the members of the late government of all power of action.

The Earl of Perth, chancellor, fled from Edinburgh. After his flight the Marquis of Athole, the next officer of state, violently declared in favour of the Prince of Orange, and assumed the reigns of government; but having little influence his authority was despised. On the 16th March, 1689, a convention of estates was held at Edinburgh.

The Duke of Hamilton, who favoured the presbyterian party, was elected president. Graham of Claverhouse, who had been created Viscount Dundee, with the friends of James, retired from the convention, intending to hold a separate meeting of the late king's friends. It was declared by the estates "That James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power, and hath subverted the same, to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, whereby he forfeited his right to the crown, and his throne has become vacant." The crown was also tendered to William and Mary, to whom they presented a list of grievances to be redressed, under the title of their claim of rights. As we have dwelt so much at length on the sufferings of the presbyterians, it is perhaps necessary, to complete our sketch, to give the reader an idea of what the above-mentioned document contained. It asserted, "That according to the laws of the kingdom, no papist could ascend the throne. That all proclamations assuming an absolute power to suspend or dispense with the laws, were illegal. That the measures employed to establish popery, the imposing of bonds or oaths, and the exacting of money without the authority of parliament, were contrary to law. That it was illegal to invest the officers of the army with judicial powers; to inflict death without trial, jury, or council; to exact exorbitant fines or bail; to imprison without expressing the reason, or to delay the trial; to prosecute and to procure the forfeiture of persons, upon stretches of old and obsolete laws; to nominate the magistrates and common council of burghs; to dictate the proceedings of courts of justice; to employ torture without evidence in ordinary crimes, or to oblige the subjects to accuse or to swear against themselves; or to garrison private houses, and to introduce an hostile army into the country to live at free quarters in profound peace; that it was illegal to consider persons as guilty of treason, for refusing to discover their private sentiments respecting the treasonable doctrines or actions of others. Prelacy and precedence in ecclesiastical office, were declared to be repugnant to the genius of the nation, and an insupportable grievance which ought to be abolished. The rights of appeal to parliament, and of petition to the throne, were unconditionally asserted; frequent parliaments were demanded, and these articles the estates asserted and challenged, as their

undoubted rights, against which no declaration or precedent ought to operate to the prejudice of the people." Accordingly, when the estates were converted into a parliament, prelacy was abolished, and the presbyterian form of church government established in its place. The citizens of Perth immediately gave in their adhesion to the government of the Prince of Orange. The whig party, however in the town-council, do not seem to have acted with much leniency towards those suspected of popery. The following scene, as related by Cant, took place on the 18th February, 1689, at the meeting of council:—

"This day, protestation being entered by Bailie Deas, that all members of this house should purge themselves of popery, and that none should continue in their station but such as are true protestants, conform to the Prince of Orange's declaration, and who give due obedience thereto, and who let it appear to God and the world. Sir Patrick Thriepland most frankly gave his oath in face of council, as he should answer to God, that he is a true protestant, and that he never was, neither is, nor never shall be popish. This protestation put the house in confusion by the conduct of James Stewart, late dean of guild, who menaced, threatened, and accused the provost and Bailie Deas for desiring him to purge himself of popery, whom they asserted to be of that persuasion, by Bailie Deas's information, who said he heard him confess, that sixteen years ago he took mass at London, and since that time he has been frequently at the popish worship, particularly in summer last at Stobball, and before that time, and since at the abbey of Edinburgh, and in London last summer, when he was there on pretence of going to the baths, and that he was introduced to the king by Father Peters, and that he brought down with him by sea, in the ship wherein Bailie Thriepland and he were passengers, two popish priests, whom, after he landed, he attended to Edinburgh, and delivered them to the Lord Chancellor. Upon these and other grounds of suspicion, they urged him that he should either purge himself of being popish, or demit his office, which he declined, until he saw a warrant for that effect, and then he would answer to it. But all the members of the house were willing and ready to purge themselves, had it not been for the confusion occasioned by dean of guild Stuart."

The estates, also, on the representation made by the commissioners of the royal burghs for regulating their magistracy and councils, enacted, that the whole burghesses of the several burghs should meet

and elect out of their number their magistrates and council, till the following Michaelmas. Accordingly, on the 1st May, 1689, the burghesses of Perth met in the East Church, for the purpose above-mentioned.

When after the revolution, our countrymen began to catch somewhat of the commercial and enterprising spirit of the English ; "Perth was not behind the rest of the country in taking advantage of the happy consequences of that great event." We find from the town-council records, that the greatest enthusiasm was manifested in the newly-formed company, for trading to Africa and the Indies, by the council, the incorporated trades, and many private individuals. £2000 was subscribed in all by the magistrates, trades, and citizens of Perth. From the opposition given to, and the fate of this enterprise, we deem that a short sketch of its rise and termination will not be out of place. The parliament that met in 1695, conferred on the company various important privileges ; and the Scottish nation universally flattered themselves with the most eager and unbounded prospects of trade and empire from its establishment. These sanguine expectations were, however, doomed to end in bitter disappointment and mortification. Many families were not only involved in ruin, but a dangerous ferment was excited in the nation, which well nigh terminated in open rebellion. The jealousy of England was aroused. The English and Dutch East India companies threw every obstacle in the way of the new settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. William, too, used every means to crush it both at home and abroad. The company being established, £400,000 sterling were subscribed by Scotsmen residing in Scotland, and "The first expedition," says Mr Aikman, "sailed from Leith roads, in July 1698, with 1200 men, of whom 300 were gentlemen ; and on the 3d November, landed between Portobello and Carthage, having taken possession of the country by the name of New Caledonia, and traced the foundation of their intended capital, New Edinburgh ; their first object was to secure the friendship of the neighbouring tribes ; their next to attempt establishing an amicable intercourse with the Spaniards, and to proclaim to the world the interesting fact of an European colony established on liberal principles, in trade, policy, and religion. Their privations began early, their supplies from home were precarious, and all the governors of the islands and plantations in America belonging to England prohibited any intercourse with them ; they were put upon a short allowance of bad provisions, and tropical diseases breaking out, a spirit of insubordination arose, which the

weakness and dissension of the council was unable to resist, and within eight months of the day they had taken possession, they evacuated the settlement. A second and a third expedition was sent out, the last consisting of four ships, and containing 1300 men, sailed from Bute, 24th September, 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay, 30th September; but the same causes gave rise to similar results, and the Spaniards taking advantage of their weakness and dissensions, with a considerable force invested the place by sea and land, when the survivors made an honourable capitulation, which, however, does not appear to have been very religiously kept, and but few of them ever returned to their native land. When the news of the final evacuation of Darien reached Scotland, the public mind was excited to a degree of frenzy, from the magnitude of the loss; and the Jacobites who had procured themselves to be chosen managers of the company, kept alive the indignation of the country, as a means of opposition to government; and the presbyterians who had embarked deeply in the concern, had their sense of pecuniary loss stimulated by their national pride or patriotism. An address to the king to assemble the parliament was passionately subscribed, but his majesty refused to give any order for this purpose, and the discontent increased so much, that the presbyterians and Jacobites for once were united under the same banners, and had prepared a resolution for supporting the colony as a national concern, when the meeting was adjourned; but the adjournment did not allay the ferment, and in the recess some of the most violent projects were agitated; as whether to assemble the parliament by force, or hold a convention of the estates at Perth; and as all their misfortunes were traced by the Scots to the want of the royal residence among them, the separation of the two crowns became a favourite topic of discussion."

Perth at this period was in the fair way of having the honour of a university. This important matter seems to have been wholly overlooked by our chroniclers, and might have remained unnoticed, had it not been for the laborious researches of the Rev. Dr. John Lee, the present principal of the University of Edinburgh, who, nearly thirty years ago, presented the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth with a "Copy of the correspondence relative to the transference of the University of St Andrews to Perth, in 1697-8." From the correspondence it would appear that the University of St Andrews was in a very languishing state, and to advance its interests, the professors chose as chancellor the Earl of Tullibardine, at that time principal secretary of state for Scotland. His lordship entered heartily into the proposal of

removing the university, and consulted Sir James Stuart, the lord advocate, and Sir Patrick Home, the solicitor general, as to the legality of the measure. Those persons gave it as their opinion, "that there is nothing in the foundations, or in law, to hinder the university being translated from St Andrew and settled in another place, where it may be most convenient for the public interest of the nation ; and that the king may do it by a charter under the great seal." Sir Patrick Home, in a letter to the Earl of Tullibardine, states what he and the lord advocate conceived to be grounds for removing the university. They are as follows :—

"The reasons of conveniency and advantage to the nation which occur to us at present, are, that St Andrews is a remote point of land lying at an outside, and all things for the conveniency of living are dearer there than at other places, and upon these and other considerations of that nature, the university is of late years exceedingly decayed ; whereas, the town of Perth is very near the centre of the kingdom, and all necessaries for the conveniency of living are as cheap there as any place of the nation, and being in an in-country, people have far greater convenience of sending their children there to be bred than to a remote place, such as St Andrews is ; as also Perth being near to the highlands, when the gentlemen and others of the highlands may have a greater convenience to send their children, it may tend much to the civilizing of the highland country that this university be settled in that place."

The Earl of Tullibardine pledged himself to use all his influence with the king to obtain a charter ; but before doing so it was considered advisable to have arrangements made with the town of Perth. For this purpose the Earl of Tullibardine and the provost of the old college of St Andrews stated to the Magistrates of Perth their wishes on the subject. Much to the honour of the Magistrates of Perth, they cordially entertained the proposal, and made very great efforts in order to advance the interests of literature in the town and country. We insert the minutes of the proceeding of the magistrates and council relating to this subject, to show that they really entered into the matter with great public spirit ; it is entitled

Answers by the Magistrates and Council of Perth to the Masters of the University of St Andrews, their proposals anent the transplanting thereof.

Perth, 13th day of April, 1698.

Which day the Magistrates and Town Council of Perth having had

under their consideration the instructions given by the University of St Andrews to Provost Ramsay, Mr Arrot, and Mr Preston, anent the transporting of the said university from St Andrews to Perth; for the promoting of which design the said magistrates and council are willing to enter into contract with the said university, to furnish them the accommodation following, viz. For a divinity college, twenty convenient fashionable rooms, with kitchen, cellars, lardners, brew-house, gardens, double-dyked, with apartments necessary.

For a philosophy college, sixty convenient rooms for students, some whereof for noblemen's sons, some for gentlemen's sons, and the rest for men's sons of ordinary quality, with convenient schools, kitchens, cellars, lardners, brew-houses, and other offices necessary, with a double-dyked garden, volarly, summer-house, and houses of office, and a convenient church for the whole university.

And as for the other philosophy college, the magistrates and council are willing to give a convenient spot of ground, with a garden, in such a place of the town as the masters of the university and they shall find most convenient, and to concur with the said masters of the university, to address the king, parliament, and country, and to use all methods imaginable for procuring a fund to build that college. For prosecuting of which design, the kindness of the nobility and gentry of Perthshire is not to be doubted. Extracted by warrant of the said Magistrates and Council of Perth, by me,

Ro. GRAHAME, Cls.

The professors were perfectly satisfied with the accommodation offered on the part of the town of Perth, only "that they desiderate schools and dining hall." "But here the documents fail," says a writer on the subject; "farther traces of the transaction are lost, and no light can be thrown upon the subject, either from the records of the college of St Andrews or the town of Perth." The altered state of communication by railways with different parts of the country, renders it very unlikely that such a proposal will ever again be renewed; St Andrews, though lying "in an out of the way situation," can now be easily reached, and we have every reason to believe that the following reasons given by the professors for the translation of the university do not now exist:—

"The victuals are dearer here than any where else, viz.—fleshs, drinks, of all sorts.

"This place is ill provided of all commodities and trades, which obliges us to send to Edinburgh, and provide ourselves with shoes, clothes, hats, &c., and what are here are at double rate.

"This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a stripe, where the foul clothes, herrings, fish, &c., are washed, so that it is most part nasty and unwholesome.

"This place has a most thin and piercing air, even to an excess, seeing that nitre grows upon the walls of the chambers, when fires are used, if there be a light to the north, for the most part of the whole year, as in Mr Ramsey, &c., and this is the reason why old men coming to this place are instantly cut off.

"The aversion and hatred they have to learning and learned men, (so) that since our foundation, though there never was one farthing voted to the Universities by a burgess of St. Andrews, (and) that in our knowledge there was not one capable to win his bread by learning except our present bibliothecan. The contrary of all these may be expected in Perth.

"This place being now only a village, where most part farmers dwell, the whole streets are filled with dunghills, which are exceedingly noisome, especially when the herring guts are exposed in them, or rather in all parts of the town by themselves."

Amid the national jealousies and antipathies which at this period ran so high, sagacious and discerning minds saw that the true interests of both England and Scotland lay in being united into one kingdom. William recommended the matter to the English House of Commons, but was not destined to see it accomplished, for soon after, he met with a fall from horseback, which was succeeded by a fever and ague, under which he sank, March 8, 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

The project was revived under Queen Anne, with, at first, very little hope of success. The Scots alarmed that any compromise would lower the dignity and surrender the independence of the nation, passed an "act of security," by which it was ordained, among other provisions, "That after the death of Queen Anne, the same person should not hold both crowns, unless a full participation were given to the Scots in all the English commercial privileges, or the influence of Englishmen in their concerns prevented." The queen refused to assent to this act which was deemed equivalent to a separation of the two crowns, and the parliament, in return, refused to grant any supplies; and such was the general indignation against England that an immediate war was expected.

At last, however, to use the words of De Foe, amid the conjoined opposition of, "The Jacobite and the presbyterian, the persecuting pre-

latic nonjurer and the Cameronian, the papist and the reformed protestant," commissioners were nominated on both sides, who met first, thirty-one in number for each, at the Cock Pit, near Whitehall, London, 16th April, 1706, and in about two months the articles were agreed upon which should be laid before both the English and Scottish parliaments.

When the articles of union were announced in Scotland, indignation loud and deep was raised against them. Associations were formed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries, to frustrate it being accomplished. The opposition extended to Perth and Angus. The distribution, however, of twenty thousand pounds among the members of the Scottish parliament, was more than a match for the patriotism of a Fletcher or a Belhaven. It was in vain that the latter, in order to frustrate its accomplishment, appealed to the stand "which the Douglasses, the Grahams, the Campbells, our peers and chieftains, who vindicated by their swords from the usurpation of the English Edwards, the independence of their country, which their sons were about to forfeit by a single vote." The articles were all at last agreed to in the Scottish parliament, and the treaty, after several warm debates in the English parliament, was eventually carried by an overwhelming majority. It immediately received the royal sanction; and on the 1st of May, 1707, the sovereign of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, was proclaimed Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

CHAPTER VI.

THE union produced no immediate beneficial effects to Scotland. Our English neighbours felt themselves as degraded in having entered into an alliance with the northern part of the island. They were afraid that the Scots would overrun England, and that they would in a short time so fill all lucrative situations and employments, that Englishmen would be deprived of their fair share in the management of the government and commerce of the country. Yet though such were the general sentiments held by the English, the more enlightened part of the nation, remembering the bloody wars which had so long desolated Britain in its divided state, dated from the union an era of peace and happiness to both countries; and, looking far into futurity, foresaw a time when the national prejudices, which for the present ran so high, would die out, or be eradicated, like the weeds which deface the labours of the agriculturist, and give place to plenty and to peace.

In Scotland the feeling against the union was almost universal. All classes thought they saw in it as well the ruin of their trade and commerce, as the sacrifice of the ancient independence of their country. This discontent was strengthened very much by the manner in which the Scottish members of parliament were treated in the House of Commons. The conduct of the Scottish statesmen who brought about the union was often referred to by the English members; and on one occasion Mr Harley, the secretary of state during the treaty, stood up and cut short a debate which had taken place in the House of Commons, on a proposal to put a tax upon cloth, but which was opposed by Bailie of Jerviswood, and several other Scottish members. Harley, in reply to the Scottish members, said, "Have we not bought the Scots, and did we not acquire a right to tax them, or for what other purpose did we give the equivalent." Lockhart of Carnwath, who was a member, says, in his memoirs, that he answered Harley thus:—"I took him up, and said I was glad to hear a truth, which I had never doubted, now publicly brought to light and owned, for the honourable gentleman acknowledged that Scotland was bought and sold; but I much admired to hear from one of his experience in business, and who had so great a hand in the purchase, that the equivalent was the price, it

being as certain as it was no secret that the equivalent arose and was paid to Scotland on account of a sum with which the Scots customs and excise were to be charged towards paying debts contracted by England before the Union, so that the English got an equivalent for this sum paid to Scotland, and therefore if Scotland was bought and sold, it must be for a price not yet come to light, and I would be extremely glad to know what this price amounted to, and who received it."

The dissatisfaction of all parties inspired with the most ardent hopes the friends of the Stuart family, who, during the reign of Queen Anne, endeavoured by all possible means to restore James VII. to the throne of Britain. Those attempts failed; for on the rather sudden death of Anne, the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed king of Great Britain.

On this emergency the Jacobites were exceedingly ill prepared and irresolute. The Whigs, finding themselves triumphant, treated those whom they suspected of being friendly to the Stuart family, most cavalierly. The Earl of Mar was dismissed from court, and he, concluding that his ruin was determined on, placed himself at the head of the Jacobite party in Scotland. For this purpose he left London, and embarked at Gravesend, in the strictest *incognito*, having for his companions Major-general Hamilton and Colonel Hay, persons of great military skill. They sailed in a coal sloop, working, it is said, their passage, the better to maintain their disguise, till they landed at the small port of Eli, on the eastern shore of Fife, whence he proceeded to his own estates in Aberdeenshire; and after some preliminary movements, called a meeting of the Jacobite chiefs at Aboyne, at which he produced a commission from the Chevalier St George, son of James VII., appointing him his lieutenant-general, and commander of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland. The result of this meeting was a resolution to take up arms in support of the Chevalier; and their first act against the Elector of Hanover was an ineffectual attempt to surprise Edinburgh Castle.

But whilst the rebellion was manifesting itself in different places, the Earl of Mar, with a considerable force, marched, about the middle of September 1715, to Moulinearn, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. Here he was joined by five hundred Atholemen, under the Marquis of Tullibardine, and by a part of the Earl of Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendarnel. He was afterwards joined by the old earl himself, who, although he had, the day preceding his arrival, procured an affidavit from a physician in Perth, and the minister of the parish of Kenmore,

of which he was patron, certifying his total inability, from age, and a complication of diseases, to implement a mandate of the government, requiring him to attend at Edinburgh, yet, nevertheless, found himself able enough to take the field in support of the Chevalier. Having received intelligence that the earl of Rothes, and some of the gentlemen of Fife, were advancing with 500 of the militia of that county to seize Perth, he sent Col. Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoull, with a detachment of 200 horse to take possession of that town, who accordingly entered it on the 14th Sept., without opposition, and there proclaimed the Chevalier. The provost made a demonstration of opposition by collecting between 3 and 400 men at the market place; but Hay having been joined by 150 men which had been sent into the town a few days before by the duke of Athole, the provost dismissed them. When the earl of Rothes, who was advancing upon Perth with 500 men, heard of the capture of Perth, he retired to Leslie, and sent notice of the event to the duke of Argyle. The possession of Perth was of importance to Mar in a double point of view, as it not only gave him the command of the whole of Fife, in addition to the country north of the Tay, but also inspired his friends with confidence. Accordingly, the Chevalier was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the earl marischal, at Castle Gordon by the marquis of Huntly, at Brechin by the earl of Panmure, at Montrose by the earl of Southesk, and at Dundee by Graham of Duntroon, who was afterwards created viscount Dundee by the Chevalier.

As Mar had no intention of descending into the Lowlands himself without a considerable force, he remained several days at Moulinearn waiting for the clans who had promised to join him, and in the meantime directed Col. Hay, who, on the 18th Sept., he appointed governor of Perth, to retain possession of that town at all hazards, and to defend it to the last extremity should the duke of Argyle attempt to drive him out. He also directed him to tender to the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Chevalier, and to expel from the town all persons who refused to take the oath. After this had been done, he was ordered to appoint a free election of magistrates by poll, to open all letters passing through the post office, and to appoint a new post-master in whom he had confidence. To support Governor Hay in case of an attack, Mar sent down a party of Robertsons, on the 22d, under the command of Alex. Robertson of Strowan, their chief. "You must take care (says Mar in a letter which he wrote to Hay the same day) to please the elector of Strowan, as they call him. He is an old

colonel ; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he'll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon ; but I have sent some of the little I have, fifty guineas, by the bearer."

At this time Mar's forces did not probably exceed 3000 men, but their number having been increased to upwards of 5000 within a few days thereafter, he marched down upon Perth, which he entered on the 28th of September, on which day the honourable James Murray, second son of the Viscount Stormont, arrived at Perth with letters from the Chevalier to the Earl, giving him assurances of speedy and powerful succour, and promises from the Chevalier, as was reported, of appearing personally in Scotland in a short time. This gentleman had gone over to France in the month of April preceding, to meet the Chevalier, who had appointed him principal secretary for Scotland, and had lately landed at Dover, whence he had travelled *incognito* over land to Edinburgh, where, although well known, he escaped detection. After spending a few days in Edinburgh, during which time he attended, it is said, several meetings of the friends of the Chevalier, he crossed the Frith in an open boat at Newhaven, and landed at Burntisland, whence he proceeded to Perth.

The first operations of the insurgents were marked by vigour and intrepidity. The seizure of Perth, though by no means a brilliant affair, was almost as important as a victory would have been at such a crisis, and another dashing exploit which a part of the earl's army performed a few days after his arrival in Perth, was calculated to make an impression equally favourable to the Jacobite cause. The account of this affair stands thus. Before the earl of Sutherland took his departure from Leith for Dunrobin castle, to raise a force in the north, he arranged with the government for a supply of arms, amunition and military stores, which was to be furnished by the governor of Edinburgh castle, and sent down to the north with as little delay as possible. Accordingly, about the end of September, a vessel belonging to Burntisland was freighted for that purpose, on board of which were put between three and four hundred stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of amunition and military stores. The vessel anchored in Leith roads, but was prevented from passing down the Frith by a strong north-easterly gale, which, continuing to blow very hard, induced the captain for security's sake to weigh anchor and stand over to Burntisland roads, on the opposite coast of Fife, under the protection of the weather shore. The captain went on shore at Burntisland,

to visit his wife and family who resided in the town, and the destination of the vessel, and the nature of her cargo being made known to some persons in the Jacobite interest, information was immediately communicated by them to the Earl of Mar, who at once resolved to send a detachment to Burntisland to seize the vessel. Accordingly, he despatched on the evening of the 2d of October, a party of four hundred horse, and five hundred foot, from Perth to Burntisland, with instructions so to order their march as not to enter the latter place till about midnight. To draw off the attention of the Duke of Argyll from this expedition, Mar made a movement as if he intended to march with all his forces upon Alva, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in consequence of which Argyll, who had received intelligence of Mar's supposed design, kept his men under arms the whole day, in expectation of an attack. Meanwhile, the party having reached their destination, the whole of the foot entered Burntisland unperceived, and while the horse surrounded the town, to prevent any person carrying the intelligence of their arrival from it, the foot seized the boats in the harbour and along the shore, to cut off all communication by sea. About one hundred and twenty men were, thereupon, sent off in boats to board the ship, which they secured without opposition. They, however, lost no time in discharging her cargo, and having pressed a number of carts and horses into their service, the detachment set off undisturbed for Perth, with their booty, early next morning, where they arrived without molestation. Besides the arms and other warlike materials which they found in the vessel, the detachment carried off a hundred stands of arms from the town, and between thirty and forty more which they found in another ship. Emboldened by the success of this enterprise, parties of the insurgents spread themselves over Fife, took possession of all the towns on the north of the Firth of Forth, from Burntisland to Fifeness, and prohibited all communication between them and the opposite coast. The earl of Rothes, who, since the capture had quartered at Leslie, was now obliged for fear of being cut off, to retire to Stirling under the protection of a detachment of horse and foot, which had been sent from Stirling to support him, under the command of the earl of Forfar, and Colonel Ker.

Mar remained at Perth directing the movements of the Chevalier's army till the tenth of November, when he left Perth, leaving a garrison behind under the command of Colonel Balfour, with the intention of forming a junction with the army south of the Forth. The Earl of Argyll, who, at this juncture, had assumed the command of the king's

forces marched from Stirling, purposing to give battle to the Earl of Mar. Accordingly, the two armies met near to the Sheriff-muir, and in the engagement which ensued, both sides claimed the victory; Mar retiring with his army to Perth, and Argyle going back to the neighbourhood of Stirling. The Chevalier, whose arrival was long anxiously looked for in Scotland, landed at Peterhead on the 22d of December, 1715, and having passed through Aberdeen *incognito* he proceeded to Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where he remained several days. The Chevalier intended to have proceeded next day on his journey to Perth, but he was detained at Fetteresso, till the 2d of January, by two successive fits of the ague. Proceeding slowly southward, the Chevalier took up his abode in the royal palace of Scone on Sunday the 8th January, 1716, where he intended to stay till after the ceremony of his coronation. The next day, the Chevalier made his public entry into Perth; but he seems to have met with a cold reception, and he himself was evidently disappointed at the appearance of the camp. "After he had some leisure to look about him" says the author of the true account of the Proceedings at Perth, "and began to enquire into the state of the army, and desired to see some of the troops, which when he had done, it was easy to perceive by his countenance that he was under a very great disappointment, and that he thought himself betrayed, which we heard more of in a few days. He enquired after our men, and desired to see the little kings with their armies, so he was pleas'd to call the clans; we appeared, and he saw our exercise and manner of fighting, and the goodness of our arms, all which he appeared exceedingly pleased with, and was very inquisitive to know how many such as we were in arms for him; but when he was told how few; he gave tokens again of a disagreeable surprise. The gentlemen who came with him more openly explained themselves on this head; they told the earl of Mar plainly that they were all betrayed; that they were made believe that the whole kingdom was in arms on their side; that they were masters of the greater part of it for the Chevalier, that they wanted no men, only money, arms, and officers; that the troops of England were embarrassed at home, and that Argyle was in no case to stir from his strong situation at Stirling; and in a word, that the country was entirely their own; whereas in truth they were in no manner of posture; that the Lord Sutherland insulted them but with 1500 men, and had taken the most important Pass of Inverness in their rear, and that all things were in the utmost confusion—all

which was true enough. Nor had the Earl of Mar any force against their reproaches, but the disappointment of their friends in England, which, he said had ruined all their designs." But the disappointment was mutual; the friends of the Chevalier saw nothing in his appearance or demeanour to excite the smallest enthusiasm in his behalf or justify the exaggerated encomiums of Mar. The Master of Sinclair, the writer of the account already quoted, thus depicts the appearance of the Chevalier on his arrival at Perth, his behaviour while there, and the effects upon his followers :—

"His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we knew not: here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like King James VII. must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant

anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.”

The Chevalier returned to Scone in the evening, and notwithstanding the ominous symptoms of the day, proceeded to form a council preparatory to exercising the functions of royalty. From Scone he soon issued no less than six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in the churches; a third, establishing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ordering a meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth, commanding all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation at Scone. These assumptions of sovereign authority were, however, of a very evanescent character, as they had scarcely been issued when the Chevalier and his principal friends resolved to abandon the contest as hopeless. Indeed from the reduced state of the army, and its deficiency in arms and ammunition, a determination had been come to by his party, a month before he landed, to retire from Perth as soon as Argyle should march against it; but being ignorant of that resolution and believing that the insurgents intended to defend Perth, Argyle delayed his advance till he should be joined by large reinforcements from England and Holland.

Though Argyle was continued at the head of the army, he remained quite inactive throughout a great part of the winter. It has been said that he viewed the conduct of the insurgents rather leniently, and did not pursue them, under the idea that they would disperse of their own accord. Argyle was, early in January, 1716, joined by six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, and other reinforcements from England, so that he had under him an army of upwards of ten thousand men besides a large train of artillery. Before advancing north the Duke was anxious to expell from Fife the detachments of the insurgents, who occupied all the towns along the coast. Accordingly, a detachment of Dutch and Scottish troops crossed the Frith of Forth, and, under cover of some men-of-war, landed at Burntisland, of which they took possession. Unable to withstand their opponents, the insurgents immediately abandoned all the towns on the north side of the Forth, a circumstance which was attended with serious consequences to their friends at Perth, who were in consequence entirely cut off from their

supplies of coal, at an unusually inclement season. Argyle made preparations to advance upon Perth, and sent forward to Dumblane General Cadogan, with the first line of the army. The royalist general, meanwhile, had engaged two thousand men, to clear away the snow, which impeded the march of his troops.

Although the Jacobite leaders had come to the resolution of abandoning Perth, as soon as the Duke of Argyle commenced his march, they nevertheless deliberated in council, as what was to be done in their present situation. "Nor did their measures and resolutions," says the Master of Sinclair, "seem to concern the grand question, whether we should defend ourselves or not; but as if that had been no question, the consultations generally turned upon the question, in case of a resolved engagement.

Never men appeared better disposed for action than ours of the clans; the gentlemen embraced one another upon the news, drank to the good day, and prepared as men that resolved with cheerfulness to behave themselves as Scots gentlemen used to do; the common soldiers, the followers and dependants of the chiefs, were as gay and cheerful as if an extraordinary solemnity had been upon their hands, nothing dejected or unpleasing was to be seen among us; our pipers played incessantly, and we shook hands with one another like men invited to a feast rather than called to a battle. In pursuance of these resolutions, as we thought them for fighting, measures were taken to bring our troops together, and post ourselves in such a manner and to such advantage, as it might be easy to subsist, and yet easy to draw together upon a signal."

But whilst the army were thus congratulating each other on the near prospect of a battle, in the councils of the Chevalier, on the other hand, all was irresolution and timidity. When the latter received authentic intelligence that Argyle, having completed his arrangements, was to leave Stirling for Perth on the 29th January, with his whole army, they were in a state of the utmost consternation. A council was immediately held at which every one was told to speak his mind; but although they sat during the whole night they could come to no decided resolution. All the military men were it seems for fighting; but the Earl of Mar, and several clergymen who attended the Chevalier, were, on the other hand, resolved not to hazard an engagement, their pretence being the safety of the Chevalier's person. The soldiers and volunteers, on hearing of the irresolution of the council, could not repress their indignation; they considered themselves as

betrayed. Matters, in fact, were carried so high, that some of their number openly assaulted the "great men" on the streets, calling them cowards, and telling them they had betrayed the Chevalier, instead of advising him. A gentlemen volunteer from Aberdeenshire declared, in the presence of the Chevalier's councillors, that the loyal clans should take the Chevalier from them, and that if he were willing to die like a prince, he should find there were ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland that were not afraid to die with him.

A friend of the Earl of Mar, talking with some of the volunteers, who had begun to threaten if the commanders of the army any longer declined fighting, asked what they wished their officers to do.—"Do," replied a highlander, "what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men and not like dogs."

Amid the confusion which prevailed, the soldiery were somewhat appeased by being told that "there would be a great council in the evening, that the Chevalier desired all that were his friends would acquiesce in such measures as should be resolved upon." Accordingly the council met on the evening of the 29th, but as they could come to no decision that night, they adjourned till next day, at which a resolution was entered into chiefly at the suggestion of Mar. His reasons for advising an abandonment of the enterprise for the present, were, 1st, the failure of the Duke of Ormond's attempt to invade England; 2dly, the great accession of force which Argyle had received from abroad; and, lastly, the reduced state of the Jacobite forces, which did not exceed four thousand men, and of whom only about two thousand five hundred were properly armed. Besides these there were, according to the Master of Sinclair, other reasons of a private nature which influenced Mar to give the advice he did, the chief of which, says the above-named authority, was that the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Huntly, and other Jacobites who were in treaty with the government, had basely resolved to deliver up the Chevalier to the Duke of Argyle, that they might procure better terms for themselves than they could otherwise expect. This odious charge, so improbable in itself, not being corroborated by any other writer, cannot be admitted.

Before communicating to the army the resolution to retreat, a general meeting of all the officers was held at Scone on the following day, when they were informed of the determination of the previous

evening, and of the reasons which had led to it. It was then secretly resolved that the Chevalier and his principal officers should take shipping at Montrose for France, and that the army should be disbanded as soon as it reached the Highlands, or as soon as circumstances permitted; but to save appearances with the men, it was given out, that as Perth was untenable, it became necessary to retire to a stronger position, where they could not only defend themselves, but keep up a more secure and direct communication with their friends in the north. At this time there were three ships lying in the Tay off Dundee, which had lately arrived with supplies from France; and to secure these for the conveyance of the Chevalier and his followers, a French officer and clergyman were despatched to Dundee with orders to send them down the coast to Montrose, there to wait his arrival.

On the return of the officers to the camp, they promulgated the order to retreat to their men, and, as might have been anticipated, it was received with scorn and contempt. Among the Jacobite inhabitants of the town who had shown themselves very zealous in the cause of the Chevalier, the intelligence caused nothing but dismay, as from the prominent and decided part they had taken, they had incurred the penalties of treason against the government. The morning of the 31st of January was fixed upon for the retreat, but a body of about eight hundred highlanders, disliking the aspect of affairs, and displeased with the conduct of the principal officers, quitted Perth the preceding night for the Highlands by way of Dunkeld. Preparatory to his departure, the Chevalier went from Scone to Perth in the evening, and took up his residence in the house of Hay, the provost, a staunch Jacobite, where he supped and passed the night. At ten o'clock next morning the rebels began their march across the Tay, which was covered with ice of extraordinary thickness. About noon the whole army had passed, and was on the march to Dundee along the Carse of Gowrie.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyll was advancing upon Perth as fast as the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with would admit of. He had left Stirling on the 29th of January, and marched to Dunblane. Next day he advanced as far as Auchterarder, which had been entirely burnt by the rebels. Here they passed the night upon the snow without "any other covering than the fine canopy of heaven." On the following day a detachment of two hundred dragoons and four hundred foot, which had been sent forward to protect the country people who were engaged in clearing away the snow, took possession of the castle of Tullibardine, the garrison of which had capitulated. The

Duke of Argyle had resolved to take up his quarters for the night in this fortress ; but receiving intelligence that the rebels had retired from Perth that morning, he ordered a party of four hundred dragoons and a thousand foot to hasten forward to take possession of that town. The duke at the head of the dragoons, arrived at Perth about two o'clock in the morning of the 1st of February ; but the foot, which were greatly fatigued, did not come up till ten o'clock. The remainder of the duke's army reached Perth that evening.

The distance from Stirling to Perth is about thirty-four miles, yet such was the obstruction that Argyle's army met with from the snow, that their march occupied three entire days. The difficulties of the march and the privations which his men had suffered by resting two nights on the snow, exposed to all the severities of the weather, had so exhausted them, that it was not till the day after his arrival at Perth that the duke could muster a force sufficiently strong to pursue the enemy.

On the 2nd of February, Argyle left Perth, at the head of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and eight hundred highlanders. He stopt at Errol that night, and entered Dundee next day. Having learned that the Chevalier had left Dundee the preceding day on his way to Montrose, the duke sent forward a detachment towards Arbroath, and being joined by the remainder of his army on the 4th of February, he despatched on the same day three battalions of foot, five hundred of his own highlanders, and fifty dragoons, towards Arbroath, and another detachment of three hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, in the direction of Brechin ; but their march was retarded for some time by the snow. On the fifth the duke followed with the remainder of the army ; and while he himself, at the head of the cavalry, took the high road to Brechin, General Cadogan with the infantry marched in the direction of Arbroath.

On arriving at Montrose, where it was intended the rebel army should pass the night, orders were given to march towards Aberdeen, where it was said they were to remain till succours should arrive from abroad. And the Chevalier having selected such persons as he wished to accompany him in his flight, left his lodgings privately about nine o'clock of the evening of the 4th of February, accompanied only by one of his domestics, and having met Mar at his lodgings, they both proceeded by a private way to the beach, where a boat was lying in readiness to receive them, and in which they were carried on board a small French vessel which lay at a little distance from the shore. The

boat was immediately sent back, and returned in about a quarter of an hour with the Earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, and the remainder of the Chevalier's suite. Being favoured with a fresh breeze from the west-south-west, the vessel stood directly out to sea, and after a voyage of five days, arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines in French Flanders.

The insurgents being thus shamefully deserted by the Chevalier and his principal attendants, were soon afterwards dispersed, and about one hundred and sixty officers and gentlemen volunteers escaped to France, the most of whom entered into the Swedish army, then about to invade Norway.

"Thus ended the rebellion of 1715, without," as Sir Walter Scott remarks, "even the usual sad eclat of a defeat. It proved fatal to many ancient and illustrious families in Scotland, and appears to have been too weighty for the talents of the person whom chance or his own presumption placed at the head of it."

Perth, after the suppression of the rebellion, was made a permanent military station. A good deal of money, consequently, was circulated in the town; but the inhabitants, whatever they might gain by the residence of the soldiers and their officers among them, were far from being fond of those guests. Squabbles often took place between them. In one instance a dancing master was killed by an officer. As this affair made a great noise at the time, and led to the power of the civic magistrates in criminal matters being abridged, we give the following detailed account of it:—Some time in 1723, an officer of one of the regiments stationed at Perth went into a dancing school, and used indecent familiarities with a young girl. The master indignantly resented the insult thus wantonly given to his pupil, and seizing the officer by the neck, thrust him out of the room. The officer threatened vengeance, and the dancing master, nothing daunted, assured him should they happen to meet he would find him ready. In a day or two after they met by accident; accordingly, when confronting each other, the officer and the dancing master both drew their swords. The latter parried the thrusts of the officer, and it is said could easily have put him to death; but a sergeant who attended the latter came behind the dancing master, and pinioned him, upon which the officer run him through the body, so that he died upon the spot. The citizens of Perth, indignant at so foul a murder, threatened vengeance against the officer; but perceiving an interposition of the crown, resolved to prevent it. The provost presided at the trial of the officer. He was convicted by

a jury, and sentenced to be hanged within three suns. His friends despatched an express to London, applying for a pardon, which was granted; but he was hanged ere it arrived. It may be added that no account of the above trial is contained in the public archives of Perth.*

Mr D. Morrison, our learned and ingenious townsman, gives a relation of the above affair in a somewhat different manner from the foregoing; it is as follows:—"The case of a person taken *red-hand* by the Magistrates of Perth, and immediately executed, was the main cause of the power of trying cases of life and death being taken from them and from all subordinate judicatories. A young English officer connected with some families of rank and influence, who was stationed with a recruiting party at Perth, had become enamoured of a lady there, so young as still to be under the tuition of a dancing-master. Her admirer was in the habit of following her into the school, to the great annoyance of the teacher, who, on occasion of a ball given in the class-room in the Kirkgate, stationed himself at the door, determined to resist the entrance of the officer, on account of the scandal to which his visits had given rise. The officer came, as a matter of course, and a scuffle ensued, which at last bore so threatening an aspect, that the poor dancing-master fled through the passage, or *close*, as it is called, by which there was access to the street. He was pursued by the officer with his drawn sword, and was run through the body ere he could reach the street, where the crowd usually assembled on such occasions might have protected him. The officer was instantly apprehended, and executed, it is understood, even without any form of trial; at least there is no notice of it in any of the records where it would with most probability have been entered. But the sword is still in the possession of a gentleman whose ancestors held official situations in the town at the time, and the circumstances of the murder and of the execution have been handed down with great minuteness and apparent truth of description from father to son."

On the 4th of August, 1723, died Provost Austin, greatly respected and lamented. Cant gives him the character of a good man, a friend

* Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, quotes the story as an illustration of what at that period often took place by absurd and iniquitous judgements in violation of law. We may add, that the execution of the officer led to the passing of an act of parliament, whereby no sentence of death or corporal punishment could take place on the south side of the Forth in less than thirty, and on the north of it than forty days. This law, however, has been considerably altered, for executions now take place within three weeks after trial on the north side of the Forth.

of the poor, an encourager of industry, and a promoter of trade, especially of the linen manufacture. His father, Thomas Austin, came from England with Cromwell's army, and settled at Perth, and after the restoration seems to have originated a spirit of enterprise among the citizens. The above-mentioned Provost Austin left numerous descendants, and we believe, one of our most respected citizens, William Gloag, Esq., banker, is a great-grandson of his.

Though it was not till after the events of 1745 that the trade of Perth greatly increased, or the place was of much commercial importance, yet, meanwhile, the opposition to the union, and the influence of the exiled family of Stuart were gradually declining. A disposition to follow the peaceful pursuits of civilized life was beginning to develop itself; and Scotland, after a struggle of centuries with the opponents of civil and religious freedom, found herself on the eve of taking her place in the onward march of civilization, refinement, and constitutional liberty.

One of the consequences of the revolution of 1688 was the toleration of all religious sects; and we are now to contemplate one of the great results of this freedom to worship the Creator according to the dictates of conscience. At the period of which we now write, the great body of the Scottish people belonged to the established church. The only dissenters were a few episcopalians, and the Cameronians; the former were called nonjurors, because, being attached to the Stuarts, they refused the oath of allegiance to the Brunswick family; whilst the Cameronians boasted of being the true descendants of the original professors and martyrs of the Scottish church, who had, "during days of darkness and peril," contended for the supreme headship of Christ in his church. They refused to acquiesce in the revolution settlement, considering it a shameful surrender of the intrinsic power of the church, and as owning an authority in it which the more strict covenanting people believed to be a sinful compliance with the principles of the times.

With the exception of the above parties, Scotland presented the spectacle of a people professing the same religious creed. Yet such a state of things could not be expected to continue; for shortly after the revolution an act was passed by which the presbyterian church was enjoined to receive within her communion "such of the curates as offered to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, to submit to the presbyterian government, and against whom no scandal could be proved for thirty days, should be maintained in the possession of their stipends as paro-

chial ministers." The proposal was rejected by repeated general assemblies. At length, however, the opposition was overcome, and they were admitted into the bosom of the presbyterian church. Patronage was also restored in 1712; and although at first but little exercised, in course of time the church courts were found to insist upon the induction of the presentee by the patron. The general assembly showed a disposition also to deal leniently with those who were accused of preaching and publishing opinions contrary to the Confession of Faith. In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the ministers of the church who held fast to presbyterian principles should testify against prevailing errors and corruptions, and consider "the present courses of the majority as having a visible tendency to ruin the church of Scotland." "To stem the current of corruption, and effect some ecclesiastical reformation," a number of ministers met, among whom was Mr Wilson, of Perth, to consider what might be proper for them to do at the present juncture. They agreed upon stating to the general assembly, which was to meet in May, 1732, by way of representation or petition the grievances, which the church was at present under. The ministers met again, at Perth, 21st February, 1732, to consider a draught of a representation. Mr Wilson in his diary gives the following account of the meeting:—"About eighteen ministers having met together from several places, the representation was read over and amended; and a fair copy being written, it was signed by us all who were present, and afterwards it was signed by some other ministers, together with a commission to some of our number, to present it to the ensuing general assembly."

The committee of bills refused to transmit this representation, though drawn up in the most respectful language; and when its authors went to the bar of the assembly with a petition complaining of the committee's refusal, they were peremptorily denied a hearing. The majority in the church courts seem to have fully made up their minds as to the course they ought to pursue: they listened to no remonstrance, and the violent settlement of ministers was carried to a still greater extent. The assembly of 1732 passed an act by which it was provided that where patrons declined or neglected the exercise of their right, the ministers should be chosen by the majority of elders and of heritors, if protestants. This enactment, of course, gave general dissatisfaction; good men, lovers of peace deprecated it. It might be interesting to enquire what at this period were the causes that led to this great declension from the principles for which our ancestors with in-

domitable courage braved every danger, exposed themselves to the contumely and contempt of the world, and were willing to submit to the dungeon, the gibbet, and the stake, for the maintenance of; but we are precluded, from the nature of our subject, to enter at length upon the consideration of such a subject. Suffice it to say, that the metaphysical and philosophical theories which were broached in the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, together with the style of preaching adopted by the popular divines of the church of England, may in a great measure account for the latitudinarian opinions which prevailed among the Scottish clergy the nobility, and gentry. Such a view is corroborated by what Mr Wilson says in his dairy :—

“Religion,” says he, “was at this time very low. Our nobility and gentry had not even the form of godliness. Many of them had drunk in deistical principles. Through their frequent visits to London, and their conforming themselves there to the worship and ceremonies of the Church of England, they were altogether careless and indifferent about the worship and government of the Lord’s house in Scotland. The most of our barons were corrupt and loose, both in principle and practice; and our commons were generally without that concern about the things of God which has sometimes appeared amongst us. Few of the young men who are entering the ministry have any acquaintance with systematic divinity—yea, they despise it; and what is worse, many of them appear to be strangers to the power of godliness. They are puff-up with airy speculations, and their heads are filled with new notions. This is the deplorable situation of the Church of Scotland at this time.”

A crisis, however, was at hand. The two parties who divided the Church of Scotland were now to come into close conflict. The one was to the eye of short-sighted man to be worsted in the contest, and their scrupulosity held for a while up to ridicule. In the previous year, September 6, 1731, Mr Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Portmoak, was transferred to Stirling; and this had soon after been followed by his being placed in the chair as moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. According to custom, it fell to the lot of Mr Erskine to preach at the opening of the synod at Perth, on the 18th of October, 1732. He took for his text, Psalm cxviii. 22, “The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.” The preacher, in the latter part of his discourse, took occasion to animadvert on the evils and defections of the times. In speaking of the errors of the builders in rejecting the stone of God’s mercy, he says, “The Jewish builders valued

themselves exceedingly upon their connexion with the rulers and great folk in that day; and, having joined interest with them, treated the common people, especially those who owned Christ and attended his ministry and that of his apostles, as an unhallowed mob, as is clear from John vii. 45, where they having sent some of their officers to apprehend Christ, the officers return, declaring that "never man spake as this man." To which the Pharisees reply, "Are ye also deceived? Have any of the rulers of the Pharisees believed on him? But this people who know not the law are accursed." As if the common people had been obliged to follow them and the rulers with whom they connected themselves, by an implicit faith and obedience, without ever bringing their doctrines and actings to the bar of the law and testimony, to be tried there." His remarks, however, were in a great measure directed against the exercise of the right of patronage, for he exclaims, in bold and indignant language, "What a miserable bondage would it be reckoned for any family to have stewards or servants imposed on them by strangers, who might give the children a stone for bread, or a scorpion instead of a fish, poison instead of medicine! And shall we suppose that ever God granted a power to any set of men, patrons, heritors, or whatever they be—a power to impose servants on his family without their consent? they being the freest society in the world." Again he says,—“By this Act, Christ is rejected in his authority, because I can find no warrant from the word of God to confer the spiritual privileges of his house upon the rich beyond the poor; whereas, by this act, the man with the gold ring and gay clothing, is preferred unto the man with the vile raiment and poor attire.”

The sermon, as might have been expected, gave great offence to the majority of the synod; and, accordingly, at the evening sedurent, says Mr Wilson, in his dairy, "Mr Adam F——, minister at Logie-rait, stated that Mr Erskine, in his sermon in the forenoon, had uttered some things which gave offence, and moved for an investigation. He was immediately joined by Mr M——, minister at Aberdalgie, a hot, violent man,—a plague on the Presbytery of Perth, and most active always in a bad cause. He was also joined by Mr M——, then at Forteviot, now at St Ninians, a man more smooth and subtle than his brother, but his hand still as deep in a course of defection. Mr Robert C——, of Glendoig, advocate, elder, reasoned also very warmly for censuring Mr Erskine; he is a man that follows the fashion of the present time; his principles and conduct in the Judicatories appear to be of a piece."

The matter was referred to a committee, who reported to the synod next day, that Mr Erskine refused to acknowledge that he had committed any fault, and that they had decided that Mr Erskine had spoken disrespectfully of a class of ministers, and of their procedure in the church courts. Warm reasonings ensued of three days continuance, which ended in the synod, by a majority of six votes, declaring Mr Erskine deserving of censure.

No sooner was this decision announced, than Mr Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy entered his dissent and protest against it, in which he was immediately joined by Mr Meik, the moderator, Mr Wilson of Perth, with ten other ministers and two ruling elders. Mr Erskine himself protested and appealed to the next General Assembly, in which he was followed by his son-in-law, Mr James Fisher of Kinclaven, after which Mr Erskine retired, insisting that meanwhile all further procedure against him should be stopped. Undeterred by this formidable minority, and unchecked by Mr Erskine's own appeal of the case to the revision of a higher court, the synod proceeded in the cause, and gave it as their judgment that he should be rebuked and admonished to-morrow at their bar, on account of the passages in his sermon reported by the committee; and, in the event of his not being present to-morrow, that he should be called up at their meeting in April next, and rebuked and admonished there in terms of the sentence.

The Assembly of 1733 approved of the proceedings of the Synod, and appointed Mr Erskine to be rebuked and admonished at their own bar in order to terminate the process. Although Mr Erskine submitted to the rebuke, yet, he left on the table of the Assembly a paper in which he protested against said censure, and that he should be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of the church upon all proper occasions. To which protest Messrs William Wilson at Perth, Alexander Moncrieff at Abernethy, and James Fisher at Kinclaven also adhered. This paper, it is said, would not have been noticed had it not fallen over the table and attracted the attention of a member of the court—"Mr James Naismith, minister at Dalmeny, a fiery man." After perusing it he rose in his place, his face kindling with indignation, and passionately called on the Assembly to stop till they should consider the insufferable insult which, he reckoned, was committed upon them in that paper.

On this representation, their curiosity and indignation were roused :

the paper was ordered to be read, and read accordingly. Immediately a summons was issued citing the brethren to appear next day. This was quite unexpected. They supposed the matter was over, and they had only intended to avail themselves, as conscientious men, of the liberty for which they had protested,—of testifying, as they saw cause, against the public evils which prevailed. But the summons was duly obeyed, for the brethren were unwilling to omit any opportunity of obtaining satisfaction themselves, or of affording it to others. When they appeared before the Assembly, no question was put to them. A committee was appointed, with which they were directed to retire. After some conversation, in which the protesting brethren stated their reasons for the resolution they had taken, the committee made up their report,—which was, “that the four brethren continued fully resolved to adhere to their paper and protest.”

When the commission met in August, the brethren still adhered to their protest. Several petitions and representations, by sessions, and presbyteries, and civil courts, were laid on the table of the commission, entreating a delay of procedure, in following up the instructions of the Assembly against the four brethren. The kirk-session of the town and parish of Perth, and the magistrates and town-council, petitioned also in behalf of these ministers. Notwithstanding, however, the respectful petitions in favour of the four brethren, from parties so deeply interested, the sentence of suspension was carried in the commission.

At a meeting of the commission in November, the suspended brethren again appeared, and on being asked whether they still adhered to the protest given in to the Assembly, answered in the affirmative, when the commission by a great majority of those who voted, decided that the four brethren should be loosed from their respective charges, and declared no longer ministers of the Established Church, and that the ministers of that church should be prohibited from employing them in any ministerial function.

On the intimation of this sentence the brethren read a protestation, in which they formally seceded from the Established Church; and declared, that notwithstanding the sentence passed against them, their pastoral relation shall be held firm and valid. Mr Adam Ferguson, minister at Killin, was appointed to intimate the sentence against Mr William Wilson, from the pulpit of the Middle Church of Perth, but was prevented, as he stated, in a letter to the Commission, by a tumul-

tuous multitude, which met him at a distance from the city, and forcibly resisted his entrance.

In the course of about three weeks afterwards, the four brethren met in a house at Cairney-Bridge, in the neighbourhood of Kinross, and, having spent nearly two days in prayer and conference, did solemnly, in the name of the Head of the Church, on the evening of Thursday the 6th of December, 1733, constitute themselves into a presbytery, which was afterwards called "The Associate Presbytery." To this important step Mr Wilson makes an interesting reference in the continuation of his defence.

The Assembly of 1734 seem to have considered the commission of having acted with too great haste in the matter of the four brethren, for they passed an act empowering the Synod of Perth and Stirling to unite the four brethren to the communion of the church, and restore them to their respective charges. The seceders, however, refused to come into the church, "but continued waiting," says Mr Wilson, "and finding, from the conduct of the Assemblies 1735 and 1736, that instead of reforming, they were going on in their backsliding course, and that truth had gotten a new and deep wound, particularly by the conduct of the said Assembly 1736, they found themselves at last obliged to emit their act, declaration, and testimony, which bears date at Perth, December 3d, 1736, and which was published in the beginning of the year 1737." At this time the four brethren were joined by Mr Ralph Erskine, minister at Dunfermline, Mr Thomas Mair, at Orwell, Mr Thomas Nairn, at Abbotshall, and Mr James Thomson at Burntisland.

Afraid probably of the increase and success of the seceders, the Assembly of 1738, passed an act condemnatory of them, and empowering the commission to serve each of them with a libel. In accordance with the Assembly's act, the commission, which met in March, 1739, put a libel into the hand of each of the eight brethren, of which the Associate Presbytery by this time consisted, charging their secession, their publication of the testimony, their administration of divine ordinances to people in different parts of the country, without the knowledge or consent of the ministers to whom they belonged, and their licensing one or more to preach the gospel, as high crimes, and citing them to appear before the General Assembly at its ensuing meeting, to answer for their conduct. In the month of May, 1739, therefore, when the Assembly met, they all appeared as a constituted presbytery at her bar, and gave in their declinature, in which, exhibiting their

grounds of secession, they disclaim the Assembly's authority over them, and maintain their own independent right, liberty, and determination, in the name of Christ, to watch over the interests of religion in the land, and to preserve, through Divine aid, the spiritual simplicity, purity, and order of God's house—in defending the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of the Church of Scotland.

Though the Assembly did not proceed to depose the ministers of the Associate Presbytery immediately after the declinature in 1739, yet they expressed their conviction that they merited deposition, and strongly enjoined the next General Assembly to proceed to it, unless the eight brethren should retract, which they declared they scarcely expected. The cause of their delay seems to have been the strong leaning towards the secession among many of their own members, which, probably, produced an apprehension that to precipitate the extreme measures, would only tend to multiply desertions from among themselves.

Accordingly the Assembly of 1740, did actually proceed to the deposition of the eight ministers,—declaring them to be no longer ministers of the Church of Scotland, and enjoining the civil authorities of their respective places to exclude them forthwith from their churches.

The consequence of this decision of the Assembly was, that Mr Wilson, minister at Perth, was deprived of his church and emoluments; and we cannot close our sketch of the origin of the Secession Church more appropriately than by presenting the reader with the interesting account of his expulsion, which is to be found in Mr Ferrier's memoirs of him :—

“On the morning of the Lord's day, when the Assembly's instructions to the civil powers, just that morning received, were to be carried into effect, Mr Wilson and his interesting family, who were very regular in their domestic habits, were observed by the servants to be in a state of uncommon concern. Though the cause was in a great measure unknown to the domestics, they perceived that something unusual had occurred. The breakfast table was laid at the usual hour; but Mr and Mrs Wilson continued closely shut up in their chamber, and seemed, in deep thoughtfulness, to forget their wonted habits, and to be so entirely engaged in intercourse with God, as to be above the cares of this life, and to forget, or not to feel, the common cravings of nature.

“Mr Wilson remained in his chamber till the hour of public worship. On leaving it, he went directly to the church. As he left the house

to proceed, on this trying day, to the discharge of his ministerial duties, an aged domestic, long an inmate of the family, ventured to accost him in the language of friendly caution, "Tak care what ye're doin', Mr William," said she, for so from early habit she still sometimes called him, "tak care what ye're doin', for I fear if things gang on this way, I'll get ye're food to carry to the muir, as I did ye're father's before ye."

"Mr Wilson, in the prospect of these movements, took along with him Mr Andrew Ferrier, writer in Perth, a gentleman of the highest respectability, and with whom he was in the habits of friendship. In company with him, Mr Wilson proceeded with his usual dignified composure and gravity, towards the house of God. An immense multitude had assembled on the streets around the building. An expectation that something more than common was to take place had been very generally excited. The doors were shut; and the magistrates of the city, with their badges of authority and guards, were drawn up in front to obstruct Mr Wilson's entrance. In this they might pretend to be in the discharge of their duty; but doubtless, here, as in other places, magistrates had a discretionary power to decline exercising the rigour of their authority.

"The following brief reference is made to this procedure, by Mr Wilson himself:—

"The magistrates of Perth, having received the Moderator's letter upon the Sabbath morning, sustained themselves executioners of the Assembly's sentence against their minister, who, according to the measure of grace given him, had laboured near twenty-four years in the work of the ministry amongst them, and who was also unanimously called to that work by the people of that congregation; the said magistrates themselves came to guard the church doors, and when they saw their minister coming, shut the door upon him.'

"Mr Wilson, undaunted, advanced to the main entrance, and addressing those authorities who guarded it, demanded admission by an authority higher than theirs. 'In the name of my Divine Master,' said the venerable pastor, 'I demand admission into this temple.' The demand was thrice made in the same manner, and thrice met with a determined and stern refusal. On this there was a simultaneous stir in the crowd, and those who had seen or heard the repeated demands and refusals of entrance, became indignant and impatient, and were about to stone the civil authorities of the city, and to force an entrance for the minister they loved. But, perceiving their designs, Mr Wil-

son, with affectionate and commanding dignity, turned to the crowd, and firmly forbade the execution of their purpose. 'No violence,' said he, 'my friends,—the Master whom I serve is the Prince of Peace.'

"Mr Ferrier in the meantime having endeavoured in vain to procure admission for his minister, solemnly protested against the conduct of the magistrates; and on remarking that they could justify themselves neither before God nor men for their proceedings that day, was told in reply, that 'they would take men in their own hands, and would answer to God when they were called.'

"At this interesting juncture, the Deacon of the Glover Incorporation stepped forward, and said to Mr Wilson, that if he would accept of the Glovers' Yard for the services of the day, he was most welcome to it.* The kind and seasonable offer was most readily and thankfully accepted. Thither he immediately retired, followed by an immense concourse of people. An erection was soon obtained, where he might conveniently conduct the public worship of God.

"In the meantime, Mr John Hally, then a probationer, employed by Mr David Black to preach that day, being attended by the said Mr Black, was, with the assistance of the magistrates, thrust into the pulpit.

"During these procedures, Mr Wilson was quite composed. The trying scene had not unfitted him for the discharge of those duties in which he delighted, and his sphere of usefulness was, by these events, much extended. Many more than the church could have contained flocked to hear him. A considerable portion of these were doubtless prompted by curiosity alone; but by far the greater number were deeply interested in the occurrences of the times, and were determined to adhere to their godly minister.

"There was something highly appropriate, and peculiarly expressive of the feelings of this excellent father of the Secession, in the Psalm with which he commenced, in the open air, the public solemnities of the Sabbath:—

"He was no foe that me reproached,
Then that endure I could;
Nor hater that did 'gainst me boast,
From him me hide I would.

* Mr Ferrier says, "We ought not to omit mentioning what has long been a current remark in Perth and its neighbourhood, that, ever since this attention and kindness to their injured minister, the Glover Incorporation in this city has been greatly prosperous.

But thou, man, who mine equal, guide,
And mine acquaintance wast :
We joined sweet counsels, to God's house
In company we pass'd."

"The prayer, we doubt not, accorded with the peculiar circumstances in which he and his fellow worshippers were placed—breathing the devout feelings of his heart, showing how resigned he was to the disposing will of the God of providence, and how anxious he was that the events of the day in particular, and of the times in general, might be subservient to the Divine glory, and to the prosperity of the church.

"When he opened the sacred volume the text he read produced a thrill in every heart, and especially among the more thoughtful part of the audience :—'Let us go forth, therefore, unto him, without the camp, bearing his reproach.'

"The devotional exercises of this eventful Sabbath, were throughout solemn and interesting, and much calculated to make a deep and lasting impression on those who witnessed them. When the work of the day was over, Mr Wilson, on returning home, went directly to his study, tired and worn out with his anxieties and exertions. Isabella, his eldest daughter, then but twelve years of age, but who, attended by one of his servants, had witnessed the whole extraordinary scene—a scene which she distinctly remembered as long as she lived, and often mentioned to her family with the deepest interest—felt very curious to understand from her father the meaning of what had taken place ; but not liking to ask him, she hung about the door of his apartment till he observed her, and perceived what were her feeling and wishes. He then called her, and said, 'Bell, this has been a day of trial, but we have reason to be thankful it is not a day of shame. If any one ask you, Bell, why your father lost his kirk, you may just say, as good Mr Guthrie, before his death, directed my mother to say of him, if she were asked why he lost his head—'that it was in a good cause.'"

It ought to have been noticed that immediately previous to the secession from the Church of Scotland above detailed, Mr Glas, minister of Tealing, was deposed in 1728, by the Synod of Angus and Mearns, for maintaining and promulgating sentiments opposite to the standards of the church. What these were we state in the language of the writer of his memoirs :—

"He considered the government of the national church by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, to be without any foundation in the word of God ; and that he entirely

disapproved of those passages in the Westminster Confession, which treat of the magistrate's power *circa sacra*, and of liberty of conscience. In opposition to the first, he maintained, that a congregation or church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is in its discipline subject to no jurisdiction under heaven. In supporting this sentiment, while his adversaries appealed to acts of parliament, and acts of assembly, he appealed to the decision of the holy scriptures alone, paying no difference to the opinions and commandments of men. He shows that every *assembly* of believers possessing the faith and hope of the gospel is a Christian *church*, and from the fundamental law of discipline laid down by our Saviour, as well as from the practice of the churches under the apostles, that such an assembly was, as to discipline, subject to Christ alone. 'If he shall neglect to hear them,' says our Lord, 'tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,' Matt. xviii. 15, 20. As to the magistrate's power, he maintained, that in all matters of wrong or wicked lewdness, and even in all things pertaining to national churches as by law established, his right of judgment could not be disputed; but that as the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, it could not admit of any worldly defence, and as liberty of conscience was one of the natural rights of mankind, which government was designed to defend, the civil magistrate violated the laws of justice in punishing men for their religious opinions."

Mr Glas and those who adhered to him were really the first dissenters from the Church of Scotland. In 1733 Mr Glas erected a church in Perth, when separation from the establishment was very uncommon. It was thought highly arrogant for a small number thus to unite, pretending to be a church of Christ; and for unlearned men to act as ministers, how extraordinary and presumptuous! The clergy of the place took fire. One of them, in particular, very zealous for the national system, and highly enraged, endeavoured much to influence the magistrates to extirpate them from the town, and preached a very inflammatory discourse for this purpose, from the Song of Solomon, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that destroy our vines, for our vines have tender grapes." It is said, also, that a certain lady in the height of her religious zeal, on seeing Mr Glas walking along the street, said to some bystanders, "Why do they not *rive* (tear) him to pieces?"

In the beginning of the year 1740, the weather was remarkably severe. The cold was so intense that the Tay was entirely frozen over, as far down as Newburgh. By the mills being stopped, a great dearth was occasioned; and by the vast quantity of snow upon the ground, no coals could be brought into the town, and several people perished with the cold. We learn from the Scots Magazine of this year, that early on the morning of the 17th February, a terrible fire broke out in the High Street, which in a few hours burned down two large tenements, and damaged those adjoining. Deacon Bennet, tailor, with his wife, four children, and a servant, perished in the flames, the remainder of their bones unconsumed by the flames were collected, put in a coffin, and buried; other seven families who were burned out, saved their lives with the utmost difficulty.

It was no sooner ascertained that Prince Charles Edward, son of the Chevalier St George, was with the rebel army, intending to rendezvous at Perth, than the citizens were in a state of the greatest anxiety and alarm. The prince had made a rapid march through the defiles of Corriearrack, leaving Aberchallader on the morning of the 26th August, 1745, and reaching Blair upon the evening of the 30th. The prince remained two days at Blair, and was joined by Lord Nairne and several other Perthshire gentlemen; but the greater part of the resident gentry had fled on hearing of the approach of the Highland army. Sending forward this nobleman with Lochiel and four hundred men to proclaim him at Dunkeld, he proceeded to the low country on the 2d September, and slept the same night in Lord Nairne's house, between Dunkeld and Perth. The next day he entered the "Fair City," which had been taken possession of by a party of Camerons the preceding evening. Charles, attired in a superb dress of tartan trimmed with gold, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Oliphant of Gask, Mercer of Aldie, and several gentlemen on horseback, immediately repaired to the cross, proclaimed the Chevalier, and published the warrant from him, authorizing his son, Prince Charles, to act as regent in his absence. The main body rendezvoused in the afternoon, setting up a standard with the motto, *tandem triumphans*. The house chosen as the residence of the prince, while in Perth, was that of the Viscount Stormont, to which, after the ceremony at the cross, he was conducted, amid the plaudits of the assembled thousands.* The ma-

* It was an antique house with a wooden front, standing upon the site presently occupied by the National Bank, near the bottom of the High Street.

gistrates, the town-clerk, and some of the principal inhabitants abandoned the city on the appearance of the Highlanders, and retired to Edinburgh. An advanced party, under Macdonald of Keppoch, had been sent forward to seize Dundee, but being informed by some of the inhabitants that he could not accomplish his object without a greater force, Keppoch applied for a reinforcement, which left Perth about midnight, and reaching Dundee by daybreak, they made themselves masters of the town, and captured two vessels with arms and ammunition on board, which they sent up the Tay to Perth. They levied a tax on the inhabitants, also—liberated some prisoners—proclaimed the prince regent, and upon the Monday following marched back to Perth.

At Perth, Charles, in addition to the parties above-mentioned, was joined by the Robertsons of Strowan, Blairfitty, and Cushievale, the Stuarts, who inhabited the uplands of Perthshire, besides many of the tenants of the Duke of Athole; but the chief personage who rallied under Charles's standard at Perth, and was indeed among the first to appear there, was Lord George Murray, immediate younger brother to the Duke of Athole. He was conducted by his elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, into the presence of the prince. Lord George had taken a share in the insurrection of 1715, and was one of the few persons who joined the Spanish forces, which were defeated at Glen-shiel in 1719. He went afterwards abroad, and served several years as an officer in the king of Sardinia's army; but having obtained a pardon, he returned from exile, and was presented to George I. by his brother, the Duke of Athole. Lord George was tall in his person, and though now past the meridian of life, retained all the qualities of a robust and vigorous constitution. Besides a natural genius for military operations, in which he had had considerable experience, Lord George was fertile in resources, indefatigable in application, and brave even to a fault. With sword in hand he was always the first to rush forward upon the enemy in the day of battle, often saying to his men, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but to follow me." The accession therefore of such a man, at such a crisis, was of the highest importance to the Jacobite cause. But with all his high qualities, Lord George was proud, blunt, and imperious, and of an over-bearing disposition. Charles, when at Glenfinnin, had conferred the post of quarter-master-general of the army on O'Sullivan. Aware of the brilliant qualifications of Lord George, almost immediately on his arrival at Perth, appointed him lieutenant-general, to the great satisfaction of the clans, to whom he was favourably known.

The finances of Charles when he entered Perth were literally drained, he having only one single guinea in his pocket, which he showed to Kelly, one of the gentlemen he brought from France with him, and told him that it was all the money that now remained. In excuse for the prince's want of money, it must be said that during his march hitherto he had liberally supplied the chiefs with what money they wanted for the sustenance of the men. To replenish his treasury, detachments were sent to all the towns in the counties of Perth and Angus to collect the public money, by means of which and the contributions from his friends, his coffers were again soon filled. From Perth he exacted five hundred pounds.

"A circumstance occurred," says Robert Chambers, "during the negotiations about this last contribution, which, though perhaps too ludicrous for the pages of history, may be worth preserving as a curious illustration of the ignorance of the Highlanders at this period, regarding the affairs of civilized life. Before achieving the subsidy, Charles, finding it necessary to use his own personal influence with the civic rulers, went to the house of a particular bailie, attended by a single mountaineer. He immediately entered into a conversation with the worthy magistrate, who happened, besides a stately old fashioned '*stand of claiiths*,' as a full suit was then called, to wear a remarkably voluminous, dignified, and well-powdered periwig. On observing this grand ornament on the head of the bailie, and seeing the prince at the same time wearing his own pale unostentatious locks, it struck the mind of the poor Highlander, that there was something intolerably inappropriate in the respective appearance of the two heads. He could have borne to see the Prince's head covered by only the simple ornament supplied by nature, provided that there was no possibility of improving the case; but when he saw the head of an inferior person—a mere bailie, decorated with something so much finer, and to which it had not nearly so good a title, he could not possibly restrain his loyal indignation. Going up to the magistrate, therefore, he deliberately lifted off his wig before the poor gentleman was aware, and muttering that 'it was a shame to see ta like o' her, clarty thing, wearing sic a braw hap, when ta vera prince hersel had naething on ava,' fairly transferred it to his Royal Highness, on whose head he proceeded to adjust it with care and apparent reverence. The magistrate, of course, stormed like a fury at the insult offered to his dignity, and even Charles himself could not help expressing some uneasiness; but it was a good while ere the sturdy advocate for appropriate

ornaments would permit the wig to be removed from its owner *de jure* and restored to its proprietor *de facto*."

The stay of Charles in Perth was eight days. This delay in moving southward was caused "by the double necessity of providing himself with money and gathering the Perthshire clans together." He, however, was not idle while there, for he devoted almost all his time in endeavouring to teach the Highlanders something of military discipline and training. At a review of his army upon the North Inch, on the 7th September, it is said Charles was observed to smile occasionally at the awkwardness of their motions, at the same time complimenting their appearance, and calling them his *staigs*, an appellation meaning, undoubtedly, that when properly trained they would make excellent soldiers.

Though fond of amusement, he did not allow it to interfere with business. He rose early in the morning, wrote despatches, drilled his troops, and made himself acquainted with a variety of military details to which he had hitherto been unaccustomed. It is told of him, that he gave great offence to the Jacobite ladies of Perth and its neighbourhood, who invited him to a grand ball got up specially for him, he having no sooner danced one measure than he made his bow and hastily withdrew, alleging the necessity of visiting his sentry posts.

For the first time, it is believed, of his life, he attended the Protestant service at Perth, on Sabbath the 8th September, rather it may be conjectured to please his Protestant friends, than from any predilection for a form of worship to which he was an entire stranger. The text chosen on this occasion by the preacher, Mr Armstrong, was from the 14th chapter of Isaiah, verses 1, 2, "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and shall bring them to their place; and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors." From the nature of the text the reader will be at no loss to guess either its application or the distinctive religious denomination of the clergyman who selected it. The nonjuring Jacobite discourse delivered on the occasion in question, would certainly form an extraordinary contrast with the democratic harangues to which Charles's great-grandfather, Charles I., and his grand-uncle, Charles II., were accustomed to listen from the mouths of the stern Covenanters.

The day on which Charles entered Perth was St John's market ; accordingly, many who were in town made their attending it the excuse for meeting the prince. Many of the strangers, too, procured passports from him to protect their persons and goods in passing through the country. It is said, to all these persons he showed the greatest courtesy, especially to a linen-draper from London, whom he desired to tell his fellow-citizens that he expected to see them in the course of two months. Many anecdotes have floated down the stream of tradition as to the way in which the Highlanders conducted themselves while in Perth. No doubt numbers of them are apochryphal, and we conceive, therefore, that the description of Charles' entrance into Perth, as well as the conduct of his followers, given in Dugald Graham's metrical history of the rebellion, will suffice the reader as to what happened during their stay in the "fair city." After alluding to Sir John Cope's journey to the north, Dugald says—

"While he marched on from hill to hill,
But them to find he had no skill ;
For Charles sent in their way a scout,
At which they followed close pursuit,
Over the mountains to Inverness,
Before he heard where Charlie was,
Possessed of the town of Perth,
And there was joined by men of worth,
The Drummonds and Duke John by name,
Whose style was Perth, of noble fame ;
There Elcho came, and Broughton too,
With Balmarino not a few ?
Kilmarnock also gave consent,
And afterwards unto them went,
With many more, from north and south,
Of gentlemen the flow'r of youth.
Here of prince regent he took the name,
And his royal father did proclaim,
King of Great Britain and Ireland,
With all its titles, you'll understand ;
And here they levied tax and cess,
Which did the lieges sore oppress ;
And what was worse, I understand,
Without his knowledge or command,
Some thievish bands, in many parts,
To cloak their roguery, used these arts,
In tartan dress'd from top to toe,
Arms and livery had also,
Plundered the country where they went,
Profess'd they by the prince were sent,
To levy horse, men, and money,

Extorting horse and cash from many ;
 Excise and cess made people pay,
 And gave receipts, so just were they,
 A famous way for making rich ;
 But Charlie got the blame of such,
 Which did his merit sore defame,
 And gave his men a thievish name.
 Many of his crew indeed were greedy,
 To fill their bellies when they were needy ;
 They cocks and hens, and churns of cheese,
 Did kill and eat, when they could seize,
 And when owners did them exclaim,
 "*Hup, poup*, hersel be far frae hame,
 You need not fash to say no thing,
 Hersel brings you a braw new king."
 From Perth they march'd unto Dunblane,
 And then by Doune the road they've ta'en."

Charles left Perth on Wednesday, 11th of September, on his route to the south, carrying along with him as prisoners, Patrick Crie, late provost, David Sandeman, younger, and several others of the influential whig inhabitants, whom, however, he set at liberty in the vicinity of Auchterarder. A few of each of the clans reached Dunblane that night, where they encamped ; the rest of the army did not come up till next day, the men being greatly fatigued. On the 13th of September, Charles reached the banks of the Forth, on which day he crossed it at the Fords of the Frew, almost in the face of Gardiner's dragoons, who retired towards Stirling, without attempting to dispute the passage. On arriving on the banks of the river, Charles, to inspirit his followers, drew his sword, brandished it in the air, and pointing to the other side, rushed into the water, and darting across, took his station on the opposite bank, on which he stood and congratulated each successive detachment as it reached the land.

The Highland army took possession of Edinburgh on the 17th, without having so much as yet fired a single shot in the enterprise in which they had embarked their lives and fortunes. The Highlanders, however, got little leisure in Edinburgh to improve themselves in the military art ere their prowess was put to the test. Sir John Cope, who had gone to the north, to intercept the prince and his army ; but not having courage to encounter the Highlanders among the passes of Corriearrack, had retired to Inverness, and shipped for the south with all possible speed, having heard of the intention of Charles to take possession of the metropolis. Cope arrived in the mouth of the Frith of

Forth on the 16th September, and on that and the following day landed his troops at Dunbar ; but the disembarkation of the artillery was not completed till the 18th. The king's forces, after landing, encamped in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans. On the 20th Charles and his followers marched from their camp at Dudington, with the intention of meeting the king's forces. The two armies consisted of nearly the same number, namely—of about three thousand foot and dragoons ; although it must, in justice to the Highlanders, be stated that whilst their opponents had everything to carry on a regular campaign, they were a body of ragged, undisciplined, half-armed Highlanders, without cavalry or artillery, and looked upon as a poor unhappy set of people, doomed to immediate destruction. Both armies lay all night upon their arms. Early next morning the prince's army attacked the forces under Cope, which, in less than ten minutes, they totally routed. All the infantry were either killed or made prisoners. The baggage, artillery, and military chest became the prize of Charles Edward, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh.

Charles prolonged his stay in the capital till the 31st October, during which period advantage was taken to discipline his army, provide them with clothing, and procure additional adherents. He seems to have spent his time in a very cheerful manner ; and the citizens of Edinburgh were privileged to behold some of the gay scenes with which the Scottish court, in the olden time, lighted up the halls of Holyrood. Charles gave a series of balls and entertainments in the palace, which were attended by all the persons of rank and fashion assembled in the capital.

The day before Charles left Edinburgh was the birth-day of George II., and was celebrated throughout the whole of England with great demonstrations of loyalty. In Scotland, however, with one remarkable exception, the supporters of government did not venture upon any public display. The exception alluded to was the town of Perth, some of whose inhabitants took possession of the church and steeple about mid-day, and rang the bells. Oliphant of Gask, who had been made deputy-governor of the town by the young chevalier, and had under him a small party, sent to desire those who rang the bells to desist ; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing at intervals until midnight, two hours after the ordinary time. Mr Oliphant with his small guard, and three or four gentlemen posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about fourteen hundred small arms, some ammunition, &c. belonging to the Highland army, deposited there

and in the adjoining jail. At night seven north-country gentlemen, in the Jacobite interest, came to town with their servants, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house; when it grew dark the mob made bonfires in the streets, and ordered the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, an order which was generally obeyed, and the few that refused had their windows broken. About nine o'clock at night a party sallied from the council-house, and marching up the street to disperse the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. The mob, exasperated by this attack, rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded some of them. After this rencounter, the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main-guard, and rung the fire-bell, by which they drew together about two hundred people. They thereupon sent a message to Mr Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw immediately from the town and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. to them. Mr Oliphant having refused, the fire-bell was rung a second time, and hostilities commenced about two o'clock in the morning, which continued about three hours. The people fired at the council-house from the heads of lanes, from behind stairs, and from windows, so that the party within could not look out without the greatest hazard. About five o'clock the mob dispersed. An Irish captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four of Mr Oliphant's party were wounded. Of the mob, who had none to conduct them, four were wounded. To preserve order, about sixty of Lord Nairne's men were brought into the town next day, and these were soon thereafter joined by about one hundred and thirty Highlanders.

When Charles left Edinburgh, his army consisted of about six thousand men, five hundred of whom were cavalry, and three thousand Highlanders. They marched for England by way of Carlisle, which town surrendered to them on the 13th November. Leaving Carlisle on the 20th, they passed through a number of market towns, where they proclaimed the prince's father, but procured no recruits, the inhabitants generally looking upon them as little else than a horde of unreclaimed savages. On reaching Preston, however, their arrival was hailed with acclamations and ringing of bells, and after much entreaty a few recruits were raised. They afterwards took the route for Manchester, into which place the prince entered with a sort of triumph, and was joined by about two hundred men; and from Manchester they went to Derby. Here they paused. The prince's leading officers had become discouraged owing to the small number of English Jaco-

bites that had joined them, and the troops had suffered severely from marching in that rigorous season through a hostile country. Moreover, the Duke of Cumberland, with his army, was within a day's march of Derby; besides, a large army was forming in the neighbourhood of London, ready to defend the metropolis. A council of war was held, and after long and violent disputes, Charles at last acquiesced in the measure which all his councillors recommended; viz., an immediate departure to Scotland. Accordingly, the Highland army abandoned Derby, and retreated to Scotland before an harassing enemy, with a rapidity and good order almost unparalleled, neither plundering the country, nor leaving the sick, the stragglers, nor the artillery to the enemy. After making a short stay in Glasgow, the rebel army encountered the king's forces at Falkirk, whom they defeated. Shortly after, they laid siege to Stirling Castle, but failed in the attempt. As the royal army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, was hanging on their rear, the chiefs of the clans recommended to Charles a retreat to the north. The prince's army separated into two divisions at Crieff; the prince, at the head of the clans, taking the Highland road, Lord George Murray, with the horse and the low-country regiments, taking the coast road.

Lord George and his division arrived at Perth on the evening of the 3d February, 1746. Before leaving it the next day, they spiked thirteen cannon, and afterwards threw them into the Tay, together with a great quantity of balls, and fourteen swivel guns, which formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop-of-war, which had been surprised and taken at Montrose by the Highlanders. The pieces were taken out of the river next day by the royal troops. The rebels had a magazine of powder also lodged in a cellar below the tolbooth, which was full of prisoners taken from the Hazard sloop at Montrose, and from the royal army. A report had gone abroad among the citizens that Lord George had ordered it to be blown up, prisoners and all, which threw them into the utmost consternation and alarm. A merchant named Anderson, it is said, used his influence with the rebel commander, and prevented the execution of such a barbarous design. Mr Anderson bought the powder, and Lord George Murray went himself and set the prison doors open, gave the common men money, and advised them to keep out of the way of any of their small parties marching through Perth.

The Duke of Cumberland arrived in Perth on the 6th, his advanced guard having taken possession of it the previous day. Having learned the different routes by which the Highland army had marched, he

halted a few days at Perth to refresh his men. From Perth parties were sent in every direction, who plundered the residences and carried away the effects of the prince's adherents.

Shortly after the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland at Perth, it was rumoured that the Prince of Hesse, son-in-law of George the second, had arrived in the Frith of Forth with a force of 5000 Hessians. These troops disembarked at Leith on the 9th February and following day, and were cantoned in and around Edinburgh. The duke visited the prince at Edinburgh on the 15th, and held a council of war, where it was determined to pursue the prince ere he could again assemble his followers. Accordingly, the duke returned to Perth the next day to put his army in marching order for the north.

He left Perth on the 20th, putting his army in motion in four divisions, sending notice, at the sametime, to the Prince of Hesse to march to Perth.* During the interval that elapsed between this and the battle

* The Hessians remained at Perth for several years after the rebellion. Their encampment was on the North Inch ; and many persons are alive who remember the hollow parallel lines on the west side of the old Dunkeld road, which ran through the Inch, that marked the site of the encampment. They were detached to various parts, especially about Crieff and Dunkeld. The Hessians were great favourites with the people, and had a remarkably fine appearance ; hence the saying " as bonny's a Hessian." Dugald Graham, in his metrical history, describes them as follows :—

" These Hessians were a warlike band ;
 Three thousand did their prince command ;
 Eail Crawford in their company,
 To guide them through the Scots country ;
 Their countenance was awful fierce,
 They spoke High Dutch or German Erse,
 Had white buff belts, and all blue clothes,
 With a long beard beneath their nose ;
 And those who were in wedlock state
 Had all long whiskers, like the cat ;
 Their spatterdashes with pick were gilt,
 And long swords with a brazen hilt ;
 Bars on the outside of the band,
 And in their guns an iron wand ;
 The finest music e'er you did hear—
 Would make one dance who ne'er could stir,
 Their whistles and drums in chorus join
 To cheer one's heart, they played so fine ;
 Their grenadiers had caps of brass ;—
 Thus order'd were the men of Hesse.

of Culloden, both parties, in expectation of an engagement, made every preparation within their reach. The duke left Aberdeen in the beginning of April 1746, with the intention of meeting the prince; and the latter, anxious to engage his opponent, took up his quarters on Drum Mossie Muir, not, however, a very advantageous one, and objected to by Lord George Murray. Various plans were projected as to what ought to be done at the present juncture: many of the clans had not yet joined the prince; they all agreed, however, in a resolution to surprise the royal army by night. The attempt failed, and the rebels retreated to Culloden. The Duke of Cumberland, in expectation of a battle, had formed his army by break of day; and having been informed that the Highland army had retreated, he began his march towards Inverness about five o'clock.

The English army continued steadily to advance, and, after a march of eight miles, formed in order of battle, in consequence of the advanced guard reporting that they perceived the Highland army at some distance making a motion towards them on the left. Finding, however, that the Highlanders were still at a considerable distance, and that the whole body did not move forward, the Duke of Cumberland resumed his march as before, and continued to advance till within a mile of the position occupied by the Highland army, when he ordered a halt, and, after reconnoitering the position of the Highlanders, again formed his army for battle.

It was nearly one o'clock before the battle began. The king's forces amounting to nearly seven thousand men, were disposed in excellent order by the Duke of Cumberland, who, in the whole conduct of the engagement, displayed the qualifications of an able general. The royal army, too, was supported by ten field-pieces. The artillery of the rebels, was less numerous, ill served, and ill pointed; and they, impatient at being galled by the royal artillery, marched on to the attack, and charged the king's forces with their usual impetuosity. The left wing was staggered with the fury of their assault; but two battalions advancing from the second line, quickly repulsed them. At the same time, Hawley's dragoons and the Argyleshire militia having pulled down a park wall, which covered the right flank of the rebels, attacked them sword in hand, and completed their confusion. In no quarter of the battle but the left wing of the royalists had the rebel army made any impression. The French auxiliaries stood inactive during the whole engagement; and an entire body of Highlanders avoided the shock of battle by retreating in good order. A total rout ensued. The victors

showed little mercy to the vanquished Highlanders : for in the retreat of the latter to Inverness, the road to that town was literally covered with the slain ; and even the day after the battle, when it might be thought that the desire for revenge would be satiated, the poor Highlanders were sought out in their skulking places, and murdered in cold blood. The loss of the royal army was small, having had only fifty men killed, and two hundred and fifty nine wounded, including eighteen officers, of whom four were killed. The number of the slain on the part of the prince was nearly fifteen hundred men.

The results of this victory of course was the complete extinction of the rebellion, and from its decisive nature might have mitigated the severities of the government. Charles was a wanderer and a fugitive—a price of thirty thousand pounds set upon his head, yet “he spent five months,” says a writer friendly to him, “in a state of perpetual alarm, enduring fatigues, hunger, and exposure to the elements, enough to have killed most men. The dangers which he escaped during that period were manifold. His preservation is in a great measure to be ascribed to his own sagacity and fortitude ; but it could never have been achieved without the concurrence of the generous people among whom he was cast. The constancy displayed by the Highlanders on this occasion was beyond all praise. They showed that a rude state of society is not without its virtues, and that poverty can sometimes be incorruptible. Charles’s life was entrusted to several hundred individuals, many of them of the lowest grade of humble life, and some of them even belonging to what modern civilization would term the vicious. Yet not one seems to have ever so much as entertained the idea of giving him up, but all endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to further his escape, even at the risk of their own lives. The generosity of their behaviour is said to have recommended them, for the first time, to the respect of the English people, who saw from this that unswerving principle, and pure and lofty feeling, might reside under the tartan and blue bonnet of Scotland, as well as beneath the silk and fine linen of the South.”

The most extreme measures were adopted against the adherents of the unfortunate Stuarts. The Highlands may be said to have been considered a conquered country. Orders were published by the duke of Cumberland,* and read from the pulpits, ordering all who had been

* It may be noticed that the Duke of Cumberland, on his return to the south, was hailed as the deliverer of his country. When passing through Perth, the magistrates, as a mark of gratitude for his patriotic services, presented his royal high-

in the rebellion to deliver up their arms, or who had in their possession any arms or effects belonging to the rebels, to give them up under pain of military execution.*

To detail the cruelties exercised upon the Highlanders or the trials and executions of the unfortunate individuals engaged in the rebellion, does not come within our province. Government acted with great severity, and proceeded, with the aid of the legislature, to pass acts for the final suppression of the rebellion. The Highlanders were disarmed; no person being allowed to bear or have arms in his possession, unless he was possessed of a freehold qualification entitling him to be elected into parliament. The statute even included the article of dress. "From a perusal of this act," says a writer on the subject, "one would be led to conclude, that the government trembled at the figure of tartan, or shape of a philibeg. The garb which the Caledonians had worn from the earliest ages of their nations; the garb to which they were attached by the affection which is natural towards the peculiarities of one's native country, and for the objects to which one has been habituated from his earliest years, was prohibited, both as to *stuff* and *shape*, and, of course, a stop put to almost the only species of manufacture in the country. To wear a philibeg, of any sort, or a coat, or great coat, made of tartan, subjected the wearer, whether man or boy, upon being convicted by the oath of one witness, before any justice of peace, to imprisonment, without bail, for six months. But, for the second offence, to banishment for seven years, to any of the foreign plantations."

The clergy and members of the episcopal persuasion were no less harshly treated. An act was passed commanding all episcopal clergymen, at every time they celebrated worship before more than five people, to pray for the king and royal family by name, as directed in the liturgy. Transgressions against this statute subjected the clergyman, for the first offence, to imprisonment for six months; for the second,

ness with Gowrie House and the grounds attached. On receiving this gift, it is said that the duke, with sarcastic nonchalance, asked "if the *piece of ground* called the Carse of Gowrie went along with it?" Cumberland soon after sold Gowrie House to government, who converted it into an artillery barracks.

* The order alluded to in the text, so far as it concerned Perth, ran thus:—"By order of his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland. Any person within this parish who shall conceal any rebel, or arms, or ammunition, or anything belonging to the rebels, and shall not immediately bring in the said rebel, stores, or goods, to Provost James Crie, of Perth, shall, upon proof of disobedience of this order, be hanged."

to banishment during life to America. The hearers, besides being disqualified from voting in the election of parliamentary representatives, were, for the first offence, subjected to a penalty of five pounds ; but for the second, to imprisonment for six months. This was an exertion of tyranny over the mind, which even Charles II. did not prescribe to the covenanters. The most important measure, however, which was enacted by parliament, was the act for abolishing the heritable jurisdictions. The nobility, and the chieftains, and the proprietors of ancient estates, possessed a jurisdiction over their vassals, and all within their territories, in cases both civil and criminal. Their estates were called *baronies* ; and many of them had royal charters extending the criminal jurisdiction over life. Possessed of such a power, the large landed proprietors were regarded by their tenants with greater reverence and awe than even the sovereign of the realm. They made, when required, a demand upon their military services : the cause of their lord was theirs. "Such a system as this," it has been well observed, "was adverse to civilization and manners, and inconsistent with a regular submission to the established government. Cromwell, whose extensive views and profound judgment swayed with harmony and glory an empire of which he was the usurper ; an empire whose legal monarchs, when misled by distracted and pernicious counsels, have sometimes let drop from the pinnacle of glory to the brink of destruction, perceived the incompatibility of this system with a regular government, and abolished it." It was replaced, however, at the restoration. Now, it was deemed highly expedient that the heritable jurisdictions should be abolished. Accordingly, this was done ; and subjects, instead of resorting to the courts of their respective superiors, were obliged to sue for justice before the inferior judges appointed by the king. The lords of justiciary were at the same time appointed to hold, twice in the year, circuit courts, through the different quarters of the kingdom, for taking cognisance of the deeper trespasses against the criminal jurisprudence.

Such were the measures taken by government to prevent any future attempt in behalf of the Stuart family. Though really severe they were successful. It was fortunate for Scotland that it was so ; for enjoying the blessings of peace, leisure was afforded to cultivate the useful arts, apply the discoveries of science to the production of manufactures, and extend to an unprecedented extent her trade and commerce.

With the suppression of the rebellion may be said to close the civil and ecclesiastical history of Perth ; for though the events that took

place after the above-mentioned period were of considerable importance, as showing the progress made in manufacturing industry, and its advantages over the commotions which it was so often the arena, yet as they in no way influenced the political or religious aspects of society, it now ceased to occupy a prominent place in the eye of the statesman, or of the politician.

In taking a retrospective view of the very lengthened period which the foregoing sketch embraces, is not our wonder fearfully excited—do we not stand amazed at the interminable struggle which the human mind has had to maintain in its endeavours to reach a higher elevation—to advance even one single step in the onward march of civilization? What antagonism—what hostility—what reckless sacrifice of human life, to repress the aspirations of humanity, to crush man's noble spirit, and to keep him the tool of tyrants and of priests! The more conspicuous figures in this picture are undoubtedly the unfortunate Stuarts; and princes may learn from the misfortunes of this family what fearful calamities may be entailed upon themselves and their posterity, in seeking to repress the tendencies of society, by perpetuating worn out institutions and exploded notions in politics or religion. We find in the conduct of the successive princes of the Stuart family, an answer to the question which Major M'Namara put to Charles Edward when the latter refused to accede to the wishes of his English adherents. "What," indignantly asked the major, "what has your family done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages." Yes, retributive justice closely pursued them.

"History furnishes," says a philosophical writer, "no example of a family enduring such a train of misfortunes. James I. of Scotland, after being eighteen years imprisoned in England, was assassinated, together with his wife, by his own subjects. His son, James II., was killed at the age of nineteen fighting against the English. James III. was imprisoned by his subjects, and afterwards fell in an engagement with the rebels. James IV. was defeated and slain in battle. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, being driven from her throne, fled to England, and after languishing eighteen years in prison, was condemned by English judges, and beheaded. Charles I., King of Scotland and England, grand-son of Mary, having been sold by the Scotch, and condemned to death by the English, was publicly beheaded on a scaffold. His son, James VII. of Scotland, and II. of England, was driven from his three kingdoms, and to crown his misfortunes, the legitimacy of his

son was disputed ; the attempt of the son to recover the throne of his fathers, only occasioned the death of his friends by the executioner ; and we have seen Prince Charles Edward, in vain uniting the virtues of his ancestors, and the courage of King John Sobiesky, his maternal grand-father, perform the most astonishing exploits, and endure almost incredible misfortunes. If anything can justify the opinion of the existence of a fatality which nothing can withstand, it is this uninterrupted course of misfortunes which have befallen the house of Stuart, during upwards of three hundred years."

CHAPTER VII.

It is only one part of the duties of an historian to detail civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs ; on him devolves the task, also, of delineating manners, and it is in proportion as these are faithfully portrayed does history afford pleasure and instruction. In the present and following chapter, it is intended to submit a sketch of the religion, especially its forms and ceremonies—of the learning—of the progress of the arts—of the commerce and shipping—of the superstitions and customs—of the games—of the dress, and of the diet of our ancestors, together with the price of provisions.

During the ancient British period, we find the native inhabitants of Scotland little raised above the condition of savages, dependant for a precarious subsistence on the sports of the chase, or the milk of their flocks. The religion they professed was that known by the name of Druidism. It is not our purpose, however, to enter at length into a minute detail of the doctrines of the Druids : the priests were divided into three classes, viz., the Vates, the Bards, and the Druids, who severally performed very different functions. The Vates expounded the laws of nature ; the Bards recited in the sublimest poetry the heroic deeds of eminent men ; and the Druids, who were of a higher order, had entrusted to them the education of their youth, officiated as the priests of religion, and presided in the administration of justice. The Druids “ held it unlawful to build temples to the gods, or to worship them within walls and under roofs.” Hence their places of worship were in the open air, and generally on mountain tops, where they had a full view of the heavenly bodies, to whom much of their adoration was directed. When engaged, however, in the performance of their religious rites, or the instruction of their disciples, they chose the darkest recesses of groves and woods, so as that they might be unmolested by the unhallowed feet of the uninitiated. The oak seems to have been the tree for which they had a peculiar veneration ; accordingly, these groves were surrounded by innumerable wide spreading oaks. “ The Druids,” says Pliny, “ have so high an esteem for the oak that they do not perform the least religious ceremony without being adorned with garlands of its leaves. These philosophers believe that every

thing that grows upon that tree doth come from Heaven ; and that God has chosen that tree above all others." One of the great solemn festivals of the Druids was held on the sixth day of the moon, and so much esteemed among them that they made their months and years to date from it.

One of the most remarkable of their solemnities was the cutting of the mistletoe from the oak by the arch-druid, which is thus described by Pliny. "The Druids hold nothing so sacred as the mistletoe of the oak. As this is very scarce, and rarely to be found, when any of it is discovered they go with great pomp and ceremony to gather it. When they have got everything in readiness under the oak, both for the sacrifice and the banquet which they make on this great festival, they begin by tying two white bulls by the horns ; then one of the Druids, clothed in white, mounts the tree, and with a knife of gold cuts the mistletoe ; this done they proceed to their sacrifices and feasting. The festival was held on their new years days, and as near as the age of the moon permitted to the tenth of March. . On May eve two fires were kindled by another, and between which fires the men and beasts to be sacrificed were to pass, hence the saying, 'between Bel's two fires,' meaning one in a great straight, not knowing how to extricate himself. On the following day, the first of May, immense fires were kindled on the tops of all their cairns, as well as in their sacred places, in honour of Belinus, or the sun. Of this festival there are still some vestiges remaining both in Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, where the first of May is called Bellein, signifying the fire of Bel, or Belinus. At midsummer another of their great festivals was held, to propitiate the favour of the deity on their fields. But perhaps the most important solemnity in the eye of the devout Druid was the festival of the first of November. On the eve of this day, such fires as we have already mentioned were kindled, accompanied as usual with sacrifices and feasting." "On the foresaid eve all the people of the country," says Toland, in his history of the Druids, "out of a religious persuasion instilled into them by the Druids, extinguished their fires as entirely as the Jews were wont to sweep their houses the night before the *feast of unleavened bread*. Then every master of a family was religiously obliged to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire anew in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay, however, for his future happiness, whether the event proved answerable or not ; and though his house should be afterwards burnt, yet he must deem it the punish-

ment of some new sin, or ascribe it to anything, rather than to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the benediction of the Druid, who, from officiating at the cairns, was likewise called *Cairneach*, a name that continued to signify a priest, even in the Christian times. But if any man had not cleared with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the cairns, nor durst any of his neighbours let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of excommunication, which, as managed by the Druids, was worse than death. If he would brew, therefore, or bake, or roast, or boil, or warm himself and family; in a word, if he would live the winter out, the Druid's dues must be paid by the last of October."

The sacred groves of the Druids were watered by some consecrated fountain or river. In the centre of the grove was a circular area, enclosed with one or two rows of large stones, set perpendicular in the earth, which constituted the temple, within which the altar stood, and on which the sacrifices were offered. "The number and variety of the Druid remains," says the author of *Caledonia*, "in north Britain, are almost endless. The principal seat of Druidism seems to have been the recesses of Perthshire, near the Grampian range." Upon almost every height in every direction around Perth, and along the course of the Tay, are to be found Druidical remains. What an interesting thought, that in a remote antiquity, when the waters of the ocean filled the valley through which the Tay now runs, and the waves dashed against the mountain's base, that on their tops and amid their recesses, the primeval inhabitants of *Caledonia* were the victims of such superstitious rites as those we have mentioned.*

* Perhaps the most singular remains of the Druids are the *rocking-stones*. Doubts have been expressed as to whether they are natural or artificial. Their use seems to have been either to induce belief, or heighten devotion. Those in Perthshire are the following:—In the parish of Kirkmichael, there is an immense rocking-stone, which stands on a flat topped-eminence, in the vicinity of a large body of Druid remains. This stone is placed on the plain surface of a rock, level with the ground. It is a very hard solid whinstone, of a quadrangular shape, approaching to the figure of a rhombus, of which the greater diagonal is seven feet, and the less five feet: its mean thickness is about two and a half feet; and its solid contents must, therefore, be about 51:075 cubical feet: its weight must be about three tons and a half a hundred; for a stone of the same quality was found to weigh eight stone three pounds the cubic foot. By pressing down either of the extreme corners, a rocking motion is produced, which may be increased, so as to make the distance between their lowest depression, and

From the imperfect sketch of Druidism above given, it will be seen that it was a gross superstition, enchaining the human mind, and keeping it spell-bound, under the delusions of a wily priest-hood. As showing the effects it produced, one of the practices of the ancient Britons is thus described by Diodorus Siculus:—"They have a great veneration for those who discover future events, either from the flight of birds, or the inspection of the entrails of victims; and all people yield an implicit faith to their oracles. On great occasions they practice a strange and incredible manner of divination. They take a man who is to be sacrificed, and kill him with one stroke of a sword above the diaphragm; and by observing the posture in which he falls, his different convulsions, and the direction in which the blood flows from his body, they form their predictions, according to certain rules which have been left them by their ancestors."

When the Romans obtained a footing in Britain, the system of the Druids gradually declined, till it was almost destroyed. The Romans, contrary to their ordinary policy, endeavoured to extirpate it. Their hostility to it seems in a great measure to have arisen from the Druids being guilty of immolating human beings on the altars of their gods. We find, however, from history, that Druidism was not wholly given up so late as the eleventh century; for in the reign of Canute an edict was published, "strictly discharging and forbidding all his subjects to worship the gods of the Gentiles: that is to say, the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, trees, and woods of any kind." The great cause, however, of the decline of Druidism was the introduction of Christianity into Britain in the earlier part of the third century; and

highest elevation, a full foot. This stone makes twenty-six, or more, vibrations, from one side to the other, after the pressure is wholly withdrawn. On the south descent of the hill, which is opposite to the Manse of Dron, there is a large rocking stone: it is a block of whinstone, ten feet long, and seven feet broad; and it is placed in a somewhat sloping position, and rests its central prominence upon a great flat stone, which is fixed in the earth: on gently pressing the upper end, it begins a rocking motion, vibrating in an arch of from one to two inches; and continues to vibrate, for some time, after the pressure is withdrawn. In the parish of Abernethy, in the same shire, upon Farg-water, near Bal-vaird, the town of the bard, there is a rocking stone, which attracted the notice of Buchanan. Sir Robert Sibbald, in the appendix to his *History of Fife, and Kinross*, speaking of this latter stone, says, "I am informed that this stone was broken by the usurper (Cromwell's) soldiers; and it was discovered then, that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone."

so long as this country continued under the dominion of Rome, it had a very great influence indeed in civilizing the native inhabitants. Their final departure, on the other hand, was the complete dissolution of all law, order, and government. The Caledonians by that event were plunged into a state of anarchy and confusion more deplorable than their former servitude.

Historians have shown that the Druids were not unacquainted with the arts, that they excelled in the knowledge of diseases and surgery, were learned also to a considerable degree, and devoted much of their time to the study of eloquence. Their knowledge was, however, superseded by the more accurate and extensive learning of their conquerors, the Romans. The latter established schools in the principal towns throughout the provinces, where the Latin and Greek languages, as well as other branches of knowledge, were taught.

The buildings of these very ancient times were of the rudest description. While engaged in hunting or feeding their flocks, they had no better lodging "than the thickets, dens, and caves." The caves which they used as their winter habitations, or retreated to in time of war, were, according to Tacitus, "dug deep in the ground, and covered with earth;" and it was not until nearly a hundred years after the first Roman invasion that the people of Britain made any great improvement in the manner of building. "From this time," says Henry the historian, "architecture, and all the arts immediately connected with it, greatly flourished in this island; and the same taste for erecting solid, convenient, and beautiful buildings, which had long prevailed in Italy, was introduced into Britain. Every Roman colony and free city (of which there was a great number in this country) was a little Rome, encompassed with strong walls, adorned with temples, palaces, courts, halls, basilisks, baths, markets, aqueducts, and many other fine buildings, both for use and ornament. The country every where abounded with well-built villages, towns, forts, and stations; and the whole was defended by that high and strong wall with its many towers and castles, which reached from the mouth of the river Tyne on the east, to the Solway Frith on the west. This spirit of building, which was introduced and encouraged by the Romans, so much improved the taste, and increased the number of the British builders, that in the third century this island was famous for the great number and excellence of its architects and artificers. When the Emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, rebuilt the city of Autun, in Gaul, A.D. 296, he was chiefly furnished with workman from

Britain, 'which,' says Eumenius, 'very much abounded with the best artificers.' " These of course became subject to the general decline that took place in all the provinces of the western empire in the fourth century.

As to the commerce of that period, little comparatively is known. That after the Roman invasion pearls were exported to Italy, and were greatly esteemed, is generally admitted. Julius Cæsar is said to have been so great an admirer of British pearls, that after he left Britain and returned to Rome, he consecrated a breast-plate of great value and beauty to Venus, in her temple at Rome, made of British pearls. Ancient writers speak of them after the following fashion :—
"The fairest pearls grow on the British coasts."

Though agriculture was not unknown before the invasion of the Romans, yet it was of very limited extent—doing little more than supplying the necessities of the cultivators. Under them, however, it made great progress, and grain was exported in great quantities. Cattle and sheep were numerous also, and their hides and fleece exported by regular traders. The inhabitants being instructed in the art of making cheese, great quantities are said to have been exported for the use of the Roman armies. Not to mention other inferior articles of export, such as oxen and hunting dogs, we come to notice the traffic in human beings, which was so common at this period. The remarks of Dr Henry, in his History of Great Britain, are so appropriate on this subject, that we use his language in describing it. "Many of the people" says the Doctor, "of this now free and happy island will be surprised when they are informed, that in the period we are delineating, great numbers of slaves were exported from Britain, and sold like cattle in the Roman market. Of this, however, we have sufficient evidence from Strabo, a writer of the most unexceptionable credit, who directly mentions slaves among the British exports in his time. It is even probable that the young Britons, which, in the same place, he says he himself saw at Rome, were slaves exposed to sale in the market. For their height is exactly measured, all their limbs are viewed, and every part of their bodies examined with the critical depreciating eye of a merchant who was cheapening them. Some of these British slaves appear to have been employed in laborious and servile offices about the imperial court, and the public theatres of Rome. We are not informed who these unfortunate Britons were, who were thus ignominiously bought and sold, nor in what manner they lost their liberty: but it is most probable that they were prisoners

taken in war, or criminals condemned to slavery for their crimes, though some of them might perhaps be unfortunate gamblers, who, after they had lost all their goods, had boldly staked their wives and children, and at last their own persons."

It has been considered by several writers that the duties paid by the inhabitants of Britain, during the most flourishing times of the Roman government, amounted to £500,000 per annum. It is stated by them, also, that in the year 359, of the Christian era, as much corn was exported from this island as loaded eight hundred large ships. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the vessels of the Romans were of such burden as the trading vessels of the present day. Although an improvement on the vessels of the Caledonians, yet, neither for durability nor size could they be compared with our modern ones.*

The dress, diet, and diversions of this period merit some degree of attention. The upper garment of the ancient Britons was the mantle or plaid; it consisted of a piece of cloth, of a square form, sufficiently large to cover the whole trunk of the body, both behind and before, and fastened upon the breast, or one of the shoulders, with a clasp. This covering, upon the least motion of the arms, flew loose, and left the fore part of the body as well as the arms naked. Of course, it was a great hindrance in time of action, when not only mere strength was required, but a certain degree of freedom also, to use the weapons employed in fight; and therefore on such occasions it was commonly thrown off. It was impossible, therefore, but the ancient Britons and other celtic nations, must have very soon discovered that they wanted some more convenient covering for the body, which might serve them for that purpose when they were in action, without impeding the motion of their limbs or the exertion of their strength; and we have sufficient evidence that a garment of this kind was used by them in this period. This garment was a vest, or tunic, adjusted exactly to the shape and size of the body; fastened before with clasps, or some such contrivance, and reaching no lower than the groin. These vests had

* From the situation of Scotland, a knowledge in the rudest arts of navigation behoved to be coeval with its being first inhabited. The vessels of the Caledonians were a species of large open boats, of which the skeleton was of light wooden timbers, ribbed with a texture of smaller pieces of wood, and covered with hides. These were furnished with masts and sails; the sails were expanded hides, which they never furled, and their tackle was composed of leather thongs. These, however, were laid aside for a cordage, composed of twisted rushes; and hence the remnants of a cable are still denominated by our sailors a piece of old junk.

also sleeves, which covered the arms, at first only as far as the elbows, but afterwards down to the wrists. For some time after this garment was invented, it was used only by persons of rank and wealth; but by degrees it came into common use.

As long as the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, only covered their bodies with their plaids or mantles, leaving their arms thighs, and legs naked, it is not to be imagined that they had any covering either for the head or feet; but after they had provided garments for all the other parts of the body, they would naturally begin to think of some kind of covering for its extremities. Some of these nations, and perhaps the Britons, had no other shoes but a piece of the skin of a horse, cow, or other animal tied about the feet with the hair outwards. In time of war the British kings and chieftains wore helmets on their heads, adorned with plumes of eagle's feathers. It seems probable, from the figure of the British captive on a Roman monument in the college of Glasgow, that the common people wore a kind of cap on their heads, very like the bonnet which is still used in the Highlands of Scotland.

Wearing such a dress as above described, little distinction was observable between the different sexes. What Tacitus says of the difference between the dress of the men and women among the ancient Germans, may probably be applied to the Britons of this period:—"The difference of the dress of the sexes is not very great, and consists chiefly in this; that the women make more use of linen in their dress than the men, and that the sleeves of their tunicks do not reach to their wrists, but leave their arms bare, as is also some part of their bosoms." This tunick which was worn by the British women was plaited in the under part, and descended much lower than that of the men, probably below the knee. Their mantles or plaids were also large, and worn loose and flowing, almost reaching the ground. This account is confirmed by the following description, given by Dio, of the dress of the famous British heroine Boadicea. "She wore a tunick of various colours, long and plaited, over which she had a large and thick mantle. This was her common dress which she wore at all times, but on this occasion she also held a spear in her hand."

It cannot be doubted but that the ancient inhabitants of Britain lived on the spontaneous productions of the earth, with little or no preparation. Ancient authors have described them as fond of human flesh. One thing, however, is pretty certain, that the inhabitants of the southern parts of the island used but little bread at their enter-

tainments, but a great deal of flesh, which they either boiled in water, broiled on the coals, or roasted on spits.

Although water undoubtedly was the first drink of man, yet he has advanced very little in civilization when he finds out other substitutes more agreeable and cheering. Accordingly, we find that the ancient Britons mixed the milk of their flocks with the blood of animals. "Before the introduction of agriculture," says Dr Henry, from whom we take the following description of the customs and manners of the ancient Britons, "into this island, mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented, was probably the only strong liquor known to its inhabitants, as it was to many other ancient nations in the same circumstances. This continued to be a favourite beverage among the ancient Britons and their posterity, long after they had become acquainted with other liquors. The mead-maker was the eleventh person in dignity in the courts of the ancient Princes of Wales, and took the place of the physician. The following ancient law of that principality shews how much this liquor was esteemed by the British princes. 'There are three things in the court which must be communicated to the king before they are made known to any other person: 1. Every sentence of the judge; 2. Every new song; 3. Every cask of mead.' This was perhaps the liquor which is called by Ossian the joy and strength of shells, with which his heroes were so much delighted.

"After the introduction of agriculture, ale or beer became the most general drink of all the British nations who practised that art, as it had long been of all the Celtic people on the continent. 'All the several nations, says Pliny, who inhabit the west of Europe, have a liquor with which they intoxicate themselves, made of corn and water. The manner of making this liquor is somewhat different in Gaul, Spain, and other countries, and is called by many various names; but its nature and properties are every where the same. The people of Spain, in particular, brew this liquor so well, that it will keep good a long time. So exquisite is the cunning of mankind in gratifying their vicious appetites, that they have thus invented a method to make water itself intoxicate.' The method in which the ancient Britons and other Celtic nations made their ale, is thus described by Isidorus and Orosius: 'The grain is steeped in water, and made to germinate, by which its spirits are excited and set at liberty; it is then dried and grinded; after which it is infused in a certain quantity of water; which being fermented, becomes a pleasant, warming, strengthening, and intoxicating liquor.' This ale was most commonly made of barley, but sometimes of wheat, oats, and millet.

" If the Phœnicians or Greeks imported any wine into Britain, it was only in very small quantities ; that most generous liquor was very little known in this island before it was conquered by the Romans. After that period, wine was not only imported from the continent in considerable quantities, but some attempts were made to cultivate vines, and make wine in Britain.

" The ancient Britons eat only twice a-day ; making a slight breakfast in the forenoon, and a supper towards evening, when the labours and diversions of the day were ended. The last was their chief meal, at which, when they had an opportunity, they eat and drank with great freedom, or even to excess. On these occasions, the guests sat in a circle upon the ground, with a little hay, grass, or the skin of some animal under them. A low table or stool was set before each person, with the portion of meat allotted to him upon it. In this distribution, they never neglected to set the largest and best pieces before those who were most distinguished for their rank, their exploits, or their riches. Every guest took the meat set before him in his hands, and tearing it with his teeth, fed upon it in the best manner he could. If any one found difficulty in separating any part of his meat with his hands and teeth, he made use of a large knife, that lay in a particular place, for the benefit of the whole company. Servants, or young boys and girls, the children of the family, stood behind the guests, ready to help them to drink or any thing they wanted.

" The dishes in which the meat was served up, were either of wood or earthenware, or a kind of baskets made of osiers. These last were most used by the Britons, as they very much excelled in the making of them, both for their own use and for exportation. The drinking vessels of the Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations were, for the most part, made of the horns of oxen and other animals ; but those of the Caledonians consisted of large shells, which are still used by some of their posterity in the Highlands of Scotland.

" As the ancient Britons, especially those of them who were unacquainted with agriculture, enjoyed leisure, so they spent much of their time in diversions and amusements of different kinds particularly in feasting, accompanied with music and dancing, in hunting, and in athletic exercise.

" Feasting seems to have been the chief delight of the Germans, Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, in which they indulged themselves to the utmost, as often as they had an opportunity. ' Among these nations (says an author who had carefully studied their

manners, there is no public assembly duly held, either for civil or religious purposes, no birth-day, marriage, or funeral properly celebrated, no treaty of peace or alliance rightly cemented, without a great feast.' It was by frequent entertainments of this kind that the great men, or chieftains, gained the affections and rewarded the services of their followers; and those who made the greatest feasts were sure to be the most popular, and to have the greatest retinue. These feasts lasted commonly several days, and the guests seldom retired until they had consumed all the provisions, and exhausted all the liquors."

We have been thus full on the condition and manners of the aboriginal inhabitants of Scotland during the ancient British and Romish periods, so that the reader may be the better able to compare with them the progress made from the eleventh century to the present time. It is not our intention to enter with any minuteness into the state of Scotland during the Saxon and Danish periods; for as we have already had occasion to remark that during these periods the Roman civilization almost disappeared, and the history of the country is wholly occupied with the accounts of the incursions of various migratory warlike tribes.

Amid the continual state of warfare, however, in which the inhabitants were engaged, the Christian church was laying deep the foundations of modern civilization. From the establishment of the religious houses in the ninth and tenth centuries may be dated the time when our barbarous ancestors first began really to learn the lessons of christianity, to feel its influence, and direct their conduct by its precepts. Attached to these establishments there was to be seen not far off "the castle of the baron, a church, a mill, and a brewhouse," together with a few rudely constructed huts. By and bye, however, the enterprising Flemings, Anglo Normans, visited our shores, for the purposes of trade and commerce. They saw that it would be for their interest to settle here. We conceive that the Scottish towns must have attained to a considerable degree of prosperity in the early part of the twelfth century. Perth had evidently taken an early start in the foreign trade. Camden in his *Brittainia*, speaking of the commercial position of Perth, quotes the following distich of Alexander Necham, an Englishman, who read lectures at Paris in 1180, and died abbot of Exeter in 1227 :

" *Transis, ample Tai, per rura, per oppida per Perth,
Regnum sustentant illius urbis opes.* "

Which may be Englished thus—

By villages, by towns, by Perth, thou runnest, great Tay,
The riches of this city, Perth, doth all this realm sustain.

There is plenty of evidence to prove that in those early times Perth was a distinguished emporium of commerce. Ships even went then as far up the Tay as the Palace of Scone ; for in one of the charters of the abbey, we find that Alexander I., having granted to the monastery the customs of ships coming to Scone, gave liberty to English ships to trade there, and promising them protection on paying customs to the monks. Customs on ships coming to Perth were granted to the religious houses by David I. He granted to the monastery of Dumfermline, every year, for clothing to the monks, one mark of silver from the first ships which should come to Perth. The same monarch granted to the monastery at Holyrood, every year, for clothing the monks, a hundred shillings from the *can* of the first ships coming to Perth for traffic. Although there were no historical documents still extant, proving that Perth in the twelfth century had a constant and extensive commerce with the Netherlands, a circumstance which took place a good many years ago is sufficient to show that a commercial intercourse thus early took place between Perth and the low countries : In 1812 when the parliament house, which stood on the north side of the High Street, in what is still called the Parliament Close, was cleared out to make way for the present buildings, an immense number of small silver coins were dug out, in such a state of oxidation that they adhered together in one concrete mass, and many of them crumbled to pieces on being touched : on being heated, almost to fusion, in charcoal, a great number of them were recovered, and the legend quite distinct. Several of them were of Alexander of Scotland, and of Edward of England ; but the great majority were Flemish, bearing the names of different Counts of Flanders ; many also had the names of bishops, such as *Episcopus Guido*, on the one side, and *Moneta Montes* on the other.

“ That there must have been some considerable trade or wealth at this time in Scotland,” says Anderson in his History of Commerce, “ for that country, according to Speed, who quotes Hector Boece, to be able to raise so large a ransom as one hundred thousands pounds for redeeming the king, William, surnamed the Lion, who, having had a dispute with King Henry II., of England, concerning the possession of part of the county of Northumberland, was by a stratagem taken prisoner. The one half of this supposed ransom, *i. e.* fifty thousand pounds, equal now, in quantity of silver, to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money, was paid in ready coin ; the other half was to be paid at a future time, for which the counties of Northumberland,

Cumberland, and Huntingdon, then in William's possession, were given in pawn. We have fully proved that not only now, but for two hundred years later, the money or coins of England and Scotland were exactly of the same stamp, fineness, and value; wherefore, for Scotland to have raised so much at that time, as Archbishop Nicholson also observes in his *Scottish Historical Library*, that nation must have had more considerable riches, in proportion to England, than in later times; as we find, a few years after, how difficult it was for England to raise but twice as much for Richard the First's ransom. We, moreover, find even this very King William of Scotland paying ten thousand marks to King Richard I., for the redemption of Roxburgh Castle and of Berwick, in the year 1189, which places had been part of William's ransom, beside the above sum of money, according to *Speed's History*; and *Rapin* adds, that Richard now also discharged William and his successors, by authentic charter, from the homage, which Henry II. had extorted from him, for the sovereignty of all Scotland."

How great soever the prosperity of Scotland during this period, it appears to have reached its climax in the reign of Alexander III. The long wars, however, which followed the death of that prince, relative to the succession to the crown, or in maintenance of the national independence, arrested its prosperity, destroyed its opulence, and entailed upon the country the sad consequences of civil strife and discord, namely—a lasting poverty.

Edward I., of England, to humble the Scots used every endeavour to destroy the trade and commerce of Scotland. In *Rymer's Fœdera*, under the year 1305, we find Robert, Earl of Flanders, in a letter to King Edward I. "acknowledging the receipt of the licence which that king had granted to his (Robert's) subjects, to resort and trade to England, provided they do not supply his enemies, the Scots, with arms and provisions. And he tells Edward, that he has prohibited his subjects from giving any aid whatever to the Scots, in their war against his majesty." Yet he subjoins, like a true Netherlander, "But as our country has ever been supported by commerce, and is therefore ever free for all merchants to resort to it, we cannot, neither ought we, in the least to prohibit the said Scots from coming, merely for commerce, to our country, as usual, with their merchandize, which we are bound to defend from all oppression and wrong. He therefore requests the king to make his license absolute, and without any restrictions." We shall add, that Earl Robert, in the year 1319, as appears in vol. iii. p. 770 of the *Fœdera*, gave the same answer to King Edward II.

"That he could not hinder the Scots from trading into Flanders, nor his merchants from trading to Scotland, as has been customary, since the contrary would bring ruin and desolation on his country."

The war of independence, however, did not wholly destroy the commercial spirit in Scotland. For in the reign of Robert II., we find that the trade it carried on with Flanders was conducted with much enterprise and activity. A Scottish merchant named Mercer, having had occasion to go to France, was on account of his immense wealth admitted into the confidence of Charles VI. It also said that a cargo of a Scottish merchantman, captured by the English, was valued as high as seven thousand merks. The exports at this time consisted of wool, hides, and skins. The chronicler Froissart represents the home manufactures as in a very low condition. In tracing the trade and commerce of the country from this time to the period of the reformation, all historical writers agree that they were not in a very flourishing state. In the year 1410, a great loss was sustained of the shipping of Scotland. Sir Robert Umfreville, an English admiral, with a fleet of ten stout ships, sailed up the Frith of Forth, as far as Blackness, where he took fourteen vessels, burnt several others, and amongst them a large one, called the "Grand Galliot of Scotland."

It is worthy of notice, that there are but three celebrated naval commanders mentioned in Scottish story—Sir Patrick Spence, Sir Andrew Wood, and Andrew Barton, of whom the two first were lost in storms, and the last, in an engagement with the English.

During the period from the accession of James I. to the reformation, we find the Scottish parliament animated with a laudable though mistaken zeal for the promotion of the internal trade of the country. Their efforts were very often rendered abortive by the impolitic restrictions imposed upon commerce. As a specimen, take the following as enacted in a parliament held at Perth in 1424 :—

"For thy that mony thinges passis out of the realme, withouten custome, it is ordained and decreeted that of all nolt, horse, and scheepe had out of the realme, there be payed to the king twelfe pennies for custome of ilk pund, of the price of the said guds, and of all herring that are tane within this realme, that is to say, of ilk thousand of fresche herring sauld, of the seller one penny, and of ilk last of herring, tane be Scottishmen barrelled, foure schillinges of ilk last, be strangeris taken, sexe schillinges. And of ilk thousand red herring, maid in the realme, foure pennies."

"It is ordained, that na man haue mertrik skinnes furth of the

realme, and gif he dois, that he pay to the king two schillinges for the custome of ilk skinne, and for ten fowmartes skinnes called fithawea, ten pennies. Item of ane hundreth cunning-skinnes twelfe pennies. Item of ilk daker of otter skinnes and tod skinnes, sex pennies. Item for ilk daker of hart and hynde of skinnes twelfe pennies. Item of ilk ten daes and raes skinnes, foure pennies."

The salmon fisheries seem to have been looked upon as a great source of revenue; for in the same parliament most severe enactments were passed against the slayers of salmon within the forbidden time, which a posterior statute informs us was in the interval between the feast of assumption of Our Lady, and the feast of St. Andrew in the winter.

Those interested in the success of the salmon fishery in the present day could not shew greater activity in preserving the salmon fry than our ancestors did, for it was also enacted, "That all cruves and zaires set in fresh water, quhair the sea fillis and ebbis, the quhilk destroyis the frie of all fisches, be destroyed and put awaie for euer mair; not againe standing ony priuiledge and freedome given in the contrarie, vnder the paine of ane hundreth schillinges. And they that hes cruves in fresh waters, that they gar keepe the lawes, annents Satterdaies slop; and suffer them not to stande in forbidden time, vnder the said paine. And that ilk heck of the foresaidis cruves be three inche wide, as the aulde statute requiris."

With regard to mines of gold or silver, it is provided, that wherever such have been discovered within the lands of any lord or baron, if it can be proved that three half pennies of silver can be produced out of the pound of lead, the mine should, according to the established practice of other realms, belong to the king, a species of property from which there is no evidence that any substantial wealth ever flowed into the royal exchequer. It was enacted, that no gold or silver should be permitted to be carried forth of the realm, except it pay a duty of forty pence upon every pound which is exported; and in the event of any attempt to contravene this provision, the defaulter is to forfeit the whole gold or silver, and to pay a fine of forty-one pennies to the king. It was moreover provided, that in every instance where merchant strangers have disposed of their goods for money, they should either expend the same in the purchase of Scottish merchandise, or in the payment of their personal expenses, for proof of which, they must bring the evidence of the host of his inn where they made their abode; or, if they wish to carry it out of the realm, they must pay the duty upon expor-

tation. It was determined, that the money in present circulation throughout the realm, which had been greatly depreciated from the original standard, should be called in, and a new coinage issued of like weight and fineness with the money of England.

A very singular and primitive enactment follows, regarding rookeries; in which, after a preamble stating the mischief to the corn which was occasioned by rooks building in the kirkyards and orchards, it is provided, that the proprietors of such trees shall, by every method in their power, prevent the birds from building; and, if this cannot be accomplished, that they shall at least take special care that the young rooks, or branchers, shall not be suffered to take wing, under the penalty, that all trees upon which the nests are found at Beltane, and from which it can be established by good evidence, that the young birds have escaped, shall be forfeited to the crown, and forthwith cut down, unless redeemed by the proprietor. No man, under a penalty of forty shillings, was to burn muirs from the month of March till the corn be cut down; and if any such defaulter was unable to raise the sum, he was commanded to be imprisoned for forty days.

An act was also passed ordaining that within all burghs and towns of the realm, especially those on the principal thoroughfares of the kingdom, there be 'hostillares and receipters,' having stables and lodgings, that travellers may find in them bread and ale, and all other food as well to horse as men, at a reasonable price according to the ordinary rate of the country.

The royal burghs had at this time extremely narrow notions of the nature of commerce. Such was their view of it that instead of getting the money of the foreigner into their hands to enrich the country, they published "a most imprudent ordinance," namely—that no foreign merchants should be permitted, as formerly practiced, to purchase herrings of the Scottish fishermen at sea, nor till they were first landed, so that their own burghers might be first supplied.* The effect of

* To give the reader some notion of the export and import trade of Scotland at this time, we quote from Hakluyt's poem on the "Process of English Policy:"—"Scotland's commodities are wool, woollens, and hides; their wool is sent to Flanders to be draped, though not so good as the English wool, with which it is there worked up. The Scotch must pass by the English coast in their way to Flanders, and may therefore be easily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders small mercery," which, in those times, meant many kinds of small wares, &c., "and haberdashery ware in great quantities: moreover, one half of the Scottish ships are generally laden home from Flanders with cart-wheels and wheel-barrowes."

this law was, that the Netherlanders and German Hanseatices, who till then took of immense quantities of herrings from the Scots on their coasts, to the great advantage of Scotland, directed their attention to the herring fishery themselves, "so that Scotland became afterwards impoverished, and those people were greatly enriched." When we see such an absurd statute enacted as that now mentioned, we are prepared for still greater displays in the same direction. Accordingly, we find, in 1429, an enactment against "luxury;" it bore "that none should wear cloth of silk, or silk garments, nor furs, nor embroideries, nor pearls, nor should use or have any silver plate—but lords and knights of two hundred marks annual rent, and upwards, and their eldest sons, without the kings special license."

The civil commotions which distracted Scotland under the James', as well as the notions which universally obtained relative to trade and commerce, had a most disastrous effect upon the prosperity of the country. Agriculture languished, the arts were little cultivated, and the towns fell into general decay. The burghers were solely dependant for a livelihood on the fabricating of the weapons of war then in use, and in supplying the monastries and other religious establishments with the commodities and articles of luxury which they required. Moreover, such was their want of spirit, no doubt arising from their poverty, that they enlisted themselves for the time being under the banner of the most ambitious landed proprietor in their neighbourhood.

The laws which the Scottish parliament from time to time passed regrading the dress of the different classes of society, clearly shows that the thinkers of this period had no conception whatever as to the causes which kept their country in an impoverished and semi-barbarous state; while Holland, the Hanse towns of Germany, and their immediate neighbour, England, were extending their commerce, increasing in wealth, and consequently enjoying a far greater share than they of the conveniences, the comforts, and the luxuries of life. That the parliament was really in the dark on such subjects may be easily inferred from the following enactments:—"That no common tradesmen in towns, except they be magistrates, nor their wives should wear silk, nor costly scarlets in gowns, nor furred garments; and their wives shall wear on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries. Labourers and their wives, on work days, shall wear only grey or white; and on holidays, but light blue; and their wives curches of their own making, not exceeding forty pence the elne."

By an act of the sixth parliament of King James III. in the year 1466, "The Sheriffs of Counties were directed to make inquiry concerning such as wore cloth of gold or silver, velvet, or silks, contrary to acts of parliament." Five years after, in 1471, it was enacted, "That considering the poverty of the realm, and the great expense and cost made on the importation of silk into the realm, no man hereafter shall wear silk in doublet, gown, nor cloak, excepting knights, minstrels, and heralds, unless he spend an hundred pounds worth of land rent. Nor that their wives wear silk in linings, but only on the collars and sleeves."

In the same year we find the following title of a Scottish act of parliament, in the table of acts of King James III., not printed, viz., "License to merchants to pass to Middleburg with their goods." As the staple for all Scottish merchandize had been removed from Bruges to Veer, in the year 1444, such a license for their trading to Middleburg was probably judged to be necessary at this time.

Agriculture, as well as the other arts, was in a very low state at this period, corn being one of the greatest commodities of importation. This appears from several acts of parliament, and especially from the following preamble to one passed in 1477 :—"Because victuals (corn) are richt scant within the countrie, the maist supportation that this realm has is be strangers of divers other nations that brings victual."

The fisheries on the coasts and rivers still received the most careful attention; and by an act of parliament it is statute and ordained, "That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and buroues, greit shipis, bushes, and other greit pinkboiltis, with nettis and abelzements for fisching for the common gude of the realme, and the great entres of ryches, to be brought within the realme, of other countries."

During the reign of James V., commerce was but imperfectly understood. The several laws relating to trade were all restrictive, and tended rather to curb than to encourage a spirit for mercantile adventure. None but the freemen of the royal burghs were permitted to engage in trade, and even they were not allowed to become merchants unless they had a certain stock in money or goods. But parliament was not content as to who alone should be traders, they even passed enactments restricting the profit of the sellers of commodities. The following enactment authorising "the provost, bailies, and council" of burghs, to make the price of "wine, salt, and timber" brought into the country, is a curious specimen of the interference of the legislature

in the matters we have mentioned :—" It is statute and ordained, that the provost, bailies, and council of burghs, where any ships or strangers arrive, or shall happen to arrive in times coming, laden with wine, salt, or timber, convene with the merchants that owe the said wine, salt, and timber, and buy, or set a price upon the same reasonably, that no manner of man, freeman, or unfreeman, buy any of the said wine, salt, or timber, but from the said provost and bailies, or owners thereof, and the prices being made by them, as said is, no man to buy until the king's grace be first served : and his grace and officers, being contented forasmuch, as will please them to take to our sovereign lord's use only, that noblemen of the realm, such as prelates, barons, and other gentlemen of the same, be served at the same prices : and thereafter all and sundry our sovereign lord's lieges be served at the said prices : and if any man commit the contrary hereof, or forestalls the said wine, salt or timber, the same to be escheitted to the king's grace : and if the provost, bailies, and council are found negligent in the exercise of their offices, they to lose the same, and not to be in office for the space of three years thereafter. And if any freeman or other Scotchman, dwelling within this realm, bringing home wine, salt, or timber, on their own accord, that the provost and bailies of burghs, at the entry of the ships into the books of the town, see and consider their merchant bills, and how the said wine, salt, and timber was got and sold ; and sic like consider their uncoasts and freight, and thereafter set a competent price, how the same may be sold, and as they ordain, that the same be sold of the same price, and no higher ; and that the provost and bailies do diligence to enquire and get wit in due time of the year, how wine, salt and timber is sold and got in other countries, that they may make the prices the better, according to the goodness of the stuff."

Malsters were also prohibited from taking any more than two shillings above what the boll of barley cost them, for the boll of malt. A commission was appointed also by parliament, consisting of several of the nobility, gentry, together with the provost of Edinburgh, who were to fix the prices of the various kinds of work, that so the same may be sold at a competent price, and to take competently for their workmanship ; whilst the same judges are to appoint wages to be given to wrights, masons, and such other craftsmen who contribute their skill and labour, but do not furnish the materials.

The merchant ships in the reigns of James IV. and V., were much larger and better than those built previous to this time. Lindsay of

Piscottie, has given a most minute account of a very large ship built by James IV. We give a description of this famous ship in Piscottie's own words:—"In this same year (1512) the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship and of the most strength that ever sailed in England or France: for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, besides all timber that was gotten out of Norroway; for she was so strong and of so great length and breadth, to wit, she was twelve-score feet of length, and thirty-six feet within the sides. All the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and a day ere she was complete. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with ropes and anchors belonging thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expenses, besides her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, and besides all the rest of her furniture. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six-score gunners to use her artillery, and had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers, and quarter-masters. If any man believe that this description of the ship is not of verity as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tulliebardine, and there before the same ye will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her."

It may be stated that the great Michael never returned to Scotland but was sold by the Duke of Albany to the King of France, in 1514, for 40,000 franks, a very great sum in those times. James IV., appears to have had a taste for maritime affairs, and is said to have formed the design of raising a royal navy, but which his untimely death prevented.

As a sequel to the view now given of the enactments regulating the foreign and internal trade and commerce of the country, it may not be improper to state some regulations effecting the security of the inhabitants of towns in various matters. The houses in the towns were built of wood, and had thatched roofs; of course, when they came in contact with fire, they were easily destroyed. Accordingly to prevent fires, the magistrates of burghs were ordered every month to see that no hemp, lint, hay, straw, nor heather, was put near the fire, nor in the upper part of the houses. And also that there should be kept in a ready place at the expense of the town, six, seven, or eight ladders, of

the length of twenty feet, to be applied to no other use except putting out fires. At the same time it was ordained that three or four saws be kept for the common use, and six or more "cliekes of iron, to cut and draw down timber roofs that are fired."

The penalties for fires that took place through carelessness, or what the statute calls "misgovernance, and not of set purpose," are very severe. It is ordained that if it has been done by a servant, and he has goods, he is to be punished in his goods, which are to be given to the man that "thoiles the skaith," and then banished the town for three years. But if the servant has no goods, he is to be whipt at the market cross, and through the town, and then banished the town for seven years.

The proprietor of a house who burned it "reklesslie," either by himself or his wife and children, though no hurt was done to their neighbours, was to be banished the town for three years. While it is ordained, "if it be done by a stranger or traveller, he shall be arrested gif he be of power to mend the skaith, and if he be not of power, he shall bide in sickness in the king's will."

A disease somewhat akin to leprosy, had in the reign of James I., affected a part of the population, in fact to such an extent did it prevail, and the fears entertained regarding it were so great, that it became a matter of legislative interference. "No lepers are to be permitted to dwell any where but in their own hospitals, at the gate of the town, or other places without the bounds of the burgh; strict enquiries are directed to be made by the officials of the bishops, in their visitations, with regard to all persons, whether lay or secular, who may be smitten with this loathsome disease, so that they may be denounced, and compelled to obey the statute; and no lepers are to be allowed to enter any burgh, except thrice in the week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, between the hours of ten and two, for the purpose of purchasing their food; if, however, a fair or market happens to be held on any of these days, they are to come in the morning, and not to mix indiscriminately with the multitude."

The plague, the scourge and dread of the middle ages, broke out in Scotland about 1430; and though not so terrible in its ravages as in 1348, when it carried off almost a third part of the population of the kingdom, yet all classes were very much alarmed. It seems to have been of a 'volatile character'; for during the parliament held at Perth in October 1431, the collectors of the land-tax were ordered to have their accounts arranged by the feast of the purification of the vir-

gin at Perth, "provided the pestilence be not there, and if it is there, at St Andrews."

Amid the distress occasioned by the pestilence, the terrors of the people were much increased by a total eclipse of the sun, which took place on 17th June, 1432, the obscuration beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, and for half-an-hour causing a darkness as deep as midnight. It was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the "black hour."

The manners of the Scots from the eleventh century, to the time of the reformation, are involved in considerable obscurity. What is known of them, however, sadly contrast with the manners of the Caledonians, as represented by Ossian, and shew how widely succeeding ages, in a more advanced state of society, degenerate from the virtues of their ancestors. During the prevalence of feudalism, and the unlimited jurisdiction enjoyed by the barons, the authority of the king was in a great degree merely nominal, his power was so limited, that it was with difficulty the violators of the laws could be reached, who had placed themselves under the protection and within the domain of some one or other of the more powerful nobles. Unenlightened by science, unhumanized by the cultivation of the arts, or the mind expanded and occupied by the pursuits of trade and commerce, "we need hardly apply to the testimony of history, to be assured of the prevalence among them, of those disorders which flow from an unlimited sway of the fiercer passions; that their history was but a narrative of the various effects of cruelty, treachery, superstition and lust." They acted towards each other with the lowest cunning, and exercised the greatest oppression on those whom they considered an enemy, uniting however, at the sametime against all strangers, whom they invariably looked upon as foes.

That the manners of the Scots were not unsuitable to the foregoing description, we have the testimony of the chronicler Froissart. This individual accompanied the army which came from France, to assist David II. in his invasion of England. The state in which he found Scotland is thus described by him:—"In Scotland, a man of gentle manners, or honourable sentiments, is not easily to be found. He adds, that those of their country are like wild and savage people, shunning acquaintance with strangers, envious of the honour or profit of every one beside themselves, and perpetually jealous of losing the mean things they have; that hardly any of the nobility kept intercourse with the French, except the Earls of Douglas and Murray;

that Edinburgh, although by this time the first city in Scotland, could not accommodate the French, many of whom were obliged to seek lodging at Dunfermline, and other towns at still greater distances; that the French knights complained grievously of their wretched accommodation; no comfortable houses, no soft beds, no walls hung with tapestry; and that it required all the prudence of the French commander, to restrain their impatience for leaving so miserable a country; that, when they wanted to purchase horses from the Scots, they were charged six, nay even ten times the price for which these horses would have been sold to their own countrymen; that, when the French sent forth their servants a-foraging, the Scots would lie in wait for them, plunder them of what they had gathered, beat, nay even murder them; that they could not find saddles nor bridles, leather to make harness, nor iron to shoe their horses; for that the Scots got all such articles ready-made from Flanders; that, in their military excursions, they carried along with them no provision of bread nor wine, no pots nor pans; for that they boiled the cattle in their hides. That, upon their precipitantly quitting their camp on the borders, the English found in it the carcasses of five hundred beasts, mostly deer, and three hundred cauldrons made of their skins, with the hair still on them, stretched on stakes, filled with water, and the flesh put in them, ready to be boiled; that they found also a thousand spits, with flesh for roasting, and five thousand pairs of shoes made of raw leather, with the hair still on them."

The English noblemen and gentlemen who accompanied James I. and his queen into Scotland, it is said introduced greater luxury in the way of living into that kingdom than had formerly been known. This gave great offence to such as admired the temperance and frugality of their ancestors, and the bishop of St Andrews, according to the historian Boece, made an eloquent speech in a parliament held at Perth in 1433, against the mode of living introduced by the English, and that in consequence an enactment was passed, regulating the manner in which persons of all orders should live, and prohibiting the use of pies and other baked meats recently introduced into the country to all under the rank of barons.*

* Although we have inserted the statement of Boece in the text, yet it may be doubted whether such a statute as he refers to was ever passed; for it is well known that no parliament was held at Perth in 1433, that immediately previous being held there in 1431, and the one immediately following that in 1433 was held the year after at Stirling.

In the middle ages, the tables of the sovereign and the nobility seem to have been liberally supplied, for we find in the "compt of the king's household expenses," made by the Bishop of Caithness, comptroller, that the meats provided for royal entertainments were of considerable variety, and in quantity enormous. There were provided for a Christmas dinner at court, for jellies alone, 500 ox feet, 1500 sheep feet, and 36 cocks. The French fashion was adopted in cookery, and double courses were regularly served. In fact such was the lengths the different classes of society went to outshine one another in their entertainments, that a sumptuary law was passed prohibiting any under the rank of an archbishop or earl to have at his table more than eight dishes, of abbot or dean above six, of baron or freeholder above four, and of burgess above three.

In great families it was the practice to have four meals a-day, namely, breakfasts, dinners, suppers, and liveries, the latter was a kind of collation in their bed-chambers immediately before retiring to rest. As our ancestors were early risers they breakfasted at seven, and dined at ten o'clock forenoon, and supped at four afternoon, and had their liveries between eight and nine, soon after which they went to bed. It is not unlikely that the tables of an English and Scottish nobleman were furnished in a similar manner, which according to the Northumberland family book, were of the most substantial description:—The breakfast of the earl and his countess, on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the holy fast of Lent, was, first a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchetta, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits. This, for two persons, at seven o'clock in the morning, was a tolerable allowance for a day of fasting. Their suppers on these days were equally plentiful. Their breakfast on flesh-days was, first a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchetta, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled. The liveries, or evening collations, for the lord and lady were, first two manchetta, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine. The wine was warmed, and mixed with spiceries. No rule was fixed for dinners, as these were the principal meals, at which they entertained their company. It is remarkable, that shopkeepers, mechanics, and labourers, breakfasted at eight in the morning, dined at noon, and supped at six in the evening; which were latter hours than those of the nobility. So different are the customs of one age from those of

another." We may notice that dinner was announced by a flourish of trumpets, or the sound of a horn.

The lord of the mansion taking his seat with great formality in his state chamber at the head of a long oaken table, the guests being seated on either side on benches or forms, according to their rank and station.

At great feasts a waxen figure, representing some palace or castle, was set in the middle of the table. On ordinary occasions, however, the family silver salt was placed on it, to separate the more distinguished of the guests from the herd, who were placed below it. The table was loaded with large pewter dishes, containing all sorts of meats, together with venison, poultry, sea fowls, wild fowls, game, fish, &c. The side boards were plentifully furnished with wines, ale, and beer, which were handed to the company, in pewter and wooden cups, by marischals, grooms, yeomen, and waiters of the chamber, ranged in regular order. The table was also supplied with napkins, spoons, and knives. The guests, however, had to use their fingers instead of forks, these most simple and useful instruments being an invention of a later date. Add to which that the table was embellished with jellies, made into artificial figures of trees, fruits, and flowers, and the entertainment enlivened with music by minstrels, who were sometimes the cause of much riotous mirth.

It has been justly remarked, "that in the qualities of the different necessities of life, a studied gradation was contrived, proportioned to the rank of the persons for whom they were intended, which did little honour to the humanity of the times." Our ancestors had four different sorts of wheaten bread, the finest called manchet, the second cheat or trencher bread, the third ravelled, and the fourth mashloch. The ravelled was baked up just as it came from the mill, flour, bran, and all. In the mashloch, the flour was entirely separated from it, and a portion of rye was mixed with the bran, this composition was the food of the working classes and servants.

The houses and furniture of even the highest classes were wretched in the extreme, and were far inferior to what an intelligent and industrious artisan now enjoys. Froissart introduces a Scotsman speaking in the following manner: "what though Englishmen burn our houses, we care little for it. We shall make them again cheap enough. In three days we shall have them built if we may get four or five stakes and boughs to cover them."

In the reign of James I., the houses within burghs were not above twenty feet high, and churches even in the sixteenth century were covered with thatch. The residence of the barons were evidently built to sustain assaults, whether we look at the strength of the building, or the situation chosen for their erection. The house of a baron consisted of a narrow square tower with some smaller buildings attached. The walls were of an immense thickness, but though of great solidity, it displayed little architectural elegance.*

As for household furniture they possessed few things approaching to luxury. The walls were seldom plastered but discovered the naked stones, they were sometimes however, lined with wool, and embellished with poetical descriptions. Hangings and carpets were so rare, that they were only used on high festivals and carefully locked up till another occasion of the same sort occurred.

The only furniture in the halls of the nobility, was large standing tables, forms, and cupboards without lock or key. Our ancestors eat mostly out of wooden dishes which they called *tren plates*, drank also out of wooden cups, and used wooden or horn spoons. Silver plate was no where to be seen, except in the abbeys and monastries, and even pewter vessels were esteemed so costly as to be used only on festival days; and what shews both the poverty and the small progress made in the useful arts, these articles were the product of Holland, Germany, and England; and such was the scantiness of the furniture possessed by the great barons, that when they removed from one of their houses to another they found it necessary to carry along with them the beds, hangings, &c.

Owing to the close intercourse Scotland kept up with France during the middle ages, in the article of dress, it followed very much the fashion of that country.

We have already adverted to the sumptuary laws to restrain the *excess in dress* which seems to have been a characteristic of our ancestors. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the dress of the inhabitants of Scotland was more assimilated to the English fashion than to that of the French, with the exception of the bonnet

* In the middle ages the expense of building was so great that it became necessary to make laws to compel the barons and other wealthy landed proprietors to build. We may add that in the wars of those times, so many artificers were slain, that masons and carpenters were so few, that they undertook more work than they could execute.

which was peculiar both in the colour and form. The ladies of this period, notwithstanding the laws regulating dress, and the satire heaped upon them by the poets of the age, Dunbar and Lindsay, still indulged in a great display of finery, and "came to kirk and market with their faces mussalit." Mournings were first worn in Scotland on the death of the queen of James V. Fans and cork heeled shoes are mentioned in an early period of Scottish history, as being used both by ladies and gentlemen. Ostrich feathers waving on the head, and roses, displayed at the knees and on the shoes, are some of the more conspicuous displays of the "dandyism" of our ancestors.

In the early part of this period, learning was in a very low state, and but little valued. Even among the nobility and gentry few could write; hence the use of seals, which they appended to deeds and charters, supplied the defect. The vernacular tongue was discarded as the written language, the most of the deeds and histories being written in Latin. The poetry, however, of the Scottish authors was written in their own language, and the ballads which have come down to us, belonging to that early period, have considerable merit, and are distinguished for a certain tenderness and delicacy of sentiment. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, however, a taste for learning was diffused, but Scotland having no university of its own, those who wished to prosecute their studies were obliged to travel to improve themselves, which entailed upon them much expense and trouble. This disadvantage being severely felt gave rise to the establishment of the university of St Andrews, about 1411. Among the more distinguished of Scottish authors of this period were the historians Fordun and Boece, and in poetry James I. and Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. It may be noticed also that a taste for the study of polite learning was cherished by the government, and even enforced by law. It was enacted by the fifth parliament of James IV., that every baron or freholder of substance should put his eldest son to a grammar school till he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, and then to put him three years to one of the universities to study philosophy and law.

The art of printing, the great pioneer of civilization does not appear to have been very early introduced into Scotland, for it was upwards of a century after its invention, (in 1540,) before the acts of the Scottish parliament were ordained to be printed. It was to be expected that those opposed to the Romish church, would avail themselves of this medium, to diffuse their sentiments and opinions. Accordingly, we find that the very first reforming treatise which was probably writ-

ten in Scotland, compiled by John Gau, was printed at Malmoe, in Sweden, in 1533. Calderwood says that it was about 1543, that books against popery began to be printed in Scotland. By this art the metrical and dramatic writings of Buchanan, Dunbar, and Lindsay, which were directed against the Catholic church, were extensively diffused. The churchmen, however, became alarmed, and through their influence the parliament enacted. "For-sa-meikle as there is diverse prenters in this realme, that dailie and continually prentis buikes concerning the faith, ballattes, sanges, blasphemationes, rimes, alsweill of kirk-men, as temporall, and vthers tragidies, alsweill in Latine, as in English tounge, not seene viewed and considered be the superiours, as appertenis to the defamation and selander of the Lieges of this realme, and to put ordour to sik inconuenientes; it is devised, statute and ordained be the lord governour, with advise of the three estaites of parliament; that na prenter presume, attempt, or take upon hande to prent ony buikes, ballattes, sanges, blasphemationes, rimes or tragedies, outhir in Latine or English tounge in ony times to cum, vnto the time the samin be seene, viewed, and examined be some wise and discreit persons, depute thereto be the ordinares quhat sum euer. And thereafter ane licence had and obtained fra our soveraine ladie, and the lord governour, for imprenting of sik buikes, vnder the paine of confiscation of all the prenters gudes, and banishing him of the realme for ever."

As the period we are now delineating was a warlike one, the art of war was assiduously cultivated by all classes of society. Every man bore arms, and of course was taught the use of them. Various acts of the Scottish parliaments shew in what manner the different classes were armed. All persons who were possessed of property affording a yearly rent of twenty pounds, or of moveable goods to the value of a hundred pounds, are to be well horsed and armed from "head to heel as befits their rank as gentlemen," while those having "ten pounds worth of land or mair," or fifty pounds in goods, are to provide themselves with a hat, gorget, a pesan with vaunt braces and rere braces, gloves of plate, breast plate, and what are called "pans and leg splents." Every yeomen having twenty pounds in goods is to have a good doublet of fence, or a "habergeon,"* an iron hat, a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword, buckler and knife, while the yeomen "that is no archer nor

* "The 'habergeon,' " says Grose, "was a coat composed either of plate or chain mail, without sleeves."

cannot draw a bow" is to provide himself with a good "suir" hat for his head, a doublet of fence, with sword and buckler, and a good axe or a "brogged staff." Every burgess having fifty pounds in goods, is to be armed after the fashion of a gentleman; and the burgesses possessing property to the amount of twenty pounds to provide a hat, doublet or habergeon, sword and buckler, bow and sheaf of arrows, and a knife or dagger. The bailies were to see these enactments carried into immediate execution; such of the wealthier burgesses as did not conform to them were to pay four shillings for the first day they neglected to provide themselves with arms, eight shilling the next, a mark the third day, and aye till "he be weill an' armed;" and those of an inferior rank were to pay two shillings the first day, four shillings the next, and eight shillings the third, till "he be weill an' armed."

During the greater part of this period the bow was the principal instrument of war among all the nations of Europe. It was a weapon, too, from which our ancestors in their contests with the English had much to fear, the latter nation having attained in the use of it a noted superiority. Hence the anxiety manifested by the Scottish kings to train their subjects to the use of the bow. James I. who, by his long residence in England, had a practical acquaintance with the expertness of the English archers, did all he could to encourage the practice of archery among his subjects. Accordingly, in the parliament held at Perth, in 1424, it was enacted "that all men busk them to be archers fra they be twelve years of age, and that in ilk ten pounds worth of land there be made bow marks, and especially near to parish kirks, where upon holy days men may come and at the least shoot thrice about, and have use of archery; and those who use not the said archery the laird of the land shall raise of him a wedder, and if the laird raise not the said penalty, the king's sheriff or his ministers shall raise it to the king."

The more effectually to encourage archery, other games and amusements were prohibited, "na man was to play at the fute ball under the pain of fiftie shillings," and in another enactment of the fourteenth parliament of James I., it is ordained "that the fute ball and golf be utterly cried down, and not to be used."

In the subsequent reigns of James III. and James IV. there are similar acts of parliament against foot ball and golf. Under the former of these monarchs, in 1471, it is enacted "that the fute ball and golf be abused in time comming, and that the buttes be maid up and schutting used after the tenour of the act of parliament maid thereup-

on." In the reign of his successor in 1491 it is statute and ordained, "that in na place there be used fute ballis, golf, or other unprofitable sports, for the common gude of the realm and defence thereof, and that bowes and schutting be hantit, and bow-markes maid therefore ordained in every parish under the pain of fortie shillings to be raised by the sheriff and baillies foresaid."

It would appear that the piece of ground lying behind the upper part of the High Street, on the south side, and bounded by the Glasgow road, was, according to Cant, called the bow-butt, where the exercise was practised. Cant remarks also "that the strong and expert archers had their bow-markes in the South Inch. Near the south end of this Inch stands yet a stone, which tradition says was the southern mark, the northern is near to the north-west side of the ditch that surrounds the mount, it was fixed on a rising ground called the Scholars Knowll; the stone was but lately carried off. The distance betwixt these marks is above five hundred fathoms. They must have been very strong and expert archers, who could shoot an arrow betwixt these marks."

The citizens of Perth were much famed for their skill in archery. Adamson in his "Muses Threnodie," while lamenting of the games being disused, which were formerly practised, sings of the Perth archers in the following strain :—

"How can I choose, but mourn? when I think on
Our games Olympic-like in times agone.
Chiefly wherein our cunning we did try,
And matchless skill in noble archery.
In these our days when archers did abound
In Perth, then famous for such pastimes found :
Among the first, for archers we are known,
And for that art our skill was loudly blown :
What time Perth's credit did stand with the best
And bravest archers this land hath possesset.
We spar'd nor gaines nor paines for to report
To Perth the worship, by such noble sport ;
Witness the links of Leith, where Cowper, Grahame,
And Stewart won the prize, and brought it home ;
And in these games did offer ten to three,
There to contend : quorum pars magna fui.

From the records of the Dominican monastery still preserved in the archives of King James VI.'s hospital, we learn that the citizens of Perth were anxious to possess themselves of the ground which went

under the name of the "Kings Garden" or "the Gilten Herbar," for the practice of archery. Their disputes with the Dominican Friars were very frequent, and our sovereigns had often to exercise their authority for the protection of the latter. These records tell us that in the month of July, 1535, a number of men broke down the south-east part of the Friars Croft and entered "the Gilten Herbar," and hastily built at each end of it bow-butts. The Friars were indignant at the conduct of the citizens, and complained to the King, James V., who ordered the burgesses to pay a certain sum for the damage done to the grounds, to repair their fences, and to cease from molesting them in all time coming. Amid the disputes that followed, the friars kept possession of the property, but consented that the "butts" should be allowed to remain till they wasted away of themselves.

When, by the invention of gunpowder, the use of the bow as a military weapon was superseded in Scotland, the prohibited games above mentioned were immediately revived, as we shall afterwards see, and soon became the favourite amusements of all classes of society.

Fire arms were introduced into Scotland about 1540. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, enactments were made as to "hagbuttes" and other small artillerie to be furnished within the realm." The reason given why all Scotsmen should be possessed is thus simply stated namely that "the schot of gunns, hagbuttes, hand bowes, and other small artillierie now commonly used in all countries, both by sea and land, in their wars, is sa felloun and un-eschewable to the pith of high courage of noble and valiant men, whose acts and deeds cannot be shewn without contrair provision be had of instruments of war and battell." Accordingly every one possessed of land to the amount of a hundred pounds, whether barons or kirkmen are ordered to provide themselves "a hagbutte of founde, called hagbutte of crochert, with their calmes, bulletts, and pellockes of iron." All persons possessed of land to the extent of an hundred marks are to provide two culverins,†

* "This piece," according to Grose, "is by some writers supposed to owe its name to its butt being booked or bent, somewhat like those now used, the butts of the first handguns being, it is said, nearly strait. There were likewise some pieces called demi-haques, either from being less in size, or from having their butts less curved."

† "These culverins, or hand cannons, which were fixed on little carriages, were what we now call the arquebus á croc, (arquebus with a hook,) or something very like it. They were since called the arquebus with a hook, on account of a little hook, cast with the piece; they are placed on a kind of tripod, are of different lengths, and for caliber, between the smallest cannon and the musket; they are

and those having land to the extent of forty pounds are to have one culverin. All to be ready by eighteen months, and to be shown at the next weapon-schawing thereafter. Letters are also ordered to be written to provost, bailies, and aldermen of every burgh, signifying un to them the statute and ordinance of the manner of furnishing artillery to be made by the barons and kirkmen, charging them to convene the council, advise and conclude what artillery, and in what manner each burgh may furnish, and refer again to the king's grace within fifteen days next after they be charged, there to that his highness may be advised therewith with certification, if they fail therein, his grace shall cause them to be taxed after the amount of their common goods and substance for furnishing of said artillery ; and of every merchant who sends more than a cart of goods to foreign parts, it is enacted that he bring home two hagbuttes of crochert, or more with powder and calmes, or at least as much metal as will make the said hagbuttes with powder and calmes."

To see that the population were properly equiped according to their rank and station, musters, or what are called weapon-schawings, were appointed four times, afterwards twice a year. At these musters the names of all who appeared were to be enrolled. Captains too were to be chosen for each parish, to instruct the parishioners in millitary exercises, for which purpose they were to assemble twice at least every month, during May, June, and July.*

It might be interesting to present the reader with a detail of the spirit of chivalry which sprung up in the thirteenth century, and to show what were its immediate effects in the shape of judical combats, duels, and tournaments. As, however, such subjects rather belong to the general history of the country, than as affording a view of the

used in the lower flanks, and in towers pierced with loop-holes, called murderers. A long time after, the name of arquebus was given to a fire-arm, the barrel of which was mounted on a stock, having a butt for presenting and taking aim. This was, at the soonest, about the end of the reign of Louis XII. It became in time the ordinary piece borne by the soldiers."

* Dr Johnson says that "upon a meeting for that purpose, they touched each others weapons, in token of their fidelity and allegiance." Hoveden gives a somewhat different account of this ceremony. "When any one," he says, "was appointed perfect of the *wapentake*, on a fixed day, in the place where they were wont to assemble, all the elders rose up to him, as he dismounted from his horse. He having erected his spear, all that were present came and touched it with their lances ; and thus they gave a pledge of mutual engagement, by the contact of arms."

manners of those classes of society of which our towns were composed, we purposely pass them over.

It is a notion pretty prevalent, that our ancestors had very little of what are now-a-days called "amusements," that their whole time was taken up either in butchering their fellow creatures, or in observing the superstitious rites of the corrupt form of christianity to which they adhered. No opinion, however, can be more erroneous than this; for whatever we may think of the pitch of refinement to which we have arrived in our games and amusements, yet when we direct our enquiries into the musty records and histories of the past, we shall find that they had more of these things than we have, that they must have had far more leisure, and spent their time with a more contented spirit and in a livelier mood than do the different classes of society in the present day.

That the above remarks are not mere supposition, but are the correct induction from well ascertained facts, will appear when we state, that in a national council held at Perth in 1201, it was enacted that on Saturday, by twelve o'clock at noon, all labour till Monday should cease, and be kept holy: That all should be reminded of its sanctity by the tolling of the bell, be present at sermon, and hear vespers. It is matter of notoriety that this period was set apart as well for recreation as for the purposes of devotion.

The principal games, which seem to have been much practised, were Robin Hood, the Abbot of Unreason, Foot-ball and Golf. In speaking of the first of these games, Arnot appropriately remarks:—

"The celebration of games by the populace, in honour of their deities and heroes, is of the greatest antiquity, and formed the principal part of the Pagan religion. The floralia of Rome seems to have been continued with our forefathers, after the introduction of christianity, under the title of May-games. The customs observed at this day in England, of dancing about May-poles, and of carrying through the streets of London pyramids of plate adorned with garlands, undoubtedly originated from the same Pagan institution. As the memory of the original heroes of those games had been long lost, it was extremely natural to substitute a recent favourite, in room of an obsolete heathen diety. Robin Hood, a bold and popular outlaw of the twelfth century, by his personal courage, his dextrous management of the bow, and by displaying a species of humanity and generosity in supplying the necessities of the poor with the spoils he had robbed from the wealthy, became the darling of the populace. His achievements have been cele-

brated in innumerable songs and stories. As for the game which has been instituted to his honour, it is not so easy to describe what it was, as how strongly it was the object of popular attachment.

"The game of Robin Hood was celebrated in the month of May. The populace assembled previous to the celebration of this festival, and chose some respectable member of the corporation to officiate in the character of Robin Hood, and another in that of Little John, his squire. Upon the day appointed, which was a Sunday or holiday, the people assembled in military array, and went to some adjoining field, where, either as actors or spectators, the whole inhabitants of the respective towns were convened. In this field they probably amused themselves with a representation of Robin Hood's predatory exploits, or of his encounters with the officers of justice. A learned prelate preaching before Edward VI. observes, that he once came to a town upon a holiday, and gave information on the evening before of his design to preach. But next day when he came to church, he found the door locked. He tarried half-an-hour ere the key could be found; and, instead of a willing audience, some one told him, 'this is a busy day with us; we cannot hear you. It is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood. I pray you let (i. e. hinder) them not. I was fain (says the bishop), to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve; it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men.'"

Arnot, however, is mistaken in saying that it was "when the minds of the people came to be agitated with religious contraversion it was found necessary to repress the game of Robin Hood by public statute;" for it was enacted several years before the reformation took place, namely in 1555, "It is statute and ordained, that in all times coming, na manner of person be chosen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queen of May, nor otherwise, neither in burgh nor to landwart, in onie time to cum; and if any provost, bailies, council, or communities, chuse sik ane personage within burgh, the chusers of such shall loss their freedom for the space of five years, and otherwis shall be punished at the Queenis grace will, and the acceptor of sik-like office shall be banished forth of the realm; and if ony sik persons, sik as Robert Hude, Little John, Abott of Unreason, Queen of May be chosen outwith Burgh, and other landward towns, the chusers shall pay to our soveraine Lady ten poundes, and their persons put in ward, there to remain during the Queenis grace

pleasure. And gif any women or others sing about summer trees, or mak perturbation to the Queen's lieges in the passage through burrows and other landward townes, the women perturbatours for sake of monee or otherwise, shall be taken, handled and put upon the cuckstools of every burgh or town."

There must have been other reasons why such a game was prohibited. These, we have no doubt, were altogether of a secular nature, and that the parliament passed an act for its suppression because of the disturbances attending its performance, and the attempts which seem to have been made to imitate the doings of Robin Hood at such gatherings. The following extract from Knox's history regarding the conduct of "the rascall multitude at the making a Robin Hood," shews what was transacted on such occasions :—" But yet they ceassit not to molest, aswell the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as divers countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening some with further injuries ; wherewith the magistrates of the town, highly offended, took more diligent heed to such as resorted to the town, and apprehended one of principal of that disorder, named Kyllone, a cordinar, whom they put to an assyis ; and being convicted, they thought to have executed judgement upon him, and erected a gibbet beneath the cross."

The abbot of unreason,* and the queen of May, seem to have been games of a similar description, with that of Robin Hood, and are included in the act of parliament above quoted. Such games appear to have formerly been customary in the month of May, and were the cause of much disorder and noisy mirth. There is an allusion to this sport in Scot's poem on May :—

Abbots by rule and lords by reason,
Sic senycoris times ourweill this season,
Upon thair vice lang to waik ;
Quhais falsatt, fibilnes and treason,
Has rung thryis oure this zodiak.

According to most antiquarian writers, the Queen of May was a character attached to the festivities of the mock abbot. This festivity was called the Liberty of December, as the abbot presided over the Christmas gambols with dictorial authority. We may learn what were the abuses perpetrated under the sanction of his mock authority, from the following account of his election in England :—

" First of all, the wild heads of the parish, flocking together, chuse

* This personage was known in England by the name of abbot, or Lord of Misrule.

them a grand captain of mischief, whom they innoble with the title of Lord of Misrule ; and him they crown with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This king annointed, chooseth forth twenty, forty, three-score, or an hundred, like to himself, to wait upon his lordly majesty, and to guard his noble person. Then every one of these members he investeth with his liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour, and, as though they were not gaudy enough, they bedeck themselves with scarfs, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold rings, precious stones and other jewels. This done, they tie about each leg twenty or forty bells, with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid over their necks. Thus, all things set in order, then have they their hobby horses, their dragons, and other antics, together with their body pipers, and thundering drummers, to strike the devil's dance with all. Then march this heathen company towards the church, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs fluttering about their heads like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng ; and in this manner they go to church, though the minister be at prayer or preaching, dancing and singing with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice ; and thus those terrestrial furies spend the Sabbath day. Then they have certain papers, wherein is painted some babeleric or other imaginary work, and these they call my lord of misrule's badges or cognizances. These they give to every one that will give them money to maintain them in this their heathenish devilry ; and those who will not show themselves buxom to them and give them money, they shall be mocked and flouted shamefully ; yea, and many times carried upon a cowlstaffee, and dived over head and ears in water, or otherwise most horribly abused."

Foot-ball is one of our most ancient games, and, as has been already stated, was prohibited by statute at a very early period of Scottish history, because on account of it the people neglected the practice of archery. The people of Perth were much addicted to it ; no doubt this partly arose from the facilities they possessed for playing the game, namely, in having such play-grounds as the South and North Inches. That it was a favourite amusement there is undubitable evidence. At the admission of any one as a member of the different incorporated trades, so much was charged " for foot-ball ;" a charge it may be remarked which is levied on every new member of an incorporation at the present day, though not appropriated to the purpose for which it is ostensibly given.

No information can be gleaned from the different incorporation records as to how the game was played in the olden time, whether it was only among the members themselves ; or whether one trade was pitted against another does not appear. We lean to the opinion that generally when played, there were set matches between two different trades, so as the superiority of the one over the other might be the better asserted, which, we conceive, would stimulate them to greater activity and adroitness in playing the game. The general method of playing it is thus described by Strut in his sports and pastimes of the people of England.

" When a match at foot-ball is made, two parties, each containing an equal number of competitors, take the field, and stand between two goals or hails, placed at the distance of eighty or an hundred yards the one from the other ; the ball, which is commonly made of a blown bladder, and cased with leather, is delivered in the midst of the ground, and the object of each party is to drive it through the gaol of their antagonists, which being achieved the game is won. The abilities of the performers are best displayed in attacking and defending the gaols. When the exercise becomes exceeding violent, the players kick each others shins without the least ceremony, and some of them are overthrown at the hazard of their limbs.

Barclay in his fifth eclogue has these lines—

—The sturdie plowmen, lustie, strong, and bold,
O'ercometh the winter with driving the foot-ball,
Forgetting labour and many a grievous fall.

And a more modern poet—

As when a sort of lusty shepherds try
Their force at foot-ball ; care of victory
Make them salute so rudely breast to breast,
That their encounter seems too rough for jest.

The danger attending this pastime occasioned King James the First to say, " From this court I debarr all rough and violent exercises, as the football, meeter for lameing than making able the users thereof."

The rustic boys made use of a blown bladder without the covering of leather by way of foot-ball, putting peas and horse beans inside, which occasioned a rattling as it was kicked about.

—And now in the winter when men kill the fat swine,
They get the bladder and blow it great and thin ;
With many beans and peason put within,
It rattleth, soundeth, and shineth clear and fair ;

While it is thrown and cast up in the air,
Each one contendeth and hath a great delight
With foot and with hand the bladder for to smite;
If it fall to the ground, they lift it up again,
And this way to labour they count it for no pain."

It may not be out of place, to lay before the reader how the game was played in the neighbouring parish of Scone, at a certain period of the year. "Every year on Shrove Tuesday," says the writer of the statistical account of Scone, "the bachelors and married men drew themselves up at the cross of Scone on opposite sides. A ball was then thrown up, and they played from two o'clock till sunset. The game was this: he who at any time got the ball into his hands, run with it till overtaken by one of the opposite party, and then, if he could shake himself loose from those on the opposite side who seized him, he run on: if not, he threw the ball from him, unless it was wrested from him by the other party; but no person was allowed to kick it. The object of the married men was to hang it, i. e. to put it three times into a small hole in the moor, the dool or limit on the one hand; that of the bachelors was to drown it, i. e. to dip it three times into a deep place in the river, the limit on the other. The party who could effect either of these objects, won the game. But, if neither party won, the ball was cut into two equal parts at sun-set. In the course of the play one might always see some scene of violence between the parties; but, as the proverb of this part of the country expresses it—all was fair at the ball of Scone. This custom is supposed to have had its origin in the days of chivalry. An Italian, it is said, came into this part of the country, challenging all the parishes, under a certain penalty, in case of declining his challenge. All the parishes declined the challenge excepting Scone, which beat the foreigner; and in commemoration of this gallant action the game was instituted. Whilst the custom continued, every man in the parish, the gentry not excepted, was obliged to turn out and support the side to which he belonged; and the person who neglected to do his part on that occasion was fined; but the custom being attended with certain inconveniencies, was abolished a few years ago."

The game of golf was a favourite amusement also with the citizens of Perth in the olden time, and continues to be so till the present day. As this game is so well known, we need not occupy our space with a description of the manner of playing it. We may remark, however, that the place where the golfers deposited their clubs and balls, was at

the north-west corner of the Watergate, the site, it is supposed, of an old British temple,* and where is now erected an elegant modern house, having a marble stone in front, on which are sculptured the arms of the family of Aldie, and the following inscription :—"Here stood the house of the green."

One of the principal amusements of the middle ages, was the exhibition of religious spectacles, representing the most interesting events and scenes recorded in the scriptures, such as the incarnation, passion and resurrection of Christ. These dramatic pieces were called *mysteries*, and in them allegorical personages, such as Sin, Death, and the Devil, were frequently introduced. One of these representations, entitled the Corpus Christi play,† was a great favourite with the citizens of Perth. Transcripts of this play, nearly, if not altogether coeval with the time of its representation, are yet in existence. The prologue to this curious drama is delivered by three persons, who speak alternately, and are called *vexillators*; it contains the argument of the several pageants, or acts, that constitute the piece, and they amount to no less than forty; and every one of these acts consist of a detached subject from holy writ, beginning with the creation of the universe, and concluding with the last judgement. In the first pageant, or act, the Deity is represented seated on his throne by himself; after a speech of some length, the angels enter singing from the church service, "To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; To Thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts." Lucifer then makes his appearance, and desires to know if the hymn they sang was in honour of God or in honour of him? The good angels readily reply, in honour of God; the evil angels incline to worship Lucifer, and he presumes to seat himself in the throne of the Deity; who commands him to depart from heaven to hell, which dreadful sentence he is compelled to obey, and with his wicked associates descends to the lower regions.

When the mysteries ceased to be played, dramatic pieces were formed, which consisted of moral reasonings in praise of virtue and condemnation of vice, and these acquired the appellation of *moralities*.

* The writer of the topographical description of the town in the "Memorabilia of Perth," says, that "this house of the green certainly occupied the situation of some more considerable and older building, as in digging the foundations of the house, subterraneous apartments, of very ancient architecture, were discovered."

† It was so styled because it was acted on the festival of Corpus Christi, which was instituted by Pope Urban IV., about 1264, and is celebrated on the 14th June, or second Thursday after Whitsunday.

They were sometimes of a solemn, but as often of a humorous nature. *Beelzebub* was one of the principal comic actors, assisted by his merry troop of under devils, who with variety of noises, strange gestures, and contortions of the body, excited the laughter of the populace. Moralities were formally divided into acts and scenes, and introduced with a regular prologue. They were divided also into tragedy and comedy. Some of them, too, were designated sacred comedies, such as "The nativity of our Saviour," "The massacre by Herod," &c. These representations were exceedingly common, and so popular in Scotland in the beginning of the 16th century, that it became a proverbial expression, when part of a company were expected, "where are the rest of players?" and the number of players was so great that they had become a nuisance. The chaplains kept in the houses of the great were generally the authors of these holy plays from which they were called "clerk's plays"; the servants and retainers to the family being the performers. They went about from house to house at Christmas, the season when such sports were indulged, and received considerable gratuities. "Hence," says Arnot, "may be evidently deduced the custom still retained in this country among young people of the lower class, of going at this season from house to house, in fantastic habits, by repeating bombast speeches, and craving some trifling gratuity."

In a recent publication, an attempt has been made to shew that "the population was much more virtuous and simple under the Papal hierarchy" than they were after the reformation took place. In the work to which we allude a contrast is instituted. In the first place we have submitted for our consideration an account of the many religious houses which were situated in Perth and its immediate neighbourhood, together with a statement of the "foundation charters of the altars in the parish church of St. John, and its chapels;" and many particulars relative to the extent the different monasteries and altars were endowed by the pious liberality of the faithful. Now, there is nothing at all, along with the above view, of what were the state of the morals and social condition of the population under the Romish hierarchy; while as a set off against this "virtuous and simple" period, a collection of the "immoralities" which came to be adjudicated before the kirk session are placed in juxtaposition, so as that the reformers may be shewn up to have been rather a "curse" than a "blessing" to the world, as coarse and illiterate fanatics, and as having been the cause of the people becoming dreadfully cor-

rupted and depraved. The truth seems to be, however, that if, as has been observed in tracing the rise of the reformation, the priesthood were debased in their morals, and their conduct at all anything like what impartial writers describe it, then may we not reasonably suppose that the conduct of the populace was but a reflex of that of their spiritual guides, so far as it could be carried out? Nor can we help thinking that this writer is unfortunate in the comparison he has made between the state of Scotland prior and subsequent to the reformation. It is true that his specimens, culled from the kirk-session records, of the low state of morality after the reformation are revolting enough; yet, we decidedly deny that such a state of things was the effect of that event, and hold that the writer on whom we are now animadverting, by presenting us with these specimens, has only lifted the veil and shewn us that in popish times the people, "down-trodden and lying in the mire of superstition," trusted more to the prayers and masses said by the priests, than to "a godly life and conversation," for the salvation of their souls. The fact is, that it is abundantly shewn by the excerpts which he has brought forward from the kirk-session records, that the presbyterian church early directed her efforts against practices which were not only tolerated but even encouraged prior to the reformation. She was, it is true, not so successful in putting down superstitious customs and in improving the morals of the people as could have been desired, "But," as Mr Scott observes in his life of Mr Row, "it was no easy matter to reform the public manners, which had been miserably corrupted in the popish times. I forbear, therefore, to censure what was professedly an ecclesiastical court, for thus extending its sentences to corporal punishments. Posterity is indebted to the vigorous efforts which were made, immediately after the reformation, for civilizing the people of Scotland, and for rendering the state of society more safe and comfortable than it would otherwise have been. The seventh commandment had been shamefully disregarded in the popish times. Persons of all ranks and professions were known to be violaters of it, without suffering any great injury to their character in the world. It was therefore one object which the weekly assembly had in view, to reform, in that particular, the practice and sentiments of the people. The population of the town and parish may be reckoned not much to have exceeded six thousand; yet even during the last three years of Mr Row's life, which was after sixteen years had passed in strenuous endeavours for reformation, about eighty such transgressors were annually convicted."

And though it may be admitted that in the endeavours to enlighten the people and work a change on their morals they manifested far greater zeal than wisdom ; yet, in our opinion, the compiler of the " Book of Perth" has reasoned most illogically in coming to the conclusion that the state of society immediately after the reformation was the effect of the overthrow of the ancient religion. Our readers, however, will draw their own inferences after having perused the following brief views of the morals of the people, and the efforts of the minister and elders to improve them, as is to be found in the kirk-session records.

CHAPTER VIII.

It was not till 1580, the year following the demolition of the religious houses, that there was a stated Protestant minister in Perth: the individual appointed as such was Mr John Row. He was born near Stirling, at the Grammar School of which he received the elementary branches of education, and afterwards was sent to the University of St Andrews, where he studied Logic, Philosophy, and the Civil and Canon Law—became Master of Arts, and afterwards an advocate in the Diocesan Courts. Such was his character as a pleader, that, in 1550, he was sent by the Scottish clergy as their agent at the court of Rome, where he attracted the favourable notice of his holiness Pope Paul IV. Being seized, however, with a severe illness, his physician considered that the air of his native country was necessary to the re-establishment of his health. Before leaving Rome, the Pope invested him with the character of legate. He landed at Eyemouth on the 29th of September, 1558. The conversion of Mr Row to the Protestant faith was hastened by a pretended miracle said to have been wrought upon a poor boy, at the chapel of Loretto, in the vicinity of Musselburgh. When John Knox arrived in Scotland, in May 1559, Mr Row heard him often preach—had many interviews with him, and at last “became as zealous a maintainer as he had formerly been an opponent to the Reformation.” He continued to be minister of Perth till his death, in 1580, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

As the kirk session records are not extant earlier than May 1577, it is not known with any certainty what were the methods first employed to enlighten the people in the Protestant doctrine. In all likelihood they were the same as those noticed in the kirk session registers. Mr Row preached twice every Sabbath, besides a sermon on Thursday, at which attendance was strictly enjoined on all ranks. In his ministerial duties he was assisted by a staff of “lay elders and deacons,” who were elected annually, and who conjointly assisted in distributing the funds of the poor. The elders, however, were the only parties who could vote with the minister in matters of discipline.

A certain amount of instruction was also required of those intending

to enter into the state of matrimony, and who wished baptism for their children. The former were not to have their bans proclaimed till they had been so far instructed by "the Reader as to be able to inform the minister and elders the holy purposes of the institution;" nor were parents, "unless they could repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments," to have their children baptised. The Reader, or Exhorter, was an office instituted for the purpose of instructing the people in a knowledge of the scriptures, as at that time few could read. Meetings were held every morning and evening, at which passages from the scriptures were read, and prayers from the "Book of Common Order, or Book of Geneva." The morning prayers in St John's Church were read at a very early hour; and the Guildry and Incorporated Trades bound themselves, during the winter season, to provide lights for their respective members.

The art of music was not neglected by the first Reformers. During Mr Row's incumbency, a Mr John Swinton was "uptaker of the psalm in the kirk, and master of the sang-school." He was provided with a salary, a school-house, a dwelling house, and a garden. The people delighted in church music in all its parts; but the minister and elders found it necessary to enjoin John Swinton to keep to the tenor part of the tune himself, when he was in the desk, lest he should confuse the people in their singing.

Great attention seems to have been given to the art of music in the time of the old religion; for in the town council records, under the date of 1511, is a minute relative to the admission of George Dunning to be parish clerk, by which he is obliged to employ a sufficient person to sing and play the organ during divine service, and shall find strings and cords to the bells; and mentioning his predecessors in the said office, viz.—David May, and the deceased Alexander Bunch. And under the date of 1521 there is a curious document, of which the following is an excerpt, "of John and Patrick Charteris, accepting the appointment as joint parochial clerks, now vacant by the death of the late George Dunning; and that they shall enjoy all profits, duties, and commodities pertaining to the said office, in this manner and form as after follows; that is to say the said John shall find and sustain an gude and able and sufficient person of cunning in counter singing and organ playing, to the daily uphold of *matinis lue masse* and evening sangs, baith *festival* and *jerial*, days with night, and every way; divine service daily to be done in the kirk and quire for all the days of his life."

The above references in the town council records, seem to be the

earliest notices of the organ in Scotland. "It is to be regretted," says Mr Lawson, "that so little is known of the date of instrumental music in Scotland before that event. As St. John's Church had no vicars skilled in the Gregorian song for the daily service, though it had cho-risters, it is probable that it was the only parish church in the kingdom which anciently contained an organ. The document dated in 1511, mentions the organ as having been long in the edifice rather than as of recent introduction; and it is evident that the magistrates were proud of the instrument, from the particular manner in which they bound the parties who were appointed to undertake the duty. As James I., among his other accomplishments which he acquired in England, could play well on the organ, harp, trumpet, bagpipe, and other instruments, the organ at Perth, which before he was murdered was considered the capital, may have been introduced by him. The celebrated Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, in his poem entitled the 'Palace of Honour,' mentions organs among the instruments he enumerates."

The minister of the town and several other ministers, together with a few of the lay-elders, met every Wednesday, when after engaging in prayer, one of the ministers delivered a critical discourse on a text of scripture, and another added a practical application. This weekly meeting of the "exercise," or eldership, as it was sometimes called, did not possess any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but was only a meeting "for counselling and encouraging one another in the business of their several parishes." But the most important body at this period was "the weekly assembly of the minister and elders;" it took cognizance of offenders of all sorts "excepting thieves and murderers," who were handed over to the magistrates, two of whom were always present at the "weekly assembly," "which," as Mr Scott remarks, "gave its transactions the appearance of legal authority." Transgressors, besides being sentenced to do penance in the church upon the repenting stool, were subjected to civil punishments such as fines, liable to be "warded," that is imprisoned in the tolbooth, and undergo the disgrace of standing in irons at the cross, or on the cock stool or pillory. Frequently delinquents were sent to 'Halkerston's tower,'* when for a cer-

* This place was above the door of the West Church, and was taken down some twenty-five or thirty years since. The writer, when at school, in an old house opposite St John's church remembers well of the entrance to "Halkerston's tower." It was in a very ruinous state; the wooden stair which led up to the building being very much decayed and requiring considerable daring in those who attempted to reach the top.

tain time no other food was to be supplied them but bread and water. To every one who carefully studies the proceedings of the weekly assembly it must be evident that its members, though having thrown off the ancient clergy and their pretensions, yet they acted very much in their spirit. They exercised the same strict surveillance over the whole inhabitants as they had done ; and though no confessional dues had to be paid, nor charges made to say masses for the souls of departed relatives and friends, yet, it must be confessed they arrogated to themselves functions and duties which did not belong to them, "and were deficient in a good organization of intellectual society, and in regulating the action of old and general opinions. They could not reconcile the rights and demands of past times or tradition with those of liberty ; and the cause was undoubtedly owing to this circumstance that the reformation never fully comprehended and accepted either its own principles or its own consequences." Hence they meddled with every thing. They endeavoured to regulate and restrain the amusements of the people. They interfered in family matters, and devoted by far too much time to cases of "fighting, flyting, and slander," which no doubt had a tendency to encourage what the "good men," were so anxious to put an end to. Sabbath desecration came in too for a large share of their attention ; the poor unfortunate who was found in a tavern, or taking a walk on the Inch, during divine service, was most severely dealt with, not to speak of the cases innumerable of fornication and adultery which came before them, together with their enquiries and doings with supposed witches. Our space will allow us to give but a very few specimens of the proceedings of the weekly assembly under each of these heads.

As might be expected, the mysteries, miracle plays, and moralities, in which the people during the ascendancy of Catholicism had indulged, were especially prohibited ; accordingly, we find an entry in the kirk session, under date of July 1, 1577,—“The weekly assembly regret that certain inhabitants of this town, against the express command of the civil magistrate, and the prohibition delivered by the minister from the pulpit, have played Corpus Christi play, upon the sixth day of June last, which day was wont to be called Corpus Christi's day ; whereby they have offended the church of God, and dishonoured this haill (whole) town, the said play being idolatrous and superstitious.”

The result of the deliberations of the kirk session regarding what in their eyes was a hideous offence, was, that the persons who performed in the Corpus Christi play should receive no benefit from the church

till they shewed evidence of their repentance. In the records thirteen persons are mentioned as having been performers; but by Lord Ruthven's advice the chief actor appeared on the 13th August following, and the proceedings relative to him is thus mentioned—"Whilk day compeared Thomas Thorshail, who desired to have his bairn baptized, and confessed himself to be one of the number of those Corpus Christi players who bore the anstense* of the same; for the whilk slander he offers and submits himself to the discipline of the kirk, with my lord's advice, and promises in time coming never to meddle with such things again, under the pain of the censures of the kirk. In respect whereof, and of his obedience to the kirk, the elders presently convened, viz. John Anderson, Oliver Peebles, John Davidson, William Anderson, Patrick Inglis, Alexander Anderson, William Fleming, think it expedient that the said Thomas Thorshail's bairn be baptized, because he has offered himself obedient to the kirk."

In the course of the same year the other accused parties came forward and confessed their fault. On the 1st September, Robert Paul, after having done so, is to get baptism for his child; and on the following day another eight did the same. On the 16th of the same month three pleaded guilty of being "Corpus Christi players"; and on the 16th December another four confessed, and promised "never to meddle with such things again."

The effects of these proceedings relative to the observers of what the session designates "superstitious customs," was that, so far as the kirk session records bear, this play was never acted again. A similar offence was, however, shortly after committed by the incorporation of bakers. Their tutelary saint was St Obert, or St Aubert; accordingly it behoved them to keep his anniversary, which was on the 10th December. The "weekly assembly," however, was not slow in pouncing upon the offenders of the act made against superstition; for at their meeting held on 16th December, they ordained the above act to be published on Sabbath next, and that all those persons who were playing St Obert's play on the 10th of this month, shall be warned to compare this day eight days. Accordingly we find in the records, under date of 20th December, the appearance of "John Fyvie, and confesses that upon the 10th of December instant, which was called St Obert's even, he passed through the town, striking the drum, which was one of the common drums of the town, accompanied with certain others,

* Easign or banner.

such as John Macbeth, William Jack, riding upon an horse going in men's shoes, and says the said John Macbeth delivered to him the drum. For the whilk premises he submits himself to the discipline of the kirk, and also promises never to strike ane drum again without the consent of ane magistrate under such pains as shall be laid to his charge. And in January 1577-8—"Compeared William Jack, and being demanded if he was in St. Obert's Play, he confessed that notwithstanding he was one of Corpus Christi players, for which he submitted himself to the discipline of the kirk, promising that he would never do the like, yet he confesses that he was in St. Obert's Play."

The play continued to be performed by the bakers till 1588, when that Incorporation enacted "that such persons as should play, in any time to come, St Obert's play, should be debarred from all liberties of the craft, should never have entry to the same again—and should be banished from the town for ever." A copy of this minute was sent to the weekly assembly.

Another custom, obnoxious to the weekly assembly, was the resorting of the youth of both sexes, in the month of May, to the Dragon's Hole, a cave in the front of Kinnoull Hill. In prospect of the usual meeting at this season, the kirk session, at a meeting held on 2d May, 1580, ordained "that an act should be made by the minister, discharging all persons passing to the Dragon Hole superstitiously, and that the same be published on Thursday next, out of the pulpit, and thereafter given to the bailies to be published at the market cross." Mr Row, accordingly drew up what is called "the act anent the Dragon Hole," which is as follows:—

"Because the assembly of minister and elders understand that the resort to the Dragon Hole, both by young men and women, with their piping, and drums striking before them, through the town, has raised no small slander to this congregation, not without suspicion of filthiness following thereupon;—the said assembly, for avoiding thereof in times to come, have, with consent of the magistrates of this town, statute and ordained, that no person, whether man or woman, of this congregation, shall resort or repair hereafter to the Dragon Hole, as they have done in times past, namely, in the month of May, nor shall pass through the town, in their way to it, with piping, and striking of drums, as heretofore they have done, under the pain of twenty shillings to the poor, to be paid by every person, as well men as women, that shall be found guilty; also, that they shall make their public repentance upon a Sabbath-day, in the presence of the people. This or-

dinance to be published at the market-cross on Saturday next; as also by the minister, in the pulpit, on Thursday and Sunday next to come, that none hereafter may pretend ignorance."

It would appear, however, that a number of the young people of Perth disregarded the prohibition of the weekly assembly, for at a meeting of that body, held on the 9th May following, it is ordained that the act made against the Dragon Hole, strike upon David Rollock because he is convicted of the breaking the same; and the record farther bears, that Rollock has found his deacon, George M'Gregor, cautioner for the satisfaction of the said act, under the pain of ten pounds (Scots) to the poor.

Antiquarian writers are not agreed as the origin of the term, Dragon's Hole. By some it is supposed to have been so designated on account of this cave being the residence of a dragon, or large serpent, which, in the time of the Druids, was consecrated to "Bel," or the sun. Andrew Winton, prior of the monastery of Lochleven, who lived in the reign of Robert II., states in his metrical history of the life of St. Servanus or St. Serf, that the cave was known by its present name as early as the sixth century. He tells us that Brude, one of the Pictish Kings, about 580, gave as a gift to St. Servanus, the Islet of Lochleven. Here he resided for several years and performed many miracles. Among these was the slaying of the great dragon who occupied the cave in the precipitous front of Kinnoull Hill, not indeed by his personal prowess, but as Winton says,

"By dubbing of devotion
And prayer, he slew a dragon,
Where he was slain, the place was ay
The dragon's den called to this day."

Perhaps the poet does not refer to a literal slaying, but he may only have meant that when St. Servanus directed the idolatrous Picts to the only proper object of devotion, the "one true and living God," he may be said in poetical language to have slain the "dragon."

It is very likely, however, that this cave was the hiding place of many of the citizens of Perth when it was taken possession of by a foreign foe, and when they, on account of the political and religious opinions they held, had become obnoxious to the ruling powers. Henry Adamson, in the "Muses Threnodie," informs us, that the two friends of whom he sings often resorted thither, and that in it was found a stone, which, like the ring of Gyges, could render the person, who possessed it invisible, but the fortunate owner seems to have,

lost it, and it was never again found. After gliding past the Friarton, Mr Galt and his friend land on the northern bank of the Tay, and thence

————— “clam to the Dragon Hole,
With crampets on our feet, and clubs in hand,
Where it's recorded Jamie Keddie fand
A stone enchanted, like to Gyges' ring,
Which made him disappear, a wondrous thing,
If it would have been his hap to have retain'd it,
But loosing it, again could never find it;
Within this cave oft-times did we repose
As being sundred from the city woes.”*

As shewing that the citizens of Perth, in the sixteenth century, rose much earlier than their descendants, a minute of the weekly assembly, detailing the order to be observed on a Communion Sunday, may be given:—“The weekly assembly ordered, that to the first ministration, the first bell should ring at four hours in the morning, the second at half-hour to five, and the third at five; that to the second ministration, the first bell should ring at half-hour to nine, the second at nine, and the third at half-hour to ten.”

Although the kirk session were left in a great measure to their own discretion as to the punishment of offenders, they were so far guided by acts of parliament. “Scandalous livers” were punished with great severity. In the first parliament of James I., in 1567, “It is statute and ordained by our sovereign Lord, with advice and consent of his dearest regent, and three estates of this present parliament, that if any person or persons within this realm, shall commit the filthy vice of fornication, and be convicted thereof, that the committers thereof shall be punished in manner following:—for the first fault, as well the man as the woman, shall pay the sum of forty pounds, or then both he and she be imprisoned for eight days, their food to be bread

* To this description we may add, that the entrance to the Dragon's Hole can be easily discerned from the Dundee turnpike road and the river Tay. It is still accessible, and the interior bears no mark of ever having been larger than it now is: it will contain upwards of a dozen of persons. “None but resolute people,” says Mr Cant, “dare venture into it.” We daresay few grown up persons would hazard the climbing up a perpendicular rock of some 16 or 18 feet, at least it would have required “resolute daring” in Mr Cant to do so, especially if his *obesity* was as great as that of the two *risal compilers* of the “History of Perth,” although the writer of these remarks, some five and twenty years ago, did not consider it any great exploit to scramble up the rock into the “Dragon's Hole.”

and small drink ; and thereafter to be taken to the market place of the town or parish bare-headed, and there stand fastened for the space of two hours, from ten to twelve noon. For the second fault, they shall pay the sum of one hundred merks, or be imprisoned fourteen days, their food to be bread and water only ; and to be taken to the market place, and both the heads of the man and the woman to be shaved. And for the third fault, they shall pay one hundred pounds, or be imprisoned twenty-one days, their food to be bread and water only ; and to be taken to the deepest and dirtiest pool of water of the town or parish, there to be three times douked (dipped), and thereafter to be banished the said town or parish for ever. And as often as they are convicted of the said vice of fornication, the said third punishment be executed upon them. And that the provost and bailies of each burgh, the justice general and his deputes, or such other persons as it shall please our said sovereign to give commission unto, be judges of the persons suspected and convicted of fornication ; and that the said corporal pains of imprisonment, banishing, and others above specified be executed upon all such persons as either refuse to pay the pecunial pains, or that are not responsible to pay the same. And that the same pecunial pains, which shall happen to be received, be safely kept in a box, and be converted, *ad pios vsus*, in the part where the crime is committed, as it shall please our said sovereign Lord to command ; and the receivers of the said pains to be ready to give account thereof whenever they shall be required to do so."

The parliament also prohibited, under very severe penalties, pilgrimages to chapels, crosses, and wells ; put its veto on keeping the festival days of saints, the setting forth of bon-fires, singing of carolls, and, as the act expresses it, of the observing of such superstitious and papistical rites as dishonour God, throw contempt on the true religion, and foster great error among the people. In like manner, it also prohibited the going about of such as used "subtile craftie, and unlawful plays," as well as "all minstrels, sangsters, and tale tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs, or by the head burghs and cities, for their common minstrels." Yet after all, plays were not totally forbidden to be acted, but allowed on certain conditions. A company of comedians came to Perth in 1589 ; they applied to the weekly assembly for a license, and shewed a copy of the play they intended to exhibit. Their request was acceded to ; and the following minute from the kirk session records shews the condition on which they were to be permitted

to exercise their vocation :—" Perth 3rd June, 1589, The minister and elders give license to play the play, with conditions that no swearing, banning, nor any scurrility shall be spoken, which would be a scandal to our religion which we profess, and for an evil example unto others. Also, that nothing shall be added to what is in the register of the play itself. If any one who plays shall do in the contrary, he shall be warded, and make his public repentance."

As illustrations of the manners of the people after the Reformation, we submit the following excerpts from the kirk session records,* the first we offer relate to

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

May 1577.—" Compeared Marion Whyte, and confesses her fornication with John Swinton, and the second fault, submits herself to the discipline of the kirk and civil punishment. Compeared John Swinton, alleged father of the bairn, who being demanded gif he has had carnal deall with Marion Whyte within nine months bygone or thereby; he denied that he had any carnal deall with her within thir two years bygone; and therefore the said Marion referred it to his conscience to swear gif he had carnal deall with her or no by the space foresaid. Therefore the assembly assigns to the said John till Monday next to give his aith thereupon, either negative or affirmative, and to advise with his aith until the said day. May 27—Compeared John Swinton, and refused to give his oath upon the contents of the last act, and therefore the assembly ordains the kirk to proceed against him with admonitions, that under the pain of the censures of the kirk he may depone his oath, either negative or affirmative, concerning the fornication confessed by Marion Whyte to have been committed with him, to whom she is with bairn, as she has confessed, and alleges presently. June 20—Compeared John Swinton, and confesses his fornication with Marion White, and that it is the second fault; and he submits himself to the discipline of the kirk, and the civil punishment, conform to the order. He is ordained to compear before the Assembly on Monday the 7th of July, that he may receive his directions for his second

* In giving these excerpts, we may state that we are indebted for them to the transcript of the kirk session records made by the late Rev. James Scott, one of the ministers of Perth, who died in 1818, which, along with his translation of the charters and other records of the religious houses and the hospital, are deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. We shall have occasion to notice, in a more extended form, the labours and writings of this amiable and learned person.

fault of fornication." John was precentor, or leader of the psalmody in the kirk, and was restored again to his office at this time; but he had either been getting aged or morally disqualified, perhaps both; for we find him before the Session on 2d July, 1582, "Whilk day, forasmeikle as John Swinton, master of the sang school, is found not qualified for that office, and is guilty of divers other faults disagreeing in the person of him who has office in the Kirk of God, it was ordained that he should on no ways pretend to such an office in time coming, or yet should take up the psalm in the kirk." We find him again before the session on 11th April, 1586, for the third time. "Whilk day compeared John Swinton, master of the sang school, and confessed his third fault of fornication committed with Maige Whyte, and therefore submits him to the discipline of the kirk, and confesses the bairn to be his."

June 28, 1585.—"Compeared Janet Will, and confesses her triple fornication with Andrew Teshach, who is ordained to be shaven, and ducked according to the Act of Parliament, yet her ducking is suspended till she is delivered of her birth."

July 8, 1585.—"Forasmeikle as Thomas Smith confessed his triple fornication with three sundry women, and now having the last woman with bairn again, it is ordained that he shall be warded, shaven, and ducked, according to the Act of Parliament."

November 3, 1595.—"Compears Robert Taylor, and, after long dealing, confesses his adultery with Margaret Smith; and besides this, the Session finds him to be a man many ways slanderous in his life, as by drinking, swearing, and blaspheming the name of God, abusing of his wife by striking and dinging of her, and therefore ordains him to be punished condignly to the example of others. Nov. 10.—Compears Andrew Conqueror, after long and divers citations, and being inquired if he had carnal deal with his own servant, answers that he had carnal deal with her, but not in this congregation, but in the parish of Scone, where he and the woman both had satisfied for their offence, and therefore ought not to be cited by this Session. He being removed, the Session thought good he should purge himself by an oath, because he was slandered by the said woman before he passed out of this town; and therefore he, entering again, was desired to purge himself by an oath, whilk he refused to do, and departed; the session therefore ordained him to be warned, *de novo*, that either he purge himself by an oath, or then to be holden *pro confesso*.—Compears Walter Anderson, relapse in fornication, and confesses his second fault of for-

nication with Janet Logan. The session finds he has been a very obstinate man, and disobedient to their ordinance this hail year bypast, and therefore appoints him to be committed to ward, that he may be humbled.—Thomas Watson, suspected of incestuous adultery committed with Bessy Guthry, being sundry and divers times dealt with by the session to glorify God by a simple confession, plainly and constantly denied that ever he had carnal dealings with the said Bessy ; and therefore ordains him the next Sabbath to present himself in the midst of the kirk after preaching afore noon, and purge himself by an solemn oath in presence of the congregation.”

FLYTING AND SLANDER.

April 25, 1586. — “ Forasmeikle as John Macwalter and Alison Bruce, his spouse, have been sundry and divers times called before the Assembly for troubling their neighbours, and especially for backbiting and slandering of Robert Dun and his wife, and of Malcolm Fergusson and his wife, and presently are convicted of the crimes laid to their charge by Robert Dun and Malcolm Fergusson, therefore it is ordained, first, that the said John Macwalter and his wife be put in ward until the time repentance be found in them for their slanderous life ; secondly, they shall come to the place where they made the offence, and there on their knees crave pardon of the offence committed at the persons whom they have offended ; thirdly, they shall pay an sufficient penalty to the poor according to the act made against flyters ; lastly, if ever they be found in word or deed hereafter to offend any neighbour, the bare accusation shall be a sufficient plea of conviction, that so the act made against flyters be extended against them, and finally to be banished the town for ever.”

November 7, 1587.—Whilk day the minister and elders of the burgh of Perth for the time, being convened within the revestry of the same, understanding that they have been sundry and divers times troubled with flyters and slanderers of their neighbours, and for order taken with them in times coming, ordain that all persons whatsoever within this burgh, or parochin of the same, as well to burgh as to land, being called, accused, and convicted in the offences of flyting or slander, shall be apprehended by the bailies whatsoever for the time, and on the Saturday immediately following the day and date of the decreet against the slanderer and flyter being apprehended, they shall be put upon the pillory, from ten to twelve o'clock forenoon, with the branks in their mouth, and not to come down till the foresaid

two hours be justly expired, and thereafter to pay ane half merk to the poor, and also to find caution to compear in the seat and stool of repentance, there to confess their offence publicly, in presence of the whole congregation, convened in time of preaching, and to come thereafter from the seat and stool of repentance, and humbly on their knees crave the person or persons offended pardon and forgiveness."

SABBATH BREAKING.

Feb. 26, 1587.—"Compeared William Kinloch, porter of the brig of Tay port, being accused of breaking the Sabbath day, especially for the inletting of loads on the Sabbath day, and time of preaching, he confesses with his own mouth that divers times he has broken the Sabbath by inletting of loads of fish and burdens at the said port, contrary to the acts made thereanent: therefore the minister and elders find him culpable, and worthy herefor to be deposed from the said office for ever. And seeing they are not willing to reject him utterly, but hope he shall keep better order in times coming, they suspend their rigour at this time, in hopes of his amendment, and ordain him in times coming neither to receive any loads on the Sabbath day, nor procure license for any at the bailies' hands for the inletting of them; and in case he be found to contravene the same in times coming, he shall be deposed from his office for ever."

April 5, 1588.—"Whilk day the whole fleshers being called before us, and accused for breaking the Sabbath, and for being profaners of the Lord's table, swearers and banners, and common bargainers, all confessed themselves guilty thereof. And because the minister and elders perceived them who were obstinate, especially Andrew Johnston, and all the rest of the craft to entrust themselves to the will of the minister and elders, therefore they suspended the judgment and rigour of the sentence which their faults required at this time, in hope of amendment. And in case any of them be found to contravene in times coming, the acts of parliament anent such offences with all rigour shall be extended upon them, and that as oft soever as they be found culpable of the same."

April 10, 1692.—"Whilk day the minister and elders, understanding that Thomas Taylor, flesher, is an contemptuous breaker of the Sabbath, by breaking of flesh on the same day, ordain him to make his public repentance on Sunday next. May 10.—Forasmeikle as Thomas Taylor has been divers and sundry times charged to give obedience to the voice of the kirk, and has yet continued obstinate,

therefore the minister and elders ordain the first admonition afore excommunication to be on Sunday next; and in case he come to give obedience on the said day, the minister not to proceed without advice of the elders to be had and taken on Monday next. June 26—Forasmeikle as Thomas Taylor is not only found to have given great disobedience to the voice of the kirk, and for the same is presently under the admonitions afore excommunication, but also has in the meantime vomit hitherto not only contempt of our ordinance, but also ungracious and ungodly speeches, for suppressing of the which it is ordained that the bailies put the said Thomas Taylor in ward until farther order be taken, both for the glory of God and good example to others in time coming, so that vice may be suppressed. Nov. 15—Whilk day, after sundry warnings and admonitions made from the pulpit, comparied Thomas Taylor, fleaher, and humbly with confession of his offences in breaking of the Sabbath, and his disobedience to the voice of the kirk, subraits himself to the will and discipline of the kirk; therefore the minister and elders ordain him to make his public repentance for away taking of the slander arisen on his foresaid offences, and ordain him to compar on Sunday next, and in time of preaching to stand bareheaded before my Lady Gowrie's desk, and, when he shall be required publicly to give an confession of his said offences, to do the same; and for performance of the premises, Patrick Oliphant becomes cautioner under the penalty of forty pound Scots."

The most extraordinary, but at the same time most melancholy details in the history of our country in the middle ages, is the universal belief of witchcraft, and the means employed to hunt down the poor creatures who were suspected of being in league with the "Prince of Darkness."

In the reign of James VI. hundreds of helpless creatures were destroyed under form of law. It was not, however, merely before the Court of Justiciary that the greater majority of them were tried and condemned, but by Lords of Regalities, Baron Bailies, and by the Royal Commissioners. It is not our purpose to enter at large into this subject; all that we intend is to contribute some additional materials, hitherto little known to the history of witchcraft—a history, it must be confessed, affording a lamentable exhibition of the human mind at its lowest ebb of degradation.

The kirk session of Perth had had at various times before them suspected or reputed witches. On 20th December 1580, the session or-

dains one to be banished the town ; and another, who resided in the Meal Vennel, is at a meeting on 12th February 1581, ordained " to be warned against that day eight days ;" and we find from " Mercer's Chronicle," that on 9th September 1598, three witches were burnt in the South Inch between the Butts, their names were Janet Robertson, Marion M'Ach, and Betsy Ireland.

The more remarkable of these trials, and which are very fully detailed in the kirk session records, are those of Margaret Hormsleuch, Isobell Haldane, and Janet Trall. They seem to have been weak and inoffensive women, who, when the medical art was little known, endeavoured to eke out a livelihood by curing diseases ; and at the same-time, so as to increase their reputation, rather wished it to be understood by their ignorant and superstitious employers, than assumed by themselves, that they had a connection with the spiritual world.

It is on the 24th April, 1623, that we first find the kirk session engaged with the case of Margaret Hormsleuch. The record bears that " Margaret Hormsleuch, suspected of sorcery, having been warned to compear before the session, compeared not, she is therefore ordered to be warded." On the 5th May they again met, when there were present Mr John Macolm and Mr John Robertson, ministers, and several elders. " Compeared Margaret Hormsleuch, she being asked if Robert Christie's daughter, at the Mill of Huntingtower, came to her with meal and beef, to seek help to her cow—she denied it. Being asked if she heard certain years since that the cow of Patrick Paton's wife had her milk taken from her by sorcery—she denied it. Being asked if a poor woman that lodged with her certain days sought health to her sick bairn for God's cause—she confessed that she answered, ' let them give her health that took it from her bairn.' " She was committed to ward in the tower till she be tried anent sorcery, of which she is holden to be greatly suspected. 12th May—Present the ministers and a number of elders, when it is agreed upon that a post be directed to the Lord Chancellor, with the clerk's letter, to purchase a commission for holding an inquest and assize upon Margaret Hormsleuch, indicted for witchcraft.

What is called the dittay or indictment and the accusations, are given at great length ; but we deem it unnecessary to insert them, as the following depositions of the several witnesses bring out the charges brought against her :—

" Compeared Margaret Hormsleuch, and being asked whether she had any skill of healing sick folks—denied that she had any such

skill. Being demanded if she cured John Hay, in Logiealmond, whom all the country knew to be witched—she answered that she cured him, but that it was the *ripples* he had, which she knew very well, his water being thick and white, like sythed sowens. The only cure she used was washing him with south running water, and smearing him with swine's seam. Isabella Miller deponed, that her brother, when passing by a hillock called 'Round Law,' was dung down, and wanted the power of his legs and arms. He was carried home, and after all the physicians had given him over, Margaret Hormsleuch cured him by a bath of 'agrimonie,' and black sheep's grease. Margaret Kinloch deponed, that John Jackson, her son in-law, having killed a sow pertaining to Margaret Hormsleuch, was witched by her, both in his goods and person. The said Margaret Kinloch and her daughter were therefore constrained to crave, upon their knees, John Jackson's health from her—that is, as she said, from the devil. Hugh Pherskin, in Perth, deponed that the said Margaret Hormsleuch had by witchcraft done him great skaith in his goods; for on a morning she came to seek draff, when his new ale was working; upon her being refused she departed, mumbling some words, unheard by him, and immediately the brewing fell to the ground, and so it happened to five brewings after that. At another time he was passing by the play-field, when he met the said Margaret Hormsleuch, mumbling some words to herself, and then he immediately contracted a greivous and unnatural disease, which lasted twenty-two weeks. This he swore solemnly to be true. The said Margaret being asked if she gave 'fairy pennies'—that is, some pennies to cause men to thrive and become rich, she answered, she had given of them to some persons, but she could not remember to whom; neither could she say from whom she had gotten them."

"Depositions of Isobell Haldane, suspected of witchcraft, confessed by her the 15th May, 1623, as follows.

"Being convened before the Session of Perth, after prayers made to God to open her heart and loose her tongue to confess the truth:—Being asked 'If she had any skill of curing men, women, and bairns that were diseased?' she answered that she had none. Being enquired 'If she cured Andrew Duncan's bairn?' answered, that according to the direction of Janet Kaw, she went with Andrew Lockart down to the Turret Port, took water from thence, being down; brought it to Andrew Duncan's house; and there, upon her knees, in the name

of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, washed the bairn ! After that, took the water, with the bairn's shirt, accompanied by Alexander Lockart, and threw both in the burn ; but in the going, she spilt some, which she rues bitterly, because that if any had gone over it, they had gotten the ill. Being asked, 'If she had any conversation with the fairy-folk ?' answered, that ten years syne, lying on her bed, she was taken forth, whether by God or the devil she knows not ; was carried to a hill side : the hill opened, and she entered in. There she stayed three days, viz. frae Thursday to Sunday, at twelve hours. She met a man with a grey beard, who brought her forth again.

"That same day John Roch deponed, that about that same time, he being in James Chrystie the wright's buith, causing the wright to make a cradle to him, because his wife was near the down-lying ; the said Isobell Haldane came by, desired him not to be so hasty, for he needed nocht ; his wife should not be lichter till that time five weeks, and then the bairn should never lie in the cradle, but be born, baptized, and never suck, but die and be taken away. And as the said Isobell spoke so it came to pass, in every point.

"The said Isobell being demanded 'How she knew that ?' answered that the man with the grey beard told her. The said John Roch deponed, that Margaret Buchannan, spouse to David Rind, being in health, at her ordinary work, the said Isobell Haldane came to her, and desired her to prepare for death ; for before Fasting's even, which was within a few days, she should be taken away. And as she said, so it was : before that term the woman died. Being asked, 'How she knew the term of her life ?' the said Isobell answered, she had asked at the same man with the grey beard, and he had told her.

"The 16th day of May, 1623, Patrick Ruthven, skinner in Perth, compeared and declared, that he being bewitched by Margaret Horms-cleuch, Isobel Haldane came to see him ; she came into the bed and stretched herself above him, her head to his head, her hands over his, and so forth mumbling some words ; he knew not what they were.

"The said Isobell confessed the said cure, and deponed, that before the said Patrick was witched, she met him, and forbade him to go till she had gone with him.

"The 19th day of May, 1623, compeared Stephen Ray, in Muir-toun, and deponed, that three years syne, that Isobell Haldane having stolen some here forth of the Hall of Balhousie, he followed her, and brought her back again ; she clapped him on the shoulder, saying, 'Go thy way ! Thou shall not win for thyself a bannock o' bread for

a year and a day !' And as she threatened, so it came to pass. He dwined, heavily diseased.

"The said Isobell confesses the taking away of the bere, the disease of the man, and affirms that only she said, 'He that delivered me frae the fairies shall take amends on thee !' The same day she confessed she made three several cakes, every ane of them of nine pickles of meal, gotten frae nine women that were married maidens ; made a hole in the crown of every ane of them, and put ane bairn through it three times, 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' two women that put the said bairns thrice through backwards, using the same words. The said Isobel confessed that she went, silent, to the Well of Ruthven, and returned silent, bringing water from thence, to wash John Gow's bairn ; when she took the water from the well, she left a part of the bairn's sark at it, which she took with her for that effect ; and when she cam hame she washed the bairn therewith. In like manner she confessed she had done the like to John Powrie's bairn.

"The 27th day of May, 1628, the said Isobell confessed that she had given drinks to cure bairns ; amongst the rest, that David Moris's wife came to her, and thrice for God's sake asked help for her bairn, that was an sharg ; and she sent forth her son to gather fochsterrie leaves, whereof she directed the bairn's mother to make a drink. But the bairn's mother deponed, that the said Isobell Haldane, unrequired, came to her house, and saw the bairn ; said 'it was an sharg taken away ;' took on hand to cure it ; and to that effect gave the bairn a drink ; after the receiving thereof the bairn died."

The depositions of the witnesses against Janet Trall are much to the same purport as those against Margaret Hormscleugh and Isobell Haldane, and need not therefore be inserted. One circumstance, however, is worthy of notice, as showing the delusion under which such poor creatures laboured. At one of her examinations, after prayer had been made to God, that he might direct her to declare the truth as to those things that should be asked, she sat trembling in hands, head, and body ; being asked what moved her, she said the spirits were near her.

"Being asked where she learned her skill, she deponed as follows, to wit : When I was lying in child-bed lair, I was drawn forth from my bed to a dub near my house door in Dunning, and was there puddled and troubled. Being asked by whom this was done, she answered by the fairy folk, who appeared some of them red, some of them grey, riding upon horses. The principal of them that spake to me, was like a bonny white man, riding upon a grey horse. He desired

me to speak of God, and to do good to poor folks; and he showed me the means how I might do this, which was by washing, bathing, speaking words, putting sick persons through hasps of yarn, and the like."

George Robinson, post, was sent with the depositions of the witches, to purchase a commission to put them to an inquest. The clerk was ordained to direct a missive to Andrew Conqueror, commissioner to parliament from the town; and another to Charles Rollock, baillie, who were both at the time in Edinburgh; and another to Mr John Guthrie, minister there, that they all three might concur for obtaining the commission. The commission having been obtained, directed to the civil magistrates, to try Margaret Hormsleuch, Isabell Haldane, and Janet Trall, accused of witchcraft; they were put to an assize, and being condemned, suffered the ordinary punishment, by being strangled at the stake, and afterwards burned, on Friday, 18th day of July, 1623.*

The session pounced upon those also who had consulted with the supposed witches, and ordained several of them to stand in white sheets under the bell strings,† on the Sabbath forenoon, there to confess their offence, to declare repentance for the same, and fined them in twenty merks to the poor.

By most of our readers, we dare say, it would be deemed a great omission in the History of Perth, if we were to take no notice of the Plague with which it was so often and severely visited in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially as its being in Perth gives considerable insight into the manners of the citizens.

It has already been stated, that Scotland was visited with the plague most severely in 1432. In the same century it again appeared several times, but as no documents relating to Perth are extant earlier than 1500, we can give no particulars concerning its ravages.

From the Town Council records we find, that it made its appearance in Scotland about 1534. According to the writer of Fleming's Chronicle, it was in Perth in 1537; his reference to it is as follows,

* The usual place for the incremation of witches is said to have been a hollow in the North Inch.

† The bell ropes to this day can be let down by perforations in the arched roof of the middle church. In fact, the morning bell, and that at eight o'clock evening, as well as the bell at ten o'clock, are rung from the spot where transgressors did penance.

" September 1537, Malloch's Pest* was in Perth—John Donying then was Provost." In the town records is engrossed a proclamation of James V. addressed to the " provost, bailies, council, communitie and deacons of crafts of the burgh of Perth, greeting, forsamikle, as we are surlie informed of your great diligence and the trouble and labours done by you, by day and nicht, for stanching and expelling the *pest*, now lately risen within our said burgh, through auld corruption and unclean gear, in often times bygane; and that ye have made divers statutes and acts for ruling and punishing of them that disobey the same; and also that there is divers persons that refuses to let their houses and gear be cleaned, notwithstanding that the *pest* is known to be therein, and disobey our acts and statutes made for the weil of our burgh, in high contempt of our authority, and great skaith to follow thereupon gif sae be."

We find the plague in Perth in 1584. " On 24th September 1584," says the writer of the chronicle above quoted, " the pest was in Perth, and continued till August, 1585, wherein, by the pleasure of God, departed this life 1427 persons, young and old." Another account says, that it made its appearance on the 22d September, and was brought by some merchants from foreign parts. The disease, it is said manifested itself by " boils and blotches," which remained on the bodies of such persons as recovered, for a considerable time. Little is known of the mode of cure then practised for the plague. As it was, however, considered to be of a contagious nature, "*huts* or *lodges*," as they were called, were erected in the Town's Muir, to which most of the diseased persons were removed. All labour was suspended in the town, so that many of the inhabitants, who formerly were in comfortable circumstances, were reduced to great poverty. Besides all communication was cut off between the town and surrounding country.

Under these distressing circumstances the citizens of Perth received considerable assistance from various parts of the kingdom. The county gentlemen are honourably mentioned as coming forward in this emergency. The town of Stirling sent large quantities of butter, which the elders sold to a merchant for " twenty-eight pounds, current money of the realm, to be bestowed upon the poor," and the merchant obliged himself to retail it in pounds and half pounds to all who could afford to buy it, but none were allowed to purchase more than a

* The reason why it was called " Malloch's Pest" seems to be, that a person of that name had introduced it into the town.

pound weight. Coals were also sent from Fife. The city of Edinburgh sent a donation of 300 merks; and the Earl of Atholl, who was married to a daughter of the first Earl of Gowrie, sent a number of highland sheep, which were sold at eight merks and ten pennies each, and the money given to the poor.

At this painful juncture the town was without a minister, Mr Patrick Galloway having fled to England for being concerned in the political intrigues of William Earl of Gowrie. His place, however, was soon supplied by Mr John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, who had been suspended in his own parish, for opposing Mr Robert Montgomery who had been appointed Archbishop of Glasgow. He appears to have been very useful along with the magistrates and elders in supplying the wants of the poor, and in imparting the consolations of religion to the diseased and bereaved. The town was divided by the session into four districts, and at a meeting held on the 23rd November. 1584, there was laid before them a list of 1175 persons, whom the magistrates and elders in visiting their respective districts, considered as requiring charity. It was agreed after mature deliberation, to distribute to them weekly, sixteen hundred loaves, of thirteen ounces each.

At an after meeting there was produced a separate list of a number of persons who were in straightened circumstances, but whose character and condition raised them above that of common beggars. Such are the evils incident to great political and religious convulsions, that in the latter list is to be found the name of Mr Alexander Cock curate of Perth, before the reformation, and who seems in his adversity, thankfully to have received one peck of meal. The poverty of the inhabitants of the town was really great at this time, for those who had contracted matrimonial engagements, and wishing to fulfil them, presented a humble petition to the kirk session, praying for liberty to go to some parish church in the country to be there married, because through want of trade and employment, they had not money to buy clothes proper for them to appear at their marriage, in the town where they were well known. The elders refused the application to be married in another church, but allowed the ceremony of marriage to be performed on *Thursday* instead of more publicly as usual on Sunday. At a subsequent meeting parties were prohibited from having at wedding dinners more than four persons, "as public festivities were indecent in time of the plague, and dangerous for any greater number of people to meet together."

The presence of the plague does not upon the whole appear to have had much check on the licentious manners of the people. Far be it from us, however, to say that at such a time there were not many sincere christians. We believe on the other hand, though the "immorality" of this period was great, religion had a commanding influence upon the conduct of many. There was, however, still plenty of work for the session. That body in the beginning of 1585, had before it a case of adultery, for which crime the parties suffered death, one of the very few cases on record in which such a punishment was awarded. The following are the leading particulars :—

A miller of the name of David Gray, a man of a rude temper and conduct, and apparently void of religious principles, and a woman of the name of Helen Watson, having often been exhorted by Mr Howieson and the elders, to abstain from their adulteries, were found irreclaimable, they were therefore given up into the hands of the magistrates, to be dealt with according to law.

The magistrates were slow in taking up the matter ; but being urged by the kirk session, who addressed to them the following petition, which, as it may now be reckoned a curiosity, we insert :—

" The supplication made by the elders of Perth to the rulers thereof—The session and eldership of the kirk of Perth unto the lords and bailies thereof, wishes grace, mercy, and peace, through Jesus Christ : Forasmuch as David Gray and Helen Watson have been apprehended divers times, and convicted by their own confessions, to be adulterers, it is clearly known to us, by their own confessions and otherways also, and now presently being in your lordships' custody for this act, wherefore we humbly beseech your lordships to put them to an assize, and do justice according to God's law, and the laws of the country, least that otherways, by your long winking at their wickedness, God in his justice plague both us and you, with the rest of this city, as miserable experience has begun to teach us. This instrument the haill elders have concluded, with one voice, to be subscribed by their clerk, the 4th January 1585."

The two miserable creatures were tried and condemned by the bailies, and executed on the 12th Jan. 1585, on a gibbet beneath the cross, opposite the door of the woman's mother.

The plague abated considerably towards the end of February 1585. The communion was dispensed soon after ; and, as Mr Scott expresses it, " the parish discipline was vigourously revived." On the 11th April 1585, Mr Howieson is authorised to excommunicate an adulter-

ous woman, who had cruelly suffered ten of her children to die of hunger in one of the "huts" for receiving such as were infected with the plague. The disease, however, broke out with greater virulence than ever, in the month of May, and spread to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, where it committed fearful ravages. To supply the pressing wants of the poor Mr Howieson and the other members of session hit on what might now be called a lenient expedient. It was resolved at a meeting held on 17th July 1585, "that as many *fornicators*, as have not hitherto satisfied the kirk for their offence, and are willing either to pay a particular sum of money, according to the act of parliament, than otherwise to satisfy the civil magistrate and the kirk, they shall now instantly deliver the sum, according to the act of parliament, for the relief of the poor who are in distress in the lodges, and likely otherways to die for want, or else be compelled by hunger to stray and go abroad, thereby spreading infection throughout this country."

In the month of August following, Perth was happily delivered from the plague, though it continued in the towns of St Andrews and Edinburgh for some time longer.

It made its appearance in Scotland again in 1604, when its effects were most devastating. Perth escaped at this time, and made considerable efforts to assist the citizens of St Andrews, who suffered most severely from it in 1605. The following excerpt from the kirk session records shews the extent of their liberality on this occasion:—"Perth, 21st Oct. 1605—The session ordains Andrew Arnot, bailie, and Robert Leitham, master of the hospital, to pass to St Andrews with the money collected last Sabbath, for the help of the poor there, presently lying under the heavy rod of the pestilence. The money is to be delivered in this manner, 300 merks to the ministers and magistrates of that city for their poor, and 100 merks to Mr Robt. Wilkie, rector of the college, for the help of the parish of St Leonards."

The citizens of Perth were again visited with this devastating scourge in 1608 and 9. The Chronicle already quoted says, "Perth, 29th August 1608—The Pest came to Perth, and continued there till May thereafter, wherein died 500 persons, young and old. The magistrates and town council acted with commendable prudence and sagacity when threatened with this pestilence, and after they were visited with it. At a meeting of council on 15th August, Duncan M'Queen, and others, are ordered to be warded till they pay 40 shillings of a fine for holding intercourse with a citizen of Dundee named Hunter.

Watches were set to prohibit the inhabitants from visiting infected places. No strangers were to be received without the consent of the bailie of the quarter. On the 28th August, orders are given to close up the house of James Ross and others, and the inmates to remain therein during the pleasure of the council, for having purchased goods from John Peebles in Dundee, who afterwards died of the pest. A proclamation was also issued concerning the plague, in which it is stated, that 'every neighbour restrain himself for ane certain tyme, till God of his mercie make better.' "

Persons were also appointed, designated *cleansers*, whose office appears to have been to see all filth removed from dwelling houses, as well as the bodies, of such as died of the plague, interred. At a meeting of council on the 19th September, it is enacted, that "the *foul cleansers* shall have no silver nor payment for burying the corpses, but the persons appointed to the respective quarters shall receive for every corpse that is buried in the burial place 12s., and for every house that is cleaned 12s. 4d." Hut and lodges were erected for the infected in the ground of St Leonards, the Lone of Balhousie, and Blackfriars' Croft. Such as died at these places were to be buried there. Whilst the burying-ground at St Leonards is also appropriated to those dying in the Watergate, beneath the Cross, and Southgate, "as use and wont was;" and that of the Blackfriars, for those on both sides of the High Street. The grave-maker receiving 6s. for each interment.*

The kirk session, as usual, were called to exercise discipline upon several persons who showed great levity after being cured of the disease. Huts had been erected in the Town's Muir, as well as in the places already mentioned. Three men and their wives who had been there, returned to the town cured of the plague, adjourned to a public house, and having got themselves rather hearty with liquor, sallied forth into the streets, [one of the men brandishing a sword, another with a woman's gown upon him and a mutch (cap) upon his head, and one of the women having upon her a man's coat, her hair hanging down in a dishevelled state, with a black hat upon her head. The session was greatly offended at the conduct of these persons; they were summoned before them, pronounced their conduct to be "scan-

* The assistant cleansers seem to have fallen out with the master cleanser, for at a subsequent meeting of the Town Council, they are ordered to be cleaned themselves, and thereafter put in ward for wrong done to him.

dalous," immediately warded them, and on the Sabbath following they appeared in church in sackcloth, or linen cloths, on the "cuttie stool," and were publicly rebuked as "dissolute and licentious persons."

The plague was in Scotland in 1624, but not in Perth. It broke out again, with great severity, in 1645. The magistrates of Perth, to prevent it from spreading, ordered a house in the Castle Gable to be burned, because a person from Edinburgh, infected with the disease, had lodged there. Notwithstanding all their precautions, it made its appearance in July 1646; and according to a contemporary account, 3000 of the inhabitants were carried off, which almost depopulated the town—whole streets being entirely foresaken. The church doors were closed from 22d August to 3d January 1647; and according to a memorandum inserted in the baptismal register of the time, "few children, three or four at most, were baptised."

It was in 1646, and not as Mr Cant states in 1666, that "Bessy Bell and Mary Gray," whose beauty and mutual friendship have been celebrated in song, were carried off by this merciless scourge. The latter of these interesting young ladies was the daughter of the Laird of Lynedoch. As to the former, it is not exactly ascertained who her relations were. By some she is said to have been the daughter of the Laird of Kinvaid, others tell us she was the daughter of a merchant in Perth, and had gone to Lynedoch to be out of the reach of the plague, then committing fearful ravages in her native city. Whose she was, the common tradition concerning them is as follows:—"That while Miss Bell was on a visit to Miss Gray, the plague broke out in 1646, in order to avoid which they built to themselves a bower, about three quarters of a mile west from Lynedoch house, in a very retired and romantic place, called Burn-braes, on the side of Brachieburn. Here they lived for some time; but the plague raging with great fury, they caught the infection, it is said, from a young gentleman, who was in love with them both, and here they died. They were buried in another part of Mr Gray's ground called the Dronach-haugh, at the foot of a brae of the same name, and near to the bank of the river Almond. The burial place lies about half a mile west from the present house of Lynedoch."

It may be added, that the late Lord Lynedoch became proprietor of the estate, and that his Lordship, some 12 or 14 years ago, enclosed with an iron railing the secluded and romantic spot where "Bessy Bell and Mary Gray" were interred.

This was the last time the plague was in Scotland.

Our notices of the trade, and commerce, manners, customs, &c., from the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century, must of necessity be very brief. Notwithstanding the civil war which took place shortly after the Reformation, between a part of the nobles and the clergy on one side, and the partizans of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, on the other, trade and commerce were increasing. The power of the feudal lords was visibly on the decay, the middle classes had risen in importance, and the great body of the people, instructed by the clergy in their civil as well as their religious duties, and acquiring from the institution of parish schools a larger share of education, were beginning to appreciate their own rights, and to feel their own strength. An English statesman who had been in Scotland in 1567, immediately after the murder of Darnley, revisited it in 1572, writing to England as to the remarkable difference he observed since his former visit, says, "Methinks I see the noblemen's great decay in this country, and the barons, burroughs, and such like, take more upon them; the ministers and religion increase, and the desire in them to prevent the practices of the papists; the number of able men for service very great, and well furnished both on horse and foot; their navy so augmented, as it is a thing almost incredible." This state of things did not continue long; for among the strife of contending factions, the attempt to impoverish the clergy, and above all, the struggle which the Presbyterian clergy had to maintain for their peculiar form of church government with the supporters of Episcopacy, retarded the prosperity of Scotland. Along with these causes it must not be forgotten that the narrow and selfish notions relative to commercial matters also contributed to keep Scotland one of the poorest countries in Europe. The parliaments held in the reign of James VI, passed laws which show that, as yet, our ancestors had not the least notion of the means to be adopted to advance the prosperity of their country. It was poor, and their attempts at legislation made it more so. The enactments relative to the exportation of commodities were very stringent. The takers of herring and white fish were to take them to the next burgh or town where they resided, that the inhabitants might be first served; and if abundance "occurred," they might be salted and exported by free burgesses. No coal was allowed to be carried out of the country; nor was wool to be exported, "whereby the poor may be holden in wark." Grain of no description was permitted to be taken out of the realm, either by land or sea. The Wardens of the Marches were instructed

to see that no "goods nor victual" was carried across the border ; and it was enacted, to make them more diligent in this matter, that "the equal half of the said goods and victual exported to England should appertain to the said warden." To prevent the exportation of grain by sea, the royal burghs are to elect what is call a "searcher," who is to act along with the king's searcher, to have equal power along with him in all respects, and receive, for behoof of the burgh, one half of the forfeited victual, the other half going to the king.

Need we wonder when we peruse such absurd enactments as those above noticed, that Scotland was so miserably poor during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nothing else could be expected but that Perth should be in the condition which its magistrates represent it in their petition to the privy council, praying to be relieved of the duties exacted on shipping entering the port and harbour of Dundee. They say "that their need was equally great of such exactions to support the common weil of their own burgh, mair requisite to be got and helpit nor the said port and haven of Dundee : especially the brig having twice fallen down and decayed, and lately being erected of timber is ready to fall, without present help ; the shore all utterly falling down ; their tolbooth likewise falling down ; their kirk and common walls ruinous, and at the point of decay ; in the betting and reparation of the which brig and other works their common gude is altogether spendit."

The burghs, however, hugged their chains, and were more rigorous in the exercise of their rights and privileges than even the parliament itself. No person could deal in merchandise, or trade to foreign parts, unless he were a guild brother. Nothing could be bought within the burgh by an unfreeman except at a "free market." The craftsmen were obliged to work only at such "sciences" as belonged to their incorporation. The price of every commodity was regulated. Whenever the town council thought that prices were exorbitant, that moment was the supposed avaricious dealer taught his duty to the community at large, and ordered, under severe penalties, to lower the price of the article he sold. So late as 1674 we find in the town council records that the price of candles was considered far too high, and many meetings of the council were held on the subject. The result of the deliberations of the magistrates and council was in arrogating to themselves the right to fix the price at which the fleshers were to sell their tallow to the candlemakers, and, on the other hand the price at which candles were to be sold to the community.

In such a state of society as that now described, where the simplest truths of political economy were unknown, and private enterprise so effectually checked, it was impossible that trade and commerce could extend, or that there could be possessed the blessings which follow in their train.

Such was the miserable state of Scotland, that in 1656, during the usurpation of Cromwell, the whole shipping of Scotland consisted of only 93 vessels, carrying 2724 tons, and 18 barks.

The whole customs, on exports and imports were	£ 5,847
The excise on imports and sale of goods	6,783
The excise on ale, spirits, and salt	36,414

£49,044

And, in different parts of the country, farms were offered by advertisement to good tenants without any rent.

In the reign of Charles II., notwithstanding the persecutions carried on against the presbyterians, the country was beginning to extend its commerce. Perth was not behind in its efforts, though unsuccessful, to improve and extend its trade. In the report of the state of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, drawn up in 1691, it is stated "that in 1679, such of the inhabitants as inclined to encourage trade, having caused build a new ship at Rotterdam, called the Eagle of Perth, and having bestowed upon her and her loading to the value of 20,000 lib., was all cast away, both ship and goods, at the mouth of Tay, in her first voyage homeward. In 1681, the inhabitants for the further encouragement of trade, having again caused build another new ship at Leith, called the Eagle of Perth, and after two or three voyages made therewith, the owners having load her to Holland, George Fergusson, the skipper, run away with her and her loading, and never again returned from Virginia, to the value of 10,000 lib."

The town must have been in a very impoverished state at this period; for the report also mentions of the "several lands and decayed houses within the burgh." Some idea of the state of the poor in Scotland may be formed from the following statement of the celebrated patriot, Andrew Fletcher, of Salton—"There are," says he, "at this time in Scotland 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country; and though the number of them may be, perhaps, double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of those vagabonds, who

have lived without any regard or subjection, either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature : fathers incestuously accompanying with their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover, or be informed, which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them ; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in mountains, where they feast and riot for many days ; and at country weddings, markets, and burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

When the Union took place between England and Scotland, the revenue arising from the latter country had increased to £160,000, and the number of ships belonging to it were 215, carrying 14,485 tons. Though slow in producing those beneficial effects which the promoters of the Union calculated upon, yet the resources of Scotland gradually developed themselves. The fisheries were regulated, the traffic in coal facilitated, and the linen manufacture was promoted. In this advancing prosperity, the city of Perth early participated. Perth, it may be noticed, was famous, towards the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, for a smuggling importation of wines, and through her merchants evading the payment of duties, they were enabled to sell cheaper wines, and of a more genuine quality, than could be obtained any where else in Scotland. Another mode of industry, by which the citizens gained considerably at this period, was by carrying their goods, as pedlars or chapmen, through those parts of the Highlands which were far distant from market towns. Many of these pedlars, after realising a sum of money, settled as merchants in the town ; and by their capital and enterprising spirit, laid the foundation of its prosperity during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Shortly after the rebellion of 1745-6, a considerable manufacture of linen was established in Perth, which was greatly promoted by the trustees appointed to receive the rents of the forfeited estates. The farther progress and present state of the trade of Perth will be noticed afterwards.

The manners of our ancestors during the period we are now delineating were greatly improved ; and though the artizans of the towns

and the peasantry lived chiefly on oatmeal, yet the higher and middle classes were not destitute of substantial comforts. Wines were generally drank; and the nobility and gentry, in public processions, funerals, &c., displayed a degree of splendour and pomp unknown in the present age.

Learning, during this period, undoubtedly retrograded. The Reformers seem to have been learned men. John Row, the first Protestant minister of Perth, was one of the most intellectual of the clergy: at his table, surrounded by his children and pupils, the conversation was carried on in French, and the chapter of the bible at family worship was read by the boys in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. From the death of Buchanan, however, who as a poet and an historian was unequalled in the age in which he lived, to the period of the Revolution, the intellect and mind of Scotland was wasted by intestine commotions and religious controversy. There was a total intellectual barrenness, that sadly contrasted with England during the same period, which was exalted and adorned by the dramatic genius of Shakespeare, the eloquence of Taylor and Barrow, the discoveries in science by Boyle and Newton, in philosophy by the masculine genius of Locke, and the poetry of the divine Milton and Dryden.

The games and amusements most common in the latter part of this period were horse-racing,* cock-fighting, golf and tennis playing, and foot-ball. Cards, dice, quoits, and pitch-and-toss, appear also to have been games in which the younger members and apprentices of the incorporated trades indulged.

As our space is limited it is but a very imperfect statement we can here give of the prices of provisions. Though nothing can elucidate more clearly the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, in the different periods of society, than the prices of provisions, yet great

* Horse racing appears to have existed in Perth from an early period. The place appropriated to it was the South Inch; the course was marked by six stakes. The first account which I find of a prize having been run for is in 1613; it was a silver bell, presented by Ninian Graham of Garvock, in name of John Graham of Bogside. In 1631, there were three prize silver bells, but they were declared to be unsuitable, and a cup was substituted in their place, which it appears weighed no more than six ounces. The race on that year was run on the day after Palm Sunday, and the prize was awarded to Thomas Tyrie of Drumkilbo; his horse was called Kildare. The Palm Sunday race in 1633 was for a prize of plate, value L.40. In 1637, the cup was won by Francis Story, servant to Lord Fenton. Till 1688 the race was called "the bell race." By authority of the magistrates it was thereafter called, "race for a cup and other prizes."—*New Statistical Account.*

difficulties lie in the way of exactly ascertaining them. These arise partly from not knowing the actual nominal rates of provisions, and partly from not knowing the difference in the quantity of bullion contained in the pound or shilling some hundred of years ago, and the present pound or shilling. The difficulties connected with this subject are also very much increased from the impossibility of determining with precision, how far the same quantity of gold or silver would go in ancient times as compared with the present.

According to the most learned antiquarian writers, money was not coined in Scotland till the reign of Alexander II. But as we had commercial intercourse first with the Romans, and afterwards with the English, there must have been as a matter of course a foreign coin in circulation. Accordingly, in the beginning of the eleventh century, we find prices of commodities mentioned in a denomination applicable only to money composed of the precious metals. Till the middle of the fourteenth century, the English and Scottish pounds were exactly of the same weight and purity, containing about three times the quantity of our present pound sterling, and thirty six times that of our pound Scots. Mr Hume, in his history of England, in treating of the period to which we have referred supposes the same quantity of bullion to have gone above thirty-three times farther than at present. We have already observed, that the pound then contained an equal quantity of bullion with three modern sterling, or thirty-six Scottish pounds; Therefore, according to Mr Hume, when we read of a pound, about seven hundred years ago, we should deem it equal in influence to one hundred sterling, or three thousand six hundred Scottish pounds. But Mr Whitaker estimates the same quantity of bullion at that period to have been only of twenty times greater value than it is now; or, in other words, that the pound was equivalent to sixty pounds sterling, or two thousand one hundred and sixty pounds Scots. Accordingly, in the very curious table of provisions with which he favours the public, in converting the prices into modern money, he multiplies each article sixty fold. But, in the following table, we prefer the manner of Ruddiman, in his very limited table of the rates of provisions in Scotland, by presenting the reader, in one column with the nominal sums which the articles truly cost, and in an opposite column, the sum to which a correspondent quantity of bullion, in modern Scottish money extends; leaving it to the judgment of the reader to estimate, with Mr Hume, that sum, or quantity of bullion, in the earliest period of our table, as equivalent to thirty-three times, or, with Mr Whitaker,

to twenty times the like quantity of bullion at present, and, in the subsequent periods, to proportionably less, according to his ideas of the increase of money, population, and industry.

Before, however, giving the following table, it is necessary to inform the reader what were the reasons which induced us to convert the old into modern Scottish money. Besides the incongruity that appeared in converting old Scottish into modern Sterling money, the prices of many articles are very minute; and, as the same sum contains a scale twelve times larger in farthings, pence, &c. in Scots than in Sterling, it was found much easier to mark the fractions in the species of money which contains the largest scale. Nor will this be attended with much trouble to the English reader; since, when he observes the price of any article in Scottish money, he may reflect that it is precisely the twelfth part of that sum in sterling; or, that *twelve* pounds Scots are *one* pound Sterling.

A TABLE of the Prices of Provisions in Scotland, in Ancient and Modern Money, from the year 1000, to the year 1600.

Year.	Ancient.			Modern.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1004 A heifer, - - -	0	2	6	4	10	0
1124 A sheep, - - -	0	1	4	2	8	0
Boll of wheat from 10d. or £1 10s. to	0	2	0	3	12	0
A heifer, - - -	0	3	0	5	8	0
A cow - - -	0	6	0	10	16	0
A gallon of wine, Scottish measure	0	0	2	0	6	0
“ of beer, - - -	0	0	0½	0	1	6
A pair of shoes, - - -	0	0	4	0	12	0
1283 A horse, - - -	1	0	0	36	0	0
1295 A hen, - - -	0	0	0½	0	1	6
1328 A hundred herrings, - -	0	1	6½	2	13	6½
1329 A horse, from 5s. or £8 11 5, to	0	13	4	22	17	1½
An ox, - - -	0	10	0	17	2	10½
A sheep, from 14d. or £2, to -	0	2	0	3	8	6½
A hog, - - -	0	6	8	11	8	6½
A porpoise, - - -	0	5	0	8	11	5
A swan, - - -	0	6	1	10	8	6½
A barrel of sturgeon, - -	3	10	0	120	0	0
A hundred salmon, - - -	3	9	0	118	5	8½
A stone of cheese, - - -	0	1	0	1	14	8½

Year.		Ancient.			Modern.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1329	A gallon of honey, - -	0	3	3	5	11	5
	A yard of woollen cloth. dyed, -	0	6	2½	10	12	10½
	A yard of linen cloth, - -	0	0	6½	0	19	3½
	A yard of tweel, - -	0	0	3½	0	10	0
	An ambassador's robe, - -	0	13	4	22	17	1½
	A robe for the king's chaplain,	1	0	0	34	5	8½
1424	A boll of wheat, - -	0	2	0	1	18	4½
	" of rye, barley or pease, -	0	1	4	1	5	7
	" of oats, - -	0	0	6	0	9	7
	An ox, - - - -	0	6	8	6	8	0
	A horse, - - - -	0	13	4	12	16	0
1489	A salted ox, - - - -	0	15	0	3	17	1½
	A hog, - - - -	0	8	4	2	2	10½
1495	Best wheat, per boll, - -	0	6	8	1	14	3½
	Second ditto, - - - -	0	6	0	1	10	10½
1512	The carcase of a grass-fed ox, -	0	18	0	4	12	6½
	A pair of muir-fowl, from 1s. or 5s. 1½d. to	0	2	0	0	10	3½
	A pair of chickens at Christmas,	0	1	0	0	5	1½
1512	A fed capon, - - - -	0	1	5	0	7	3½
	Onions per pound at Easter, -	0	0	3	0	1	3½
	A quart of milk, - - - -	0	0	4	0	1	8½
	Cheese, per stone, - - - -	0	4	6	1	3	1½

A TABLE of the Prices of Provisions from 1600 to 1796, calculated in Sterling money.

		s.	d.
1629	One pair of chickens, - - - -	0	4
	One dozen of fowls, - - - -	4	0
	One dozen of eggs, - - - -	0	1½
	Two salmon, - - - -	0	8
	One side of beef, - - - -	5	6
	Two carcases of mutton, - - - -	5	0
	One pound of candles, - - - -	0	5
	One boll of salt, - - - -	13	4
	One pound of butter, - - - -	0	5
1680	Three dozen of onions, - - - -	1	0
1680	One lamb, - - - -	1	6
	One salmon, - - - -	1	2

Year.					S.	D.
1660	Plumbdames, (i.e. prunes) per pound,	-	-	-	0	4
	One choppin of vinegar,	-	-	-	0	6
	One choppin of milk,	-	-	-	0	1
	One carcass of mutton,	-	-	-	5	0
1653	One dozen of eggs, -	-	-	-	0	2
	One dozen of haddocks,	-	-	-	0	6
	One peck of salt, -	-	-	-	0	10
	One pound of butter, -	-	-	-	0	4½
	Canary and Muscadell wines, per English quart,	-	-	-	1	6
	Rhenish wine, per ditto.	-	-	-	1	0
	Gascony and other French wines, per ditto.	-	-	-	0	7
1661	Mason's wages, per day,	-	-	-	1	4½
	To ditto for his morning's drink and four hours,	-	-	-	0	4
	Barrowmen's wages, -	-	-	-	0	6½
	A prisoner's allowance per day, payable by the exchequer,	-	-	-	0	4
1678	One pair of partridges,	-	-	-	0	8
	One hare, -	-	-	-	0	4½
	One pair of pigeons,	-	-	-	0	2
	One pair of chickens,	-	-	-	0	4
	One pair of ducks,	-	-	-	1	0
	One dozen of flounders,	-	-	-	0	4
	One carcass of veal,	-	-	-	6	8
	Eight dozen of onions, -	-	-	-	0	10½
1679	One turkey, -	-	-	-	3	4
	Oysters, per hundred,	-	-	-	0	10
	One pair of muirfowl,	-	-	-	2	0
	Apples, per dozen,	-	-	-	0	5½
	One dozen of lobsters	-	-	-	3	0
	One lamb, -	-	-	-	9	2
	Lemons, per dozen,	-	-	-	2	0
	Oranges, per dozen,	-	-	-	2	0
	One pound of mace,	-	-	-	13	4
	One pound of nutmegs,	-	-	-	6	0
1688	One pig, -	-	-	-	0	8
	One hog, -	-	-	-	10	8
	Pigeons, per dozen,	-	-	-	0	10
	One pair of hens,	-	-	-	0	10
1796	Chickens, each, -	-	-	-	0	6
	Hens, each, -	-	-	-	1	3

Year.		£	s.	d.
1796	Eggs, per dozen,	0	0	7
	Beef, per lb.	0	0	6
	Mutton,	0	0	5
	Veal and lamb,	0	0	6
	Geese,	0	3	0
	Turkeys,	0	5	0
	Ploughmen's wages, per year, with two pecks of meal weekly, and milk,	7	0	0
	Maid servants,	3	0	0
	Journeymen masons, per day,	0	1	6
	Journeymen carpenters or wrights,	0	1	8
	Day labourers,	0	1	2
	Tailors, with victuals,	0	0	10

CHAPTER VIII.

Progress and Present State of Perth.

THE city of Perth is situated in fifty-six degrees, twenty-three minutes, forty seconds of north latitude, and of longitude, three degrees, twenty-six minutes, twenty seconds west from Greenwich. It stands on the west bank of the Tay, thirty-two miles above its confluence with the German Ocean, and at the distance of forty-five miles north of Edinburgh, by the Edinburgh and Northern Railway; sixty-two miles and a half from Glasgow by the Scottish Central Railway: and twenty-one miles from Dundee. The town is situated in the centre of a spacious plain, raised a very few feet above the level of the river. On either side of the town are the South and North Inches; opposite to it is Law Tay, or the Hill of Kinnoull, which rises to a great height, its sides highly cultivated and studded with elegant villas. The adjacent ground to the west is of a gradual and easy ascent. To the south the ground rises more abruptly, and forms the hills of Moncreiff, Friarton, and Craigie. The town is quite open to the north, no rising ground intervening between Perth and the Grampian mountains, which are at a distance of ten or twelve miles.

Perth had at a very early period walls and fortifications, and on the outside of these was a fosse or ditch, supplied with water by an aqueduct from the river Almond. At the north-east corner of the town was a strong castle,* and at the west port † was a high tower or turret, to defend the bridge which spanned the moat in that quarter. It is not difficult to form an idea of the extent of the town when walled and fortified; for it so happens that the water of the aqueduct above-mentioned still winds its course to the Tay, around the base of the ancient city walls. It formed an oblong square; and the wall commencing at the river Tay, immediately below the county buildings, was carried up what is now called Canal Street, as far as the west side of Methven Street, thence it took a northerly direction to the top of Mill Street, and then ran eastward to the river Tay.

* The castle stood at the north end of the Skinnergate.

† At the junction of the High Street with Methven Street.

The fortifications of the town seem to have been allowed to go to utter ruin after it was taken possession of by Cromwell, in 1651; and we find from the town-council records that, in 1766, the gates or ports which were then standing were ordered to be taken down,—viz., the Spey port, which stood at the end of the Speygate, and those at the top of the South Street and High Street. The only remains of the city walls are near the bottom of Mill Street, and on the north side of the entry which communicates between George Street and Skinnergate. Till about 1770, the town consisted of two long streets parallel to one another, running directly from east to west, the one on the north called the High Street, and the other the South Street. Between those streets, and on both sides of them, are several narrow ones called vennels and gates, crossing at right angles, which join the streets, and served for a communication with what was then the back parts of the town. The Watergate and Speygate were then the principal parts of the town; and near to Gowrie House, on the north, were the houses of the nobility and gentry. The remains of some of them were to be seen in Cant's time, with their coats of arms on the front. On the ancient site of Gowrie House is erected the Jail and County Buildings, and the former of the streets above-mentioned is very much decayed. The Skinnergate, the Castle Gable, and the Horse Cross, were occupied by the principal merchants and shopkeepers, though now deserted as places of business. The houses in Perth had arched doorways and windows, but on the front wall there was erected a projection of wood work, about six feet in breadth. They were open on the ground floor and were called channels: here the articles for sale were displayed. A few of these houses with wooden fronts are still standing, but the channels are now filled up and converted into shops. The Skinnergate was built very much in this manner, and so close were the fronts of the houses brought together, that the inmates could easily shake hands across the street, or exchange dinners. Many of the old houses, too, were a foot or two below the level of the street, which gave the interior a very dark and gloomy appearance. Although all buildings were within the walls, the streets and lanes were not altogether built. A considerable part of the South Street was lined by garden walls, and the west side of the Meal Vennel being much in the same state. It may be added that few of the windows had glass in them, but were protected by a wooden grating.

About 1760, however, the town began to be extended. The east side of the Newrow was built by a company who were extensively

engaged in the linen manufacture. The landed proprietors in the vicinity began also to feu their properties for building, which led to houses of a more commodious description being erected than many of those within the royalty. It was at this period that the western suburbs were built, including Leonard Street, Pomarium, &c.

George Street was opened up in 1771, after the bridge was built. Charlotte Street was built about 1783, and the lands of Blackfours laid out, on which are erected Athole Place, the Crescent, and Rose Terrace.

About the beginning of the present century, the hospital grounds, between Canal Street and the South Inch, were laid out in a number of streets, crossing one another at right angles. These feus were slowly bought up at first, yet there are now erected on them a great many commodious and even elegant self-contained residences, King Street being mostly built with houses of that description. More recently the Glover Incorporation have feued out St Leonard Bank, and on which are several superb villas, which heighten greatly the picturesque effect of the beautiful scenery of the South Inch.

In 1802, an excambion was made with the proprietors of the gardens next to the South Inch, and the Glover Incorporation, by which the marches were lined off straight, and the ground on which Marshall Place is now built feued out in seven lots, for villas. This plan, however, was given up, and the present elegant line of buildings substituted in its place.

CHAPTER IX.

ALTHOUGH many of the monasteries and religious houses were notorious for the encouragement given to idleness, debauchery, and superstition, yet, candour obliges us to confess that their original purpose was to promote learning, afford an asylum to the poor and distressed, and foster piety and religious zeal. In Perth there was a great many of such institutions, and which appear to have been amply endowed.

THE DOMINICAN OR BLACK FRIARS' MONASTERY.

This the most ancient of the monasteries in Perth or its neighbourhood, was founded by Alexander II., king of Scotland, in 1231, to whom he granted the whole extensive garden grounds which was afterwards known by the name of the king's garden; and also the "gilted herbar," as well as a conduit of water from the mill lade of four inches in diameter. The building stood on the north side of the town, without the walls, on that portion of ground now occupied as gardens behind the houses of Athole place, and the works of the Perth New Gas Company. This district of the town is still called the Black Friars. It seems to have been a "stately and convenient fabric," and contained, besides the cloisters in which the friars resided, extensive and commodious apartments, in which the Scottish kings often lodged, previous to the murder of the most accomplished and talented of our sovereigns, James I.

Attached to the monastery, was a church dedicated to the Virgin and to St Dominic, the founder of the order. In this church conventions of the nobility and clergy were often held. Several distinguished persons were also interred in it; among these were Elizabeth Mure, queen of Robert II., Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, together with some of the Earls of Eroll, and members of their family. A little to the south of the church was a burial ground, called "the kirk-yard of the Black Friars." In 1589 it was wholly covered with grass; and the persons to whom the managers of the hospital had let it were enjoined to build "sufficient walls, which might prevent all beasts from entering: seeing

it was a place of burial, it should be well kept, and honourably maintained."

The Dominican or Black Friars had fifteen monasteries in Scotland, which was the eighteenth of the forty-five provinces into which the order was divided in the different kingdoms of Europe. The principal prior of the whole Dominican order usually resided in the monastery at Perth. It may be noticed also, that the Friars were denominated the predicant or preaching Friars of the Burgh of Perth. No vestige remains of either the monastery or the church, though a good deal of information may be gleaned from the charters still extant concerning the great cross, the altar, the lamp, and many shrines which the church contained.

THE CARMELITE OR WHITE FRIARS' MONASTERY.

The monastery of the White Friars, or Friars of the order of the blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, was situated on the lands of Tullielumb, about where the suburb of Dovecotland now stands. It was founded in the reign of Alexander III. ; and David II., in 1361, confirmed all the donations which his predecessors and others had granted to the Carmelite Friars within the kingdom of Scotland. In its charters are to be found many grants and donations of the burgesses of Perth and others, to the prior-provincial and convent of Tullielumb. Alexander Young, its last prior, conformed to the Reformation, and became minister of the parish of Tibbermuir, in which part of the lands* of the monastery were situated. He was alive in 1593, when John Young was minister of Methven; and he was allowed a pension of twenty pound per annum, by the kirk session of Perth, out of the sequestrated revenues of his once richly endowed monastery.

THE CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY, OR CHARTER HOUSE.

This monastery was erected sometime between 1426 and 1429, and was situated near to where King James VI.'s hospital now stands, and was the only one belonging to the Carthusian order in Scotland. The charter† of William, Prior of Great Chartreux, near Grenoble in Dauphiny, to James I., expressing his own and his convent's consent to its erection, is dated 19th August 1436, and the first donation upon

* These are now possessed by the Glover Incorporation of Perth, who are heritors of Tibbermuir parish.

† It is still preserved in the archives of the hospital, and is beautifully written.

HISTORY OF PERTH.

record given to it is of date April 6, 1429, consigning by writ a whole and entire tenement, with the pertinents lying within the Burgh of Perth, on the south side of the bridge of Tay. The letter of the prior of great Chartreux, after the usual salutation, grants liberty to his serene highness James I. to erect and construct one house of his order within the kingdom of Scotland, near to the Burgh of Perth, for the accommodation of thirteen monks, and their competent number of servants, who shall there serve God perpetually, for the remeid of the soul of his serene majesty, of the soul of the renowned lady his consort, and of the souls of their heirs. The designation of the monastery was "the prior and convent of the House of the Valley of Virtue of the Carthusian order, near the Burgh of Perth," and from documents yet extant it seems to have been amply endowed. It appears from some old records that the Carthusians had settled in Perth before the erection of the Charter House. The foundation of the monastery was considered an event of importance according to the following rhyming legend:—

"Annus millenus vicensis sicque novenus,
Quadringentenus Scotis fert numera plenus;
Semina florum, germina morum, mystia mella,
Cum tibi, Scotia, fit Carthusia sponsa novella."

James I., who was murdered in the convent of the Black Friars at Perth, was interred in the church of the Charterhouse, as were also his Queen, Jane, grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III.; and Margaret, Queen of James IV., and daughter of Henry VII. The doublet in which James I. was murdered was kept in the Charterhouse as a relic. It was preserved after the Reformation, and Gall relates that he had seen in it the holes through which the king was stabbed to the heart.

THE GREY FRIARS' MONASTERY, OR FRANCISCAN CONVENT.

It was founded in 1460, by Sir Laurence Oliphant of Aberdalgie, first Lord Oliphant. It stood on the south east quarter of the town, close to the river Tay; and in 1580 the grounds belonging to the convent were set apart as the common cemetery for the citizens and such as resided in the parish of Perth.

THE CHAPEL OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

This building was situated at the foot of the High Street. It is described as being in a decayed state as early as 1210, when it was

much injured by a great inundation of the Tay. It seems to have been rebuilt farther from the river, and a portion of it is known as the old prison; having been so appropriated after the Reformation. The priests who officiated in it had access down to the river by a stair, called our lady's steps, on the north side of the bridge. With the exception of St John's Church, this is the only remaining memorial of the numerous religious edifices which were in Perth before the Reformation. It has, within the last few years been fitted up as the Burgh Court Room.

ST LAWRENCE'S CHAPEL.

This chapel was founded in 1405, and was situated at the Castle Gable, on part of the ground belonging to the old castle. Robert III. made a donation of it to the Black Friars, because his mother, Elizabeth Mure, was interred in the church attached to their monastery, and which religious fraternity engaged to offer up prayers for the repose of the soul of his mother. As the friars considered it too expensive to keep the chapel in repair, they allowed it to fall into decay, and at last converted it into a dwelling house and disposed of it and the adjoining ground on perpetual or heritable leases. When it had fallen entirely into ruin, the magistrates took possession of the ground and removed the old materials of the chapel. The friars, however, complained to the regent Arran of this act of the magistrates, and the former, in a letter dated 2d May 1548, charged the latter "to indemnify the friars for the losses they had sustained, and to suffer them peaceably to dispose of the ground in any manner they pleased, for their own advantage." There are no documents extant as to whether the friars ever recovered possession of this ground.

THE CHAPEL OF ST ANN.

This chapel, which contained several private altars, was dedicated to the Mother of the Virgin, and was situated in what was formerly known as the School Vennel, but now called St Ann's Lane, and had an hospital for the entertainment of strangers and poor persons. Sir Walter Eviot, of the family of the Eviots of Balhousie, was chaplain for many years—he died in 1528, and was succeeded by Sir Patrick Young. Sir Walter left the sum of £3, 6s. 8d. for a weekly mass or obit to be said for the repose of his soul. The other obits mentioned as celebrated in St Ann's chapel were,—one of £2, founded in 1514, by John Mackison, burgess of Perth, for the repose of the souls of

James IV. and of John Blackwood, burgess of Perth, to be celebrated weekly every Tuesday, by the principal chaplain of the chapel if he should be able to sing well, and three of the chaplains who were choristers in St John's Church; the obit silver to be paid out of a tenement belonging to John Mackison in the Watergate. Oliphant's obit of £1, out of a tenement on the south side of the High Street, and supposed to have been founded by Thomas Oliphant, brother of Lawrence first Lord Oliphant, who died on the 11th of December 1474. The mass of the Cross, sung on Fridays, the sum of 10s., out of the "king's lodgings and yard" on the east side of the Speygate. John Armour's mass, to be sung on the Wednesdays and Fridays, for which the sum of £4 was to be paid annually. Patrick Wellis' obit, of £1, 6s. 8d. out of a land on the north side of the High Street.

THE CHAPEL OF ST JAMES.

St Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as St James the Apostle, had this chapel dedicated to them. It stood on the south side of St John's Church. The founder is unknown, but having fallen into decay, it was rebuilt about 1400 by the town council, but chiefly by the assistance of a William Whitson, a wealthy burgess of Perth.

THE CHAPEL OF ST PAUL.

This chapel was situated at the west end of the Newrow, north side, and was founded by John Spence of Glen-Douglas. It had an adjoining hospital for the entertainment of strangers and poor and infirm persons. According to Mr Scott, "the foundation charter was extant in the year 1650, when Henry Brown, notary in Perth, wrote a very distinct inventory of the writs belonging to James VI.'s hospital at Perth. This inventory was written by 'warrant and command of the commissioners appointed for visitation of the said hospital, given at Perth, March 20, 1650.' It contained a donation of 'sundry lands, and of sundry annual rents out of sundry lands.' In a miscellaneous book of rents, written about the year 1655 by one David Black, is the following article:—'Ane foundation charter made by the late John Spens of Glen-Douglas, burgess of Perth, of St Paul's Chapel above the Turret Bridge, containing L.20 of annual rent, whereof ten merks (L.6, 13s. 4d.) to the chaplain, and twenty merks to the poor. Patrons thereto the said John Spens and his heirs, with advice and deliberation of the aldermen and council of Perth, dated Yule 1434.'"

ST CATHARINE'S CHAPEL.

The chapel dedicated to this lady stood in the locality now known as the Claypots. It was founded on the 19th June 1523, by Sir John Tyrie, who was for some years provost of the collegiate church of Methven. At the west end of the building was an hospital "for the entertainment of poor travellers."

CHAPEL OF LORETTO.

Unlike similar chapels dedicated to our Lady of Loretto, the one at Perth was noways distinguished for miraculous influence. It was commonly called *Allariel*, and stood on the north side of the South Street, near the top of it. No particulars are known regarding its foundation.

THE ROOD CHAPEL, OR CHAPEL OF THE HOLY CROSS.

The only notice regarding this chapel is the following by Cant:—
"That it stood on the north side of the South Street port."

THE NUNNERY OF ST LEONARD THE ABBOTT.

To this chapel there was attached an hospital, they were situated a short distance south west from the town. When the Carthusian monastery was erected this nunnery was suppressed, the lands and rents of which were conferred on the Carthusians, who continued the chapel under their patronage. There are no documents relating to it extant earlier than 1411, when Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of George tenth Earl of Dunbar and March became prioress of the nunnery and governess of the hospital. This lady was betrothed, if not privately married, to the unfortunate David, Duke of Rothsay, eldest son of Robert III. Although her father paid to the duke a large part of her marriage portion, and the latter signed a bond under his seal to marry his betrothed, yet, notwithstanding his engagement, he married in 1400 Marjory, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglass. Lady Elizabeth, after his death, devoted herself to a single religious life.

THE NUNNERY OF ST MARY MAGDALENE.

This nunnery with its chapel, was situated about a mile south of the town. The time of its foundation is uncertain, and it shared the fate of St Leonard's nunnery, by having its lands and annual rents conferred on the Carthusian Monastery.

The several monasteries and chapels above described had altars in them, each dedicated to a particular saint, and before which services were performed for the dead. To each altar was attached a chaplain, but when it happened that it was dedicated to two or more saints, as, for want of sufficient room, was often the case, additional chaplains were required. Each chaplain had a yearly stipend of £10 Scots, besides other emoluments. The ecclesiastics, before the Reformation, also acted as public notaries.

The Present Ecclesiastical State of Perth.

The city of Perth was originally comprehended in one parish; and from 1560 till 1595 was supplied by one minister. In the latter mentioned year, Mr William Cowper, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, was admitted as second minister. Till 1716 there were two ministers with one parochial church. In 1715 the town council, on account of the increase of the population of the town, agreed to call a third clergyman, and assigned him an annual stipend of 1000 merks Scots; and the west part of St John's Church was fitted up as an additional place of worship. The person appointed to the new charge was Mr William Wilson, one of the founders of the Secession Church, who continued as one of the parish ministers till 1740, when he was deposed by the General Assembly from his office as a minister of the Church of Scotland.

From this period till 1771 there were only two ministers, who preached in the two churches alternately. In that year the choir, or east end of St John's Church was separated from the Middle Church, and converted into a place of worship, and an ordained assistant was provided for the two ministers. They had not, however, each a distinct congregation, but preached according to rotation in the three churches. In 1807, by a decret of erection and disjunction, the parish was *quoad sacra* divided into four separate parishes. The parsonage teinds consist of 300 bolls of victual, of which 160 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, 2½ lippies, are meal, and 139 bolls, 1 peck, 1½ lippies, barley or bear. The vicarage teinds amount to £7 8s. 10½d.

CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST.

It is rather surprising that the "Fair City," so rich in antiquarian associations should contain, with the exception already mentioned,

only this ancient structure as a memorial of her flourishing state in the olden time. This edifice is situated in the centre of the city. It is uncertain when, or by whom, it was founded. It is traditionally said, however, that the Picts, when they embraced christianity, dedicated the Church and Bridge of Perth to St John the Baptist. Whatever truth there may be in the above legend, an edifice undoubtedly existed previous to the tenth century, and the Church of St John at the commencement of the thirteenth century appears to have been a much more extensive and magnificent building than the present fabric. In 1226, St John's Church was granted to the monks of Dunfermline, who seem to have taken no great care of it, and endeavoured to throw the burden of keeping it in repair upon the town, and the town, in retaliation, threw it upon the monks. King Robert Bruce, in a charter, dated at Glasgow the fourth of July 1329, addressed to the abbot and convent of Scone, requesting them to grant liberty to allow hewed stones to be taken from the quarries of Kincarrachie and Balcormac, for the erection of the Church of Perth, and the Bridges of Perth and Earn. The church was put in a state of repair, and appears to have been fully in use, a few years afterwards, when the following remarkable incident as related by Fordun took place within it:—

“In September, 1336, Edward III. was standing before the high altar when his brother, John, Earl of Cornwall, a minor, who had just arrived in Perth, came to inform him, that having travelled through the west of Scotland, he had devastated it with fire and sword, though the inhabitants were living at peace with the king his brother, in particular that he had burnt the church and priory of Lesmahago, besides other churches with many persons in them, who had fled thither for refuge. Edward, on hearing the statement of his brother's cruel conduct, was most indignant, reproached him bitterly, and the prince replied with a haughty answer, which so provoked the king that he drew his dagger and gave him a stroke with it, which laid his younger brother dead at his feet. The English writers say, that this young prince died at Perth, in October, 1336, but take no notice of him having received his death in this way.”

St John's Church was in complete repair at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and it is not improbable that the choir or east end had been rebuilt. The former altars with the exception of the great altar of St John the Baptist were removed, but several new ones founded. In the foundation charters of the were altars in the parish

church of St John, no fewer than forty are mentioned as having been liberally endowed.* The church is in the form of a cross, and in the best style of gothic architecture. Its entire length outside the walls are two hundred and twelve feet, and seventy feet in breadth, the cross one hundred and eighty feet in length, and thirty feet in breadth. Four massive pillars support the square tower in the centre of the edifice, and from the bottom of the church to the top of the weather-cock is one hundred and ninety seven feet. The roof, or what the town council records designate the "pricket of the steeple,"† was repaired and newly covered with lead in 1767.

In the tower of St John's Church are several of the finest and largest bells in Scotland. The oldest bell in a "visitation about the steepell belles," made by the town council in March, 1652-3 is described as the "preaching bell," and contains the following inscription, "*Joannes Baptista vocor: ego vox clamantis in deserto, Mecklini Petrus Magheneus† me formavit: sic benedictus qui cuncta creavit, 1506.*" The bell which is designated in the "visitation" the common bell was an exceedingly fine toned one, and was tolled every night at ten o'clock, but unfortunately was broke in ringing it on some public rejoicing in 1804. It was re-cast in 1805, by Thomas Mears and Son, of London; on it is the following inscription which is evidently that of the original:— "*Joannes Baptista vocor; nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, anno Domini 1520; facto sum Mecklini per Georg. Maghen.: ego vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini.*" As this bell did not chime with the others, it was recently transferred to the steeple of St Pauls church; but as it is thought, that if rung, it would endanger the steeple—it is only tolled. The sound of this bell is far from being musical. Another is a small bell which was formerly at the depot, where the Penitentiary now is, at the top of the South Inch. This bell, which is broken, is called respectively the *Curfew Bell* and the *Little Skelloch§ Bell*, but this appears to be a mis-

* St Peter was the tutelar saint of the Incorporated Fleshers of Perth, who illuminated his altar with wax lights. For supporting this altar a tax, vulgarly called *Patie's Altarage Penny*, was levied on all slaughtered cattle, which was regularly exacted till 1760, when it was abolished by the town council as a "relic of Popery."—Cant.

† In the minute recording the act for mending the pricket of the steeple in 1673, and laying lead thereon and putting up a new "Orlage" (Clock) on the south side of the tower, it is stated also that "the same to be done by Mr James Taylor, provided he will do it at as easy a rate as Mr Boarbridge offers to do the same."

‡ Malines, by Peter Magan.

§ The word Skelloch means shrill.

take, and it evidently belonged to one of the old religious houses. It contains a coronet, the word *Ecce*, the figure of a cock crowing, the words *Agnus Dei*, between which is an obliterated figure, and no date. A bell which was made in 1769, and which was the Curfew or Evening Bell, while ringing for the afternoon service on Sunday the 11th September, 1836, was cracked. It was re-cast, however, and put up in the old place in 1837, little or no perceptible difference is in the sound from the former one. Another bell was put up in 1785, now used as the preaching bell, measuring between the lips three feet nine inches. It bears the inscription of William Mears and son, London. There is also a fine clock with a large bell on the north side of the tower, above the battlements, and a dial-plate on the south side. Annexed to the clock is a large round ball on the north side, representing the state of the moon, one half being gilded and the other half black; also, a set of chiming bells, which play melodiously at every half hour; they are in a beautiful balcony on the north side of the steeple with the bell of the clock.

Before the Reformation the Sacristy, afterwards the "Re-vestry," or Kirk-Session house, in which the records were preserved, was on the north side of St John's Church, and was subsequently a dismal looking adjunct projecting into the street, its windows strongly grated with iron bars, the seats and chests of oak, and the entrance by a small door within the edifice. This part of the structure is removed, and also Halkerstone's Tower—a beautiful specimen of groined architecture above the north porch, consisting of two repulsive cells, above each other; one for culprits and the other for unclaimed dead bodies. It may be added that the area of the church and the ground surrounding it were used as a cemetery for the town and parish.

After the reformation St John's church was legally granted to King James VI.'s hospital, and the ministers and kirk session superintended the fabric for many years; but it has long since become the property of the town council and the incorporated trades. The three different places of worship under the roof of St John's church are known respectively by the names of the East, West, and Middle Churches, to each of which there is a parish assigned by the deed of disjunction above mentioned.

THE EAST CHURCH.

This church occupies the choir, or east part of the edifice, and is, on the whole, tastefully fitted up. The east or altar window is of

stained glass, and reckoned the most beautiful in any presbyterian church in Scotland. In the north-east corner is built into the wall, a tomb-stone, embellished by two figures in outline, which is supposed to have marked out the burying-place of the family of the Earls of Gowrie.* This may be termed the first charge, as mostly all the landward part of the parish is assigned to it, and in it are allotted sittings to the different heritors; also seats for the lord provost and magistrates, and the procurators before the sheriff court; besides, it is attended by the most wealthy and respectable of the citizens connected with the established church. It may be noticed here that the town council, from a very early period, as its records testify, have shown a great anxiety to appoint ministers of known piety and high intellectual attainments to the vacant charges. Acting in their usual judicious manner, the first minister they appointed to the east church and parish was the Rev. Dr Andrew Thomson, afterwards distinguished as a leader of the evangelical party of the church of Scotland, and as an intrepid advocate for the abolition of slavery. He was settled in 1808, but was translated to Edinburgh in 1810, when he was succeeded in the same year by the Rev. Dr Esdaile, who retired on an annuity in 1844, and was succeeded in 1845 by the Rev. John Anderson, the present incumbent. The stipend of the minister of the east church consists of the one half of the parsonage tiends, the vicarage dues, amounting to £7 8s. 10½d. sterling, and £85 12s. 4d. sterling per annum, payable from the burgh funds.

THE WEST-CHURCH.

This place of worship occupies the western division of St John's. In various ancient documents it is designated sometimes the "new" and sometimes "the little kirk." When it had been separated from the other portions of the church nothing is known. It was so detached, however, in the end of the sixteenth century, and seems to have been appropriated for holding public meetings. In it the examination of the inhabitants relative to the Gowrie Conspiracy took place, in September 1600. In 1608, a general meeting of the inhabitants was held in it

* It is scarcely thirty years since this stone was placed in its present position. Prior to the alterations then made on the interior of the church, it lay in the area at the north-east end of the choir near to the door of the vestry. James, Earl of Gowrie, is particularly mentioned as having been buried in that spot, and during the first half of last century permission was several times given to some of the relations and descendants of the family to be buried there.

to raise funds to repair the bridge, and at a meeting of the town-council, on 23d February, 1618, orders were given "to red the house where the guns lay in the new kirk, to receive the corpse of Lady Montrose, to mend the lock and key, and to lay the guns on the north side of said kirk." On the 25th August of the same year there met in it the celebrated General Assembly which made the innovations on Presbyterianism, known by the name of "the Five Articles of Perth."

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the different incorporated trades held their meetings frequently in it. Tradition says that from the pulpit of it was preached the celebrated sermon, by Mr Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, which led to the first great secession from the Church of Scotland.

The interior is damp, gloomy, badly ventilated, and destitute of anything approaching to architectural elegance. The only thing novel within it is that there are two galleries attached to the east wall, the one above the other, the upper being vulgarly designated the "cock laft," and which contained the seat of the common executioner of the town. We must not forget to mention, however, that the groined ceiling of the north entrance porch is an exquisite piece of workmanship. The sittings of the church mostly belong to the guildry and the incorporated trades, the town only possessing those in the centre of the area, one half of the lower gallery, and the whole of the upper one.

The ministers of the West Church and Parish have been—

The Rev. Daniel M'Kenzie,	admitted,	1807	died	1813.
" Robert Keay,	"	1814	"	1819.
" S. G. Kennedy,	"	1820	"	1835.
" Andrew Gray,	"	1836	resigned	1843.
" Edward Robertson,	ordained	1843	"	1845.
" David Smith,	"	1846	being the present	

incumbent.

The stipend of the minister of the West Church is £200 sterling, per annum, payable from the burgh funds.

THE MIDDLE CHURCH.

This church occupies the centre of the building, and was the original parish church. It is worthy of being inspected on account of the four enormous pillars supporting the tower, whose area forms its chief part. The pulpit from which John Knox preached the memorable sermon against idolatry stood at the north-east pillar, and remained there till the erection of the partition between the east and middle

churches. On the south-west pillar was erected the "royal seat," in which both Charles I. and II., when visiting Perth heard sermon. The town possesses very few of the sittings in this church, the greater part being the property of the Guildry and the Incorporated Trades. It may be mentioned that attached to the north side of the Middle Church is the burying vault which belongs to the family of Mercer of Aldie. The entrance to this very ancient vault is from within the church, which extends a considerable way under the wall of the north aisle. Since the dis-junction of the parish of Perth, in 1807, the ministers of the church and parish have been—The Rev. Dr William Aird Thomson, admitted 1808, resigned 1843, and the Rev. John Murdoch, admitted 1843, the present incumbent.

The stipend of the minister of the Middle Church consists of the one half of the parsonage tiends, and £81 : 5 : 8 sterling per annum, drawn from the burgh funds.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

Owing to the increase in the population of the town at the beginning of the present century, it became necessary to erect this church. It is annexed to the fourth parish into which, by the deed of erection and disjunction, the town was divided. The building is in the castellated style, and forms an octagon, which is surmounted by a dome. The interior is commodious. To the church is attached a stone spire, of considerable altitude. They are both the sole property of the town. The ministers have been—the Rev. Dr. John Finlay, admitted 1807, died 1846, and the Rev. William Henry Gray, the present incumbent, ordained 1846. The stipend of the minister of St. Paul's Church is £200 sterling from the burgh funds.

THE GAELIC CHURCH.

This place of worship is situated on the south side of Canal Street, and was built about 1784, for such of the population as had little acquaintance with the English language. Though English is the vernacular tongue of the citizens of Perth, yet from its proximity to the Highlands, there is a continual immigration of Highlanders into Perth, many of whom, before locating there, never heard an English sermon preached. Hence the necessity for such having their religious devotions conducted in a language they can understand, and with which from their infancy they have been familiar. The church, however, has been closed since the disruption, in 1843, the then minister and con-

gregation having attached themselves to the Free Church. We have been unable to procure an accurate list of the appointments and other circumstances connected with the ministers of this chapel. The stipend of the minister was about £80 sterling per annum.

ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH.

This elegant and substantial building is situated on the west side of King Street, a little south of King James VI's hospital. It was built by subscription in 1834. The cost of erection was £2450. Considerable taste is displayed, as well in the interior arrangements as the style of architecture in which it is built. In fact, it may serve as a model for a place of worship. If we were to find fault we should say there is a clumsiness about the pulpit which is not in keeping with the rest of the church. The ministers have been—

Rev. George Miller,	ordained	1835,	resigned	1839.
" John Milne,	"	1840,	"	1843.
" John Struthers,	"	1843,	the present incumbent.	

Stipend of the minister of St Leonard's church £100 per annum.

List of the Parish Ministers of Perth prior to 1807.

The Rev. John Row,	admitted,	1560,	died,	1580.
" Patrick Galloway,	"	1580,	resigned,	1607.
" John Malcom,	ordained,	1591,	died,	1634.
" William Cowper,	admitted,	1595,	resigned,	1615.
" John Guthrie,	ordained,	1617,	resigned,	1621.
" John Robertson,	"	1622,	deposed,	1645.
" Joseph Laurie,	admitted,	1635,	died,	1640.
" Robert Laurie,	ordained,	1641,	resigned,	1644.
" George Halyburton,	admitted,	1644,	"	1664.
" Alexander Rollock,	"	1645,	died,	1652.
" Henry Auchinleck,	"	1662,	"	1677.
" Mungo Law,	ordained,	1655,	"	1671.
" William Lindsay,	admitted,	1668,	resigned,	1678.
" Alexander Ross,	ordained,	1672,	"	1683.
" Alexander Skeen,	"	1679,	"	1680.
" David Anderson,	admitted,	1680,	dep. at Revolution.	
" William Hay,	"	1684,	resigned,	1688.
" Adam Barclay,	"	1688,	dep. at Revolution.	
" Robert Anderson,	"	1691,	died,	1704.
" Thomas Black,	"	1698,	"	1739.

The Rev. George Blair,	admitted,	1705,	died,	1712.
" John Fleming,	"	1713,	"	1719.
" William Wilson,	ordained,	1716,	deposed,	1740,
" William Stewart,	admitted,	1721,	died,	1733.
" David Black,	ordained,	1737,	"	1771.
" Henry Lindsay,	admitted,	1741,	"	1745.
" John Warden,	"	1747,	resigned,	1775.
" John Bonnar,	"	1756,	died,	1761.
" James Scott,	"	1762,	resigned,	1806.
" James Moody,	"	1772,	"	1807.

THE SOUTH UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

After the Rev. William Wilson was extruded from the Middle Church it was not long before the numerous congregation which gathered around him were provided with a respectable place of worship. This building, which was the first erected in connection with the Secession Church, is situated on the south side of the High street, a little above the Meal Vennel. It has undergone several important alterations, especially in the area, since it was first built, and is one of the largest and most commodious churches in Perth.

The ministers have been—

The Rev. William Wilson,	-	-	died	1741.
" George Brown,	ordained	1742	resigned	1747.
" John Jarvie,	"	1751	"	1800.
" Jedidiah Aikman,	"	1783	"	1827.
" Dr John Newlands,	the present incumbent, ordained 1823.			

The ministers stipend of this church is £150.

THE NORTH UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The associate synod, in 1747, having separated into two bodies, afterwards known as the burghers and anti-burghers, led to the erection of this church by the latter party. Although the differences between these two parties have long since been settled, and they now form one religious communion, we trust we shall be pardoned if we allude for a moment to what occasioned their alienation. In the burghers' oath of the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, and Glasgow, was the following clause—"Here I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow with my heart the true *Protestant* religion, professed within this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof. I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing

the *Roman* religion, called papistry." The anti-burghers viewed the clause as sinful, and of course condemned the swearing of it; while the burgher party regarded it as lawful, and defended the taking of it. At the meetings of synod held in 1745 and 1746, the subject was discussed with great party spirit, but without coming to any decision. At the meeting of synod, in 1747, after a division on the subject, the anti-burghers withdrew, and having met in the house of Mr Gib, Bristo Street, Edinburgh, constituted themselves as the Associate Synod, and excommunicated the party opposed to them. Of course the other party claimed also to itself exclusively the constitution, the powers, and the name of the Associate Synod.* The anti-burgher party, though numbering strong in the town, the greater number of their adherents belonged to the surrounding country. A very large congregation was formed, which continued to increase, so that a new church had to be built in 1791. The present church is a large plain building, and will contain the largest congregation of any place of worship in Perth. It is now attended by a considerable number of our most respectable citizens. The ministers have been—

The Rev. George Brown,	died	1761.
" Alexander Troup,	admitted 1763, died	1773.
" Dr Alexander Pringle,	ordained 1777, died	1839.
" Richard Black,	" 1787, resigned	1820.
" Dr David Young,	" 1821, present incumbent	

In the above list, it will be observed that for a long period there were two ministers.

The stipend of the minister of the North United Presbyterian Church is £200 sterling per annum.

THE EAST UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

About 1784, a want of church accommodation was felt by many families in Perth. To supply this desideratum a Chapel of Ease was proposed, and a large sum subscribed for the erection of a church. The Presbytery of Parth, however, refused to sanction the erection of a new place of worship in connection with the Establishment. The promoters of the undertaking, disgusted with the reception they met with by the above-mentioned body, applied to, and were received with open arms, by the Relief Presbytery. A church was built in 1786, on the north side of the South Street, and immediately filled with a

* The oath which occasioned the separation is long since abolished.

large and respectable congregation. The ministers have been—
The Rev. David Sangster,

“ Forest Frew,

“ William Lindsay, ordained in 1836, is the present incumbent.

THE WEST UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

This congregation was formed about 1806, by a number of the members of the first Relief Church, South Street—now East United Presbyterian—who were dissatisfied with the minister elected by the majority of that congregation. Their history is rather a chequered one. The minister they first elected did not continue long among them, having accepted a call from a church in Newcastle. When he left Perth, arrears of stipend to a considerable amount were due to him. In a short time after, such of the members as had subscribed a bond for the payment of the stipend had actions raised against them—several were incarcerated in prison, and others had their goods and furniture sold by public auction. Such proceedings had the effect of thinning the members. Another minister was, however, soon called and settled. He is proprietor of the chapel in which they now worship. It is situated in Canal Crescent.

The Rev. James Bow, ordained 1815, is the present incumbent.

FREE MIDDLE CHURCH.

This place of worship is situated at the top of Black Friars Street, and was built immediately after the memorable disruption, in 1843. It is a plain, substantial and not inelegant structure of an oblong form. The interior is fitted up without much artistic display. There are no galleries in it, and contains upwards of eight hundred sittings. The cost of erection was about £800. The ministers have been—The Rev. Dr. W. A. Thomson, resigned, 1845, Thomas Dymock, admitted, 1845, is the present incumbent.

FREE WEST CHURCH.

By a singular coincidence, this church is built on the same spot—the Glovers' Yard—where Mr Wilson first preached, on being thrust out of the Middle Church. It is somewhat larger than the Free Middle Church, but the interior is fitted up much in the same manner. In fact, one description may serve for all the Free Churches in Perth, they being built very much on the same plan. It is situated in Mill Street, and contains upwards of one thousand sittings. The cost of erection was about £850.

The Rev. Andrew Gray, who resigned the old West Church at the disruption, is the present incumbent.

FREE ST LEONARD'S CHURCH.

This church is situated in Victoria Street, and built exactly in the same style as the others above-mentioned. It contains upwards of one thousand sittings. It may be added that the Free Churches now described are attended by a considerable number of the higher and middle classes, as well as a great proportion of the working classes. The Rev. John Milne is the present incumbent.

FREE GAELIC CHURCH.

This chapel is perhaps the most tasteful of any of the structures in connection with the Free Church in Perth, whether as regards the style of architecture in which it is built, or the manner in which the interior is fitted up. The pulpit, especially, has a remarkably chaste and light appearance. There are no galleries in it, and contains about six hundred sittings. The ministers have been—The Rev. Charles Stewart who resigned the old Gaelic Church at the disruption, in 1843, and now Free Church minister at Kirk Michael; the Rev. John Grant now at Ardoch.

The Rev. William Grant is the present incumbent.

FREE KINNOULL STREET CHURCH.

There has as yet been no church erected for this congregation. They meet in the Tailors' Hall, High Street. The Rev. J. Y. Walker, is the present incumbent.

MILL STREET CHAPEL.

The body to whom this church belongs are in connexion with the Congregational Union of Scotland. It has a handsome front in the Gothic style of architecture; but from the situation is not shown to much advantage. The interior is plain, but commodious. It was built in 1824. The cost of erection was about £1500. The congregation assembling in it was formed in 1798.

The following have been ministers—The Rev. Messrs James Garie, Robert Little, John Heymers, William Orme, James Robertson, Robert Machray, J. W. Massie, Kerr Johnstone, John Low, the present incumbent, ordained in 1847.

KINNOULL STREET CHURCH.

This is a plain structure and is situated on the west side of the above street. It was built by the original, or old light burghers, in 1821, the cost of erection being about £1000. The circumstances of the above congregation were for a long time rather peculiar. They were involved in a litigation for twenty years with the new light burghers regarding the possession of the church, now known as the South United Presbyterian, which the House of Lords ultimately decided to belong to the latter party. The dispute between the old and new light burghers had reference to the power of the civil magistrate in religious matters, and at the period when the subject was agitated in the synod and presbyteries, there were two ministers connected with the congregation in Perth. The elder one, Mr Jarvie, had long been minister, and stuck to the interpretation of the 23d chapter of the Confession of Faith, which hitherto had generally obtained among the body. Mr Aikman had adopted the new opinions, which were held by the majority of the ministers and the people. The majority of the synod adopted them, which brought matters to a crisis in such congregations where there were two ministers, and holding opposite opinions. Both of course had their supporters; both claimed a right to the church, and Mr Aikman's party, being the more energetic and numerous, came to the resolution to exclude the old light minister from the pulpit by physical force. Accordingly, on the next Sabbath morning, it being Mr Jarvie's turn to preach, a strong muster of the new light party took possession of the stair leading to the pulpit, determined to prevent his entrance. At the hour for commencing public worship, Mr Jarvie and his friends made their appearance and endeavoured to force their way to the pulpit; but their opponents maintained their hostile position. The utmost confusion prevailed, and after a severe struggle and "noise of tongues," the old man retired from the scene of his former labours to the Guild Hall, where he continued to preach every alternate Sabbath up to the time of his death, which took place shortly after, he having fallen down on the street in a fit of apoplexy whilst attending the funeral of a member of his congregation. Mr Jarvie was succeeded by one, who, along with a vigorous mind would not yield one inch of what he conceived belonged to him.

During the long time the suit was pending, the two parties had the use of the church every alternate Sunday. The law proceedings commenced in 1800, and were not finally decided till 1820.

It is said that this protracted litigation cost each of the parties upwards of £2000.

When the old light burghers were admitted into the Established Church, this place of worship was constituted one of the *quoad sacra* churches; but the minister and congregation having attached themselves to the Free Church they had it taken from them, it being legally the property of the Establishment. Since the Free Church congregation left, it has not been opened and is fast getting into a ruinous state.

The ministers have been—The Rev. William Taylor; John Turnbull; J. Y. Walker, who resigned at the disruption, in 1843.

CHURCH OF THE ORIGINAL SECEDERS.

This church is situated near the top of the north side of the South Street, and was built by the party of anti-burghers who declined to take part in the union which took place in 1820, between the burghers and anti-burghers. It was erected in 1821, the cost being about £1000, and is a plain but substantial building.

The ministers have been—The Rev. Richard Black, and the Rev. Thomas Manson, the present incumbent.

THE METHODIST CHAPEL.

This structure was built about 1816, and is situated in the South Street, on the south side. It was formerly much larger than it now is, one part of the chapel having been converted into a large hall, or wareroom. The ministers are various.

BAPTIST CHAPEL.

This church is rather handsome, and the interior finished in a superior style. It was built in 1832, the cost of erection being £700. It is situated on the north side of South Street, nearly opposite the Wesleyan Chapel. The ministers have been—Reverends James Murray, John M'Farlane, John Stalker, David Soutar, John Adams, William Fawcitt, Robert Thomson, and Robert H. Carson, who is the present minister.

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

Before the erection of this rather elegant chapel, in 1796, the Episcopalians had their place of worship in the old Parliament House; but it becoming unsafe, they built the present one in Prince's Street. The

non-juring party, who met in the wright's hall, Watergate, merged into the general body about this time. The chapel has an excellent organ. It is not, however, under the superintendence of the Scottish Episcopal Church, though efforts have at different times been made to get it connected with that body. The service is conducted according to the liturgy of the Church of England. We may mention, however, that a hall in Athole Street has been fitted up as a place of worship for the members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and that they intend building a cathedral on a very extensive scale.

The ministers have been—Rev. George Peebles; Henry Atwood Skeete; George Wood, the present incumbent.

ST JOHN'S, OR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL.

This chapel was built in 1833, and is situated in Melville Street. The cost of erection was about £1000. The style of the building is Gothic with little architectural ornament. The interior, however, is neatly fitted up. The subject of the altar piece is the "Death of the Virgin Mary," and seems to be well executed. Adjoining the chapel a house has been built by the congregation which is occupied by the priest. The pastoral duties are presently performed by the Rev. J. S. M'Corry, M.Ap.

THE GLASSITE CHURCH.

This is the oldest dissenting body in Perth. Their chapel is situated in the High Street, above the port, opposite to St Paul's Church. It has lately been built in a more modern style, and forms not an inelegant adjunct to its more lofty neighbour. The interior is neatly and comfortably fitted up.

CHAPTER X.

In the present chapter we intend noticing the Charitable Institutions in Perth and its neighbourhood. Of these the most important as well as the most ancient is

KING JAMES VI.'S HOSPITAL.

This hospital was founded by two royal charters of King James VI., the first dated St Andrews, 9th August 1569,* and the second at Edinburgh, 29th July 1587. These were both confirmed by an act of the Scottish Parliament, held on the same day on which the latter charter was granted. By those charters, the act now mentioned, and subsequent acts of parliament, the minister and elders were constituted governors of the hospital, and established as a civil corporation in the name and on behalf of "the puir memberis of Jesus Christ, now and in all times cuming dwellin and resident within the burgh of Perth," with power to hold "legal courts with their dues and amerciements, and to have tenantries and the service of free tenants" The masters of the hospital, who were to be annnally elected by the governors, were to produce their accounts to the said governors, and also, when required, to the Court of Exchequer.

The act of 1587 perpetually confirmed to the parties already mentioned "all and sindrie lands, tenements, houssis, biggings, kirkis, kirkyairds, chappellis, colleges, yairlis, orchardis, croftis, annual rentis, feu mailles, feu farmis, pensiones, milnes, milne-landis, and the sequelis, fischingis, fruietis, rentis, dewties, profitis, proventis, emolumentis, fernis, canis, services, almossis, dailsilver, obitis, aniversaries, and utheris quhatsumevir, quilkis onywayes pertemit, or are knawin to pertene, to the Friars, to the Black Freiris or Predicaturis, or to the Frieris, or Franciscanes, or to the White Friars, of the said burgh of Perth, togidder with the yairdis, monasterie, or place of the Charterhouse situate beside the samen burgh, and with all and sindrie other

* The charter of 1569 can scarcely be said to have emanated from James VI., as he was then only two years old, being born in 1567. The honour of granting the original charter is evidently due to the Regent Moray.

landis, housis, tenementis, annual rentis, pensionis, fructis, rentis, and dewties, lyand or uplifted within the said burgh of Perth, freedome, territorie, suburbis, or parochin of the samen, gevin, dotat, foundat, or usit to be payit to quhatsumevir chaplainries, altares, altaregis, monasteries, places, colleges kirkis, benefices, mortuaries, or anniver-saries, quhairever the samin are or ly within this realm."

The minister and kirk session, as managers of the hospital, immediately entered upon possession of the lands which belonged to the religious houses, "but the value of this splendid endowment was more apparent than real, and the hospital obtained a very limited share of the ancient ecclesiastical property of Perth." The greater part of it had been appropriated by communities and private individuals; and even afterwards, it was much diminished by alleged mismanagement, and the depreciation in value of the ancient money of Scotland.

The town council also claimed a right to a voice in the management of the affairs of the hospital, in which they succeeded in 1617, and retained possession, for many years, of property of considerable value belonging to it. One of the immunities granted by James VI. to the hospital was the sum of £69, 8s. 8d. sterling, of annual burgage farm, formerly paid to the exchequer, and to which the town was to reckon yearly for the money. The town council managed to conceal this grant; and it was only discovered accidentally by one of the parish ministers in 1754, when perusing "the charter of confirmation of the hail liberties and privileges of the Burgh of Perth." Legal proceedings, on the part of the hospital, were shortly after commenced against the town, who refused to pay, on the ground of prescription. The Court of Session, however, ordered the town to produce in all times coming the sum of £69 8s. 8d., and also to make count for thirty-nine years, with certain deductions, to the amount of £2377 12s. 8d. sterling. Against this decision of the Court of Session, an appeal was taken by the town to the House of Lords, which, on 25th July, 1758, gave judgment in favour of the hospital, for payment by the town of the sum already mentioned, and that they "cede the possession of the Black Friars, Charterhouse, and other lands, to the hospital masters; and the tenants to pay their rents in all time coming to the same."

It is not exactly ascertained what sort of house was at first provided for the poor. We learn, however, from the Kirk Session records, that in 1579 it was proposed to accommodate the inmates either in the Grey Friars or St Paul's Chapel. In 1596 a building was erected near to "Our Lay's Chapel, at the shore;" and this is the structure

which Cromwell's army pulled down, with other public buildings, to build the citadel on the South Inch. In 1676, the ministers of Perth gave in a report to the presbytery, in which it is stated, that "they had no hospital, it having been pulled down by the Englishers, and never yet rebuilt."

The present building stands near the site of the Carthusian Monastery. The cost of erection was defrayed partly from the hospital funds, and partly by liberal contributions from the citizens of Perth. The foundation stone was laid on 10th April, 1749, says a contemporary account, with great pomp and ceremony, by James Cree, Esq., then lord provost and grand master of the Scone and Perth Mason Lodge, attended by the brethren of that body. It is a large building, of the form of the Roman letter, H, the main building being fifty-nine feet in length, and twenty-two feet in breadth, and the east and west wings each seventy feet in length, and twenty-two feet in breadth, the whole building being ninety-four feet in length, seventy feet in breadth, and forty feet in height. In the middle of the building is a tower, seventy feet high, from the ground to the top of the weathercock, in which is a clock. It was finished in 1750, and shortly after opened for the reception of poor and decayed of both sexes belonging to the town, and the education and maintenance, till provided with trades, or able to go to service, of poor orphan children of both sexes. As many as one hundred persons were often maintained in it at one time. The women, girls, and boys—at least such as were able—were employed in spinning, and the men in weaving. The managers of the hospital, however, have for many years distributed the funds at their disposal in fixed weekly and monthly sums to poor persons living in their own houses, and rented the different apartments of the house to manufacturers and others. It may be noticed also, that the managers of the hospital have agreed to hand over the whole buildings, at a rent of about £125 per annum, to the Parochial Board, for a poors house, provided the arrangement is sanctioned by the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh.

In 1848 the income of the hospital was £650. In the archives of the hospital are preserved the chartulary of the Dominican Monastery, the prior's account-book, or receipts of rents from the 20th June, 1557, to the 6th May, 1559, and one hundred and sixty-two charters which belonged to it; twenty charters which belonged to the Carmelites or White Friars; ninety-two which belonged to the Carthusians; and two hundred and seven which belonged to the chapels and altars. The acts and canons enacted in the national Council of the Scottish

Church, which were deposited in the Dominican Monastery, where these councils often met, were destroyed or abstracted at the reformation.

LETHENDY MORTIFICATIONS.

In 1660, James Butter, Sheriff-clerk of Perthshire, bequeathed two fifth parts of the lands of Lethendy, in the parish of Scone, for the maintenance of four poor persons of the burgh of Perth, aged 60. Patrons, Provost, Bailies, and ministers. In 1686, Mr Jackson bequeathed one half of one fifth of the lands of Lethendy to support one poor relation, whom failing one of the name of Jackson, whom failing any other. In 1743 Mr Cairnie bequeathed two-fifths of the lands of Lethendy, to the poor of the burgh of Perth, reserving two-thirds of the free rent to two of his descendants nearest the age of 14 years, one half to be paid them annually for 10 years, and at the expiry of 10 years, the reserved half to be paid in full, but without interest; the one third annually to the poor. The Ministers and Elders, trustees of all those mortifications.

MURRAY'S ROYAL ASYLUM FOR LUNATICS.

It has long been the disgrace of Scotland that there are so few institutions where such of our fellow-creatures as are afflicted with insanity might be put under proper treatment, a chance afforded of a cure being effected, and those permanently affected with mental alienation could be properly lodged and cared for. The legislature has at various times had its attention directed to the laws relating to Lunatics, and the better management of lunatic asylums; but the influence of the proprietors and directors of private institutions have as yet prevented parliament from embodying into an enactment the measures recommended for their improvement. The bill introduced in last session of Parliament having been withdrawn on account of the opposition offered to it.

These remarks are not made in a hostile spirit to the institution of which we are now to give an account; for we believe there is no public or private asylum in Great Britain conducted in a more enlightened and liberal spirit, and where improvements suggested for its better management are more readily adopted than in Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics. It is to the benevolence of Mr James Murray, a native of the parish of Perth, that the community is indebted for the establishment of this splendid institution.

In the years 1813-14, Mr Murray* executed a deed of settlement by which he conveyed his whole property to David Beatson of Kirkpottie, and Robert Peddie City-clerk of Perth, both deceased, in trust for various purposes, and, in particular, he directed them to invest a considerable portion of his fortune in such heritable or personal securities as they might deem proper, to accumulate for a number of years; and thereafter "to lay out and employ the whole sum, principal and interest, in the purchase of ground for, and the building and erecting, in the City of Perth, or its neighbourhood, of an Asylum for the reception of lunatic persons, with suitable accommodations and salaries to persons proper to be employed in the management of such an institution; and that upon a scale suitable to the extent of the funds hereby appropriated for that purpose." And he gave power to his trustees "to appoint proper managers, and suitable officers and servants, for the conduct of the establishment, and to establish regulations for the proper management and government of the same." Messrs Beatson and Peddie undertook the management under the trust; and hav-

* It may not be uninteresting to give a short account of the events which put it in the power of that gentleman to bequeath the funds for its establishment:—Mr William Hope, the son of Mr Murray's mother, went to India in early life, and was for many years a merchant in Madras, where he realized a very large fortune. His health had suffered so severely from the climate, that, in the year 1808, it was recommended to him, by his physicians, to return to Europe,—an advice with which he complied the more readily, as he had then realised an ample fortune, and felt the expediency of conveying his children to England for their education. He accordingly determined to leave Madras early in the year 1809; and, on the 26th January of that year, he executed his will,—in which he provided handsomely for his wife and four daughters; nor was he unmindful of his mother and her two sons, to whom he bequeathed considerable legacies. The deed, however, contained no provision for so dreadful a calamity as afterwards happened; but, by a peculiar interposition of Providence, after Mr Hope was about to embark with his family, he hurriedly, as appears from his will, provided, that in the event of himself and his family perishing at sea, his fortune should go to his mother and her sons Messrs John and James Murray. Mr Hope had taken his passage to England in the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*, East Indiaman: and, with his wife and daughters, he embarked at Madras on the 30th January 1809. The fleet, consisting of sixteen Indiamen, sailed from Madras on that day for England. Nothing material occurred until one o'clock of the morning of the 14th March following; when a most violent hurricane came on, and lasted during that day. The storm continued, and on the night of the 15th, the wind blew with redoubled fury. On the morning of the 16th only seven ships of the fleet appeared,—most of them with the loss of masts, yards, and otherwise much damaged; but the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* and three others were not to be seen, and have never been heard of since.

ing invested the funds from time to time as was thought prudent, they in the year 1821, found that they had accumulated such a sum as warranted them in proceeding with the building.

Having selected a proper situation, plans were furnished by William Burn, Esq., architect. A spacious and elegant building was immediately commenced, and was completed towards the end of 1826, at an expense of L.20,000 sterling, including the price of grounds.

Mr Peddie having died in 1826, the whole management devolved on Mr Beatson, who consenting that the directors should be erected into a body corporate and politic, application for a charter from the crown to that effect was immediately made. A royal charter was accordingly obtained, and the institution incorporated under the name of "JAMES MURRAY'S ROYAL ASYLUM FOR LUNATICS." The charter is dated 5th March, 1827, and registered and sealed on the 13th April, of the same year. It contains the usual clauses for facilitating the management of such an institution, and for enabling the body corporate to hold heritable and personal property. It places the management in the hands of a Board of Directors, consisting of twenty-five persons. These directors consist of three classes. The first are named "Ex officio Directors," and consist of nine persons; the second are called "Life Directors," and consist of four persons, who continue in office for life; and the third class are called "Annual Directors," and consist of twelve persons, four of whom retire annually.

Shortly after the royal charter had passed the great seal, Mr Beatson, the trustee, called a general meeting of the directors, which was held on the 28th May, 1827. At this meeting the directors, to shew their sense of the value of the trust of which they had been appointed managers, unanimously resolved that their "gratitude due to the late Mr James Murray, the founder of the institution, for the benevolent and humane bequest which has erected and endowed this splendid building; as well as to the late Mr Peddie, and to Mr David Beatson, for the anxious attention, faithfulness, and strict integrity with which they had fulfilled the trust committed to them by Mr Murray, and carried his benevolent intentions into effect; and that, as a mark of respect and approbation, a tablet of marble should be placed on some conspicuous part of the building, with a suitable inscription, containing the names of the Founder, and of Messrs Beatson and Peddie, his trustees, with the date of founding, and such other expressions as might appear proper"

The tablet of marble has accordingly been placed in a conspicuous

situation in the entrance hall of the Asylum, and contains the following inscription :—

“THIS ASYLUM was endowed by JAMES MURRAY, a native of the Parish of Perth, in the year 1814: erected under the management and superintendence of DAVID BEATSON of Kirkpottie, and ROBERT PEDDIE, City Clerk of Perth, his Executors; and opened by Royal Charter, under the auspices of Mr BEATSON, the surviving executor, on the 28th May, 1827. This Tablet has been placed by the Directors, to record the gratitude due to the Founder, for his benevolent and humane bequest; and to his Executors, for the anxious attention, faithfulness, and strict integrity with which they have fulfilled the trust committed to them.—WILLIAM BURN, Architect.

In 1835 considerable additions were made to it, which greatly added to the extent of accommodation, and comfort of the patients.

On the 9th May, 1837, the roof and a great part of the interior of the building were consumed by fire. In little more than a year, however, it was again put in a complete state of repair, considerable improvements having been made upon the building. In particular, the roof, which before was one uninterrupted series, was subdivided by gable walls, and the upper flat, like those below, rendered fire-proof. The addition above-mentioned, and the alterations consequent on the fire, cost upwards of L.20,000. It may be added, that in 1836 the directors purchased the grounds surrounding the Asylum, belonging to the Earl of Kinnoull, extending to 36 imperial acres; the price paid being L.7000. We understand they have also recently purchased Pitcullen Bank, immediately contiguous to the Asylum grounds, which will enable them to make still further improvements.

The house is situated in a park of twelve acres, on the acclivity of Kinnoull Hill—is perfectly free from damp—and has a delightful view of the Grampian Mountains, the River Tay, and the surrounding country. The grounds are walled for the purposes of security, privacy, and restraint; and within these enclosures convalescent patients are allowed to amuse and exercise themselves. There are smaller yards attached to the building, for the use of patients whose state requires more careful surveillance. The house consists of three floors. In the centre are the apartments of the superintendent and matron, by which those of the males and females are separated from each other; and

the different individuals are classified, so as to prevent any unpleasant association. The building has a number of verandahs, by means of which patients can enjoy exercise in the open air during the greatest heat of summer or the most inclement weather of winter. The galleries are ninety-eight feet long and eleven wide. The dining and bed-rooms are large, commodious, and cheerful—sufficiently secure to prevent escape, and free from the gloomy appearance of confinement. Apartments for those in the higher classes of life are furnished in the most handsome style, affording every accommodation and convenience for themselves and their attendants. Rooms are appropriated for sick patients; and while the establishment possesses all the advantages of a public institution richly endowed, it at the same time is conducted on principles of the greatest privacy and comfort. The house is heated on a plan furnished by Mr Sylvester of London: and there are baths of every description, on the most approved principles, with a most plentiful supply of excellent water.

The following tables will enable the reader to form some idea of the working of Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Number of Patients remaining in the Asylum,			
14th June, 1847,	90	70	160
Number admitted from 14th June, 1847, to			
12th June, 1848,	23	26	49
Cured from 14th June, 1847, to 12th June 1848,	10	16	26
Removed by their friends,	4	5	9
Died,	5	5	10
Remaining 12th June, 1848,	94	70	164

By the regulations of the Asylum, the greatest attention is observed as to the treatment of patients, by inculcating on the keepers and servants every possible forbearance towards them, and every attention to their comfort, under pain of instant dismissal.

No keeper is permitted to strike or strive with any patient, except in self-defence. The possibility of such an occurrence must be guarded against by every precaution which prudence or experience can suggest. Nor dare a keeper subject any patient to confinement, to privation, or punishment of any kind, without express authority and specific instructions from the physician or superintendent.

No keeper is allowed at any time to deceive, terrify, or irritate, by

mockery, by mimicry, or by allusions to anything ludicrous in the present appearance or past conduct of any of the patients. They must not indulge or express vindictive feelings; but, considering the patients as utterly incapable to restrain themselves, must forgive all petulance or sarcasms, and treat with equal tenderness those who give the most and the least trouble. They must exercise the greatest vigilance; and while the patients consider themselves at perfect liberty, they are continually under the keeper's eye, in the day-room, galleries, and exercising ground.

Whatever peculiarity the keepers observe in any patient, they are bound to mention to the Physician or Superintendent; and every instance of neglect or concealment is held as a decisive proof of incapacity and unfaithfulness.

THE CITY AND COUNTY INFIRMARY.

The foundation-stone of this noble institution was laid with masonic honours, on the 9th August, 1836, by the Right Honourable Lord Kinnaird, worshipful Provincial Grandmaster for the eastern district of Perthshire. The building is from an elegant design furnished by W. M. M'Kenzie, Esq., the city architect, and is in the Grecian style of architecture. An Infirmary for a county so extensive and thickly populated as Perth was long felt as a great desideratum. A number of favourable concurring circumstances, however, in 1834, led to the speedy erection of the City and County Infirmary. Dr Patrick Brown, a citizen of Perth, left, at his death in 1833, a sum of £400 for the erection of surgical and fever wards. The first Marquis of Breadalbane having bequeathed a thousand pounds to the charities of Perth, the promoters of the Infirmary were successful in obtaining £600 towards its erection. Moreover, the furniture and bedding of the temporary hospital erected by the Board of Health, in 1832, when Perth was visited by the cholera, being no longer needed, an offer to dispose of them was made by the managers of the board. The first public meeting on the subject was held on 27th January, 1834, at which resolutions were unanimously agreed that an Infirmary should be erected. A committee was also appointed to collect information as to the expense and working of similar institutions in other parts of Great Britain. At another public meeting held on 10th November, 1834, a report from the above committee was cordially approved of, and a resolution agreed to recommending an immediate subscription, to be payable so soon as £5000 were raised. A committee was named also

to carry the resolution into effect. Some little time previous to the latter meeting, the present Marquis of Breadalbane subscribed the sum of £400 to aid in the erection of an Infirmary, and the town-council voted on behalf of the City the sum of £500 to the funds of the institution.

A similar committee was also named by the county to co-operate with the city; and such was the success attending the joint-committee in procuring funds, that by the 8th January, 1838, the amount of contributions and subscriptions, together with interest, was £6812 : 15 : 3½. The original cost of the ground and buildings was £6,088, and the furniture and moveables £1,323. By recent improvements additions have been made to all these items.

This Institution was opened for the reception of patients on the 1st October, 1838; and affords accommodation for 84 patients, with every other convenience for the officials connected with the institution. Whilst the Infirmary is extensively supported by annual subscriptions from the wealthy in the city and county, congregational collections, and donations from benevolent individuals, of vegetables, provisions, firewood, rags, &c; yet much more would require to be done, the subscriptions and interest of stock not being sufficient to meet the annual expenditure, which in the year ending 3d February, 1848, exceeded the income by £235 : 0 : 1d.

The Infirmary, since the date of its erection, has received a number of legacies, some of them of considerable amount. Those by Dr Patrick Brown and the late Marquis of Breadalbane have already been mentioned. The largest bequest, however, as yet given to the institution is the residue of the estate of the late Patrick Dow, Esq., of Balmyre. This gentleman, a native of Scotland, having acquired a competence in the English courts of law, returned to the land of his birth to spend the remainder of his days: he died in 1837 leaving a settlement wherein the Infirmary was named the reversionary legatee of his succession. Mr Dow's heritable estate was sold in 1843, when the directors of the Infirmary received the sum of £2,716 : 3 : 9. In 1841, £500 was received, free of duty, which had been bequeathed by Hugh Watt, Esq., banker, Huddersfield, a native of Perth. In 1843 Agnes Stewart, parish of Kinclaven, bequeathed in trust under the name of "The Mortification of David and Agnes Stewart, of Newbigging," subject to payment of certain annuities, and an advance by trustees to make up the sum lent on bond, for £1000. In 1843, Mrs Bruce, Chapelhill, heiress of the late Stewart Imrie, Esq. gave

out of Mr Imrie's funds the sum of £900. In 1844, John Pearson Esq., Barossa Place, bequeathed the sum of £500. In 1846 the Infirmary received the residue of the estate of the late Miss Margaret Jaffray, Athole Street, Perth, amounting to £1,369 17s. In 1847, Miss Stirling, Bertha Cottage, bequeathed the sum of £500, less legacy duty; and Robert Low, Esq., of Fordell, also the sum of £500, less legacy duty.

There are a number of smaller legacies by citizens of Perth and others, that might be included in the foregoing list, but our limited space precludes their insertion. But to none has the County and City Infirmary been more indebted than to Hugh Barclay, Esq., Sheriff-substitute of Perthshire. To his spirited exertions, in behalf of this institution, is greatly to be attributed its present prosperity and efficiency. Mr Barclay formed one of the committee first appointed to collect information; and by his vigilance and zeal, in corresponding with similar institutions, an amount of statistical knowledge was accumulated that enabled the original promoters of the undertaking to proceed in the erection of the Infirmary with promptitude and energy. He prepared also its constitution. From his situation as Sheriff-substitute, he is a director *ex-offici*, and still devotes much of his valuable time to the promotion of its interests. At the 31st January, 1848, the vested stock of the County and City Infirmary, exclusive of interest, besides ground, buildings thereon, and house furnishings, amounted to £5,281 : 11 : 6, and the debt upon the institution being only £200.

In the house there is a resident surgeon and a matron. There are also two visiting surgeons, whose duty it is to attend the Infirmary at a certain hour every day, to prescribe for the patients, and perform surgical operations. Besides the above there are two district surgeons who have under their charge the outpatients of the Infirmary. Attached, also, to the institution, is a dispensary, from which the poor may receive advice and medicine gratis.

By the Constitution those qualified to elect and be elected, as well as to recommend patients for admission to the Infirmary, are, 1st, contributors of £10 and upwards at one time,—2d, Contributors of £5 at one time, and subscribing 10s. annually,—3d, Subscribers of £1 annually,—4th, Clergymen or Ministers of any congregation within the County, and the Preses or recognised head of any Incorporation or Society who have contributed £20 at one time, or give an annual subscription of £3.

In this work it is impossible to give an extended view of the tran-

sactions of the Infirmary since its opening in 1838. We must content ourselves with the following analysis of the medical reports and statistical table, read at the General Meeting held 3d February, 1848, as shewing the present extent of its operations :—"The total number of patients admitted to the house last year was 598, of whom 272 were fever patients, being an increase of 109 on the total number of the former year, and an increase of 144 fever patients. The results of the out-door lists bear almost an equal preponderance over the former year, the total number of out-door patients being 522, which was an increase of 122. Of the out-door patients 77 were treated for fever, whereas the number of fever patients in this class in 1846 were only 19. The total number of patients receiving the benefits of this institution during last year was 1403, being an increase of 134 on the previous year."

Proportion of Patients from the City to the population,	1 in 17-897
Per centage, - - - - -	5-882
Average number of In-Patients, - - - - -	51
Average Period of residence of each In-patient, -	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ days.
Average Expense of each In-Patient, - - - -	£2 0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Daily expense of each In-Patient, - - - -	0 0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Average expense of each occupied Bed, - - -	14 8 11

The income and expenditure of the Infirmary for the years 1846 and 1847 may not be unacceptable to the reader.

	1846.	1847.
Ordinary Income, .	L.1066 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	L.1277 12 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ordinary Expenditure, .	1324 0 10	1512 13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

INDIGENT OLD MEN'S SOCIETY.

This institution well deserves the support of every benevolent mind. The present artificial state of society renders it almost certain that the great majority of working-men, when overtaken by old age, will be without the adequate means of support. Driven out of the labour-market by the young and energetic, unable to work, without friends, or any to assist and cheer them in the evening of life, their lot is indeed a pitiable one. The pittance such persons receive from the legal funds, provided for the support of the poor, only serving to keep body and soul together. It is consoling to think, however, that that "most helpless of the manifold children of humanity," the destitute old man, is remembered by those in whom "pure religion and undefiled" has produced its legitimate fruits; that they visit him in his lonely dwell-

ing, relieve his wants, and provide him with a supply of meat, clothing, and fuel.

This Society was instituted in 1830, and has been the means of doing incalculable good within the sphere of its operations. The city and suburbs are divided into twelve districts; two visitors who reside in the locality being assigned to each. The visitors give tickets to such old men as they think are deserving objects of charity, which are countersigned by the president and secretary of the institution, and on being shewn to the storekeeper, get such articles as are mentioned on them. Of these tickets 1,677 were issued in the course of 1848, and the number of recipients of the charity amounted to 175.

The following is a list of the articles distributed in the course of last year :—698 pecks meal; 6 vests; 59 flannel shirts; 85 pairs drawers; 47 pairs trowsers; 16 body coats; 9 great coats; 1036 cwts. coals; 34 jackets; 47 cotton shirts; 50 blankets; 88 pairs stockings; 22 pairs shoes; 5 rugs; 3 yards flannel.

The qualification necessary to be admitted on the list is, simply, that the person be a poor man, above 55 years of age, and of sober habits; and it should be specially observed, that when any one is found making an improper use of any article given, or chargeable with drinking to excess, his name is erased.

The Society for the relief of Indigent Old Women being in its nature and objects so much like that above described, it requires no description.

DESTITUTE SICK SOCIETY.

As true charity is unostentatious, so honest poverty is unobtrusive. There pine in obscurity many a worthy person in indigence and bodily distress, whose modesty prevents them from making their circumstances known to the world. Hence they are often deprived of such little comforts as might assuage their sorrow or bring about the recovery of their health. Under such circumstances, it is the duty of the benevolent to seek out such deserving objects, and give them all the relief that lies in their power.

This is so far the object of the above Society, while at the same time it relieves those for a few weeks who are either not admissible to the Infirmary or have been dismissed from it as convalescent, although not restored to their former strength.

The city and suburbs are divided into twelve districts, with two visitors attached to each.

LADIES' CLOTHING SOCIETY IN AID OF DESERVING INDIGENT WOMEN.

This Society was instituted in 1825, and, as appears from its regulations, is conducted in a most judicious manner. The town is divided into six districts, to each of which are attached two ladies of the committee, as visitors, whose duty is to make enquiry into the moral habits and necessities of the persons asking the Society's aid. One of them is to report on a certain day every week, upon the new cases in her district. All the articles of clothing being stamped, any person who has received relief, on being convicted of having made an improper use of any article bestowed, is refused all further benefit from the Society. No beggars are served. In order to encourage industry, a small sum is required from the poor on the articles bestowed, as may be fixed by the committee.

BOY'S SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY.

This school has been the means of doing much good. Since the opening of the institution in January, 1843, eighty boys have been admitted; sixteen of them were orphans, and forty one destitute of the guardianship of their parents. Many of these boys, before admission, were surrounded with strong temptations to vice, and several of them had actually lapsed into crime. "In proof of the neglected state of these boys, we quote from the report, the fact may be stated, that recently, on a medical inspection, only *four* out of thirty-five were found to have been vaccinated, though almost all of them had been born and brought up in Perth. Of the *eighty* who have been entered on the lists *three* are dead, but only *one* whilst in the establishment, which has always been blessed with a great degree of health; twelve have been imprudently withdrawn by parents or friends, or they left of their own accord; and *thirty* have been sent out to trades or occupations. Of those so sent out, with some exceptions, very gratifying accounts have been received, and several are now earning the means of support who, when rescued, were, to all human appearance, likely to have become expensive burdens, and heavy annoyances to society. It is worthy of remark, that, though not a few were under the surveillance of the police, and some were in prison before admission to the school, not one of the *thirty* who were sent out by the directors, have been known to have subjected themselves to criminal charges. But six of the twelve who were prematurely withdrawn, or left the school, have been, as might be expected, brought under the jurisdiction of the police magistrate." Besides being taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and

religious and moral instruction, they are kept busily engaged in various branches of industry, such as net-work, hair-teasing, knitting stockings, and stone-breaking.

The income of the year ending 1st March, 1848, was L.294 12s. 3½d. The expenditure L.217 5s. 3½d.—being an average of L.6 4s. 1½d. for each boy, which, for board, lodging, and education cannot be considered as large.

LADIES' HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR DESTITUTE GIRLS.

This institution since its commencement in 1844, has educated and trained a good many destitute girls. The most of them have been sent to service, and their conduct on the whole has been satisfactory. There are thirty healthy looking girls at present in the establishment. The institution is supported by donations and subscriptions; these for the year ending 31st December, 1848, amounted to L.144 5s. Another source of the income is the proceeds of the girls' work, which were, during the same period, L.13 16s. 1½d.

There is a similar institution to the above designated "The Female School of Industry," the nature and objects of which are the same as the one now described, so that any notice of it is unnecessary.

CHAPTER XI.

LITERARY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PERTH.

To the Rev. James Scott, one of the ministers of Perth, belongs the honour of originating this institution. At his request a number of influential persons who were favourably disposed to the formation of a Society for investigating the history and preserving the antiquities and records of Scotland generally, but more particularly of the city and county of Perth, met in a room adjoining the Perth Academy, on the 16th December, 1784, when a plan was laid before them by Mr Scott, which, although afterwards enlarged and modified, is still the basis on which the proceedings of the Society are conducted. The Society was but a short time in existence, when it met the approbation of the most eminent literary and scientific men of the day, many of whom wished to co-operate in their views, while others came from a considerable distance to attend the meetings. On this account the plan was extended, and the communications being no longer confined to subjects of antiquarian research or historical enquiry, the designation adopted was "The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth."

At its meetings for the first two or three years, a great variety of interesting papers were presented and read. In 1786 a library was commenced in connection with it. The interest taken in the society's proceedings appear to have declined from 1792 till 1802, as, during that period, there is not a single entry in the minute-book of the Society. Several reasons are stated by Mr Morison for this apathy. "The Society," he says, "had not then obtained a seal of cause, authorising them to act as a corporate body, and in the troubled state of the political world in 1792, and for some years after, they might not have found it convenient to call the members together. There was another circumstance which might have then contributed to give a check to the proceedings of the Society. Dr John M'Omie, one of the teachers in the academy, who had acted as secretary from the commencement of the society, and who spared no personal trouble in the execution of his duties, left Perth at that time for Inverness, where he resided for upwards of twelve years. Upon his return in 1805 the society re-elected him to the secretaryship, the duties of which he con-

tinued to fulfil with ceaseless assiduity until his death, in 1819. It does not appear to whose care the library and museum had been committed during Dr M'Omie's absence, but in 1802 when the record is resumed, Professor Wallace, and the Rev. A. Walker, Episcopal clergyman, were joint-secretaries. At that period Mr Scott and Mr Peebles were vice-presidents, the office of president being merely honorary and conferred nominally on several noblemen. But at the meeting in September, 1802. it was agreed that in future there should only be one president, a nobleman connected with the county of Perth. The Earl of Kinnoull was at that time chosen. That public spirited nobleman, whose state of health, as appears from his letters to the Secretary, alone prevented his taking a more active part in the proceedings of the society, died in 1804. In his room the Earl of Mansfield was elected presint, and in 1806 his lordship was succeeded by the present Earl of Kinnoull, who continued for many years the respected president of the meetings and the steady and munificent patron of all the undertakings of the society. Until 1818 the manuscripts, books and other property belonging to the society were kept in a closet adjoining the Perth Public Library. They were then removed to an apartment in the same building; and in 1819 when proper cases were fitted up for their preservation, the donations, increased rapidly in number and in value. Unfortunately it was so long until these depositories were procured,—the room being frequently occupied as a class room—that many of the donations and manuscripts presented prior to 1819 have been lost."

"A most important change took place in 1822 in the affairs of the Society. The subscribers to a monument, proposed to be erected to the memory of a public spirited magistrate, and an active and zealous member of the society, Thomas Hay Marshall, Esq. of Glenalmond—offered to construct that building so as to contain halls for the Public Library and the Museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society, provided the two institutions could raise funds for fitting up the interior of their respective halls. This offer, so honourable to its proposers, was accepted, and subscriptions commenced without delay. The subscription paper of the society was opened with fifty guineas from the noble President—an example which was most liberally followed by many of the Members; and on the 2d June, 1824, the society met, for the first time, in their new hall."

But little interest has been taken in the proceedings of the society during several years back, and few papers have been read. The pre-

sent president of the society is the Marquis of Breadalbane. An interesting volume entitled "Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth," was published in 1827, and to which we are indebted for the foregoing historical account. It was edited by Mr D. Morison, and will amply repay a perusal.

Besides the library of the Society, there is a museum well worthy of inspection. It contains a large collection of Greek, Roman, English, and Scottish coins and medals, specimens of natural history, interesting mineralogical specimens, and works of art, together with miscellaneous antiquities and curiosities. It is open on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 1 to 3 o'clock P.M.

THE PERTH LIBRARY.

This Library was established in 1786, and was, by the original subscribers, consigned over to the public. It now contains upwards of 8000 volumes. It is an admirable collection of books, and our wonder is, that so few of our citizens avail themselves of the privilege within their reach.

The annual subscription is Eleven Shillings.

PERTH MECHANICS' READING SOCIETY,

Was instituted in 1823, and the number of subscribers being large the library now consists of nearly 3000 volumes. The books are extensively read among the working classes.

The terms of admission are—entry money, 2s.; subscription 1d. per week, payable weekly, monthly, or quarterly, in advance.

Besides the above a number of the congregations in town have libraries of considerable extent attached to them.

ANDERSON * INSTITUTION.

The want of a Philosophical and Scientific Institution in Perth was long severely felt by many of the middle and working classes. To supply this defect, the above institution was formed. It is based on the important fact "That the diffusion, among all classes, of a sound knowledge of the truth of science, literature, and the arts is essential to the happiness and greatness of a people." The introductory lec-

* It was so named in memory of Adam Anderson, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, and formerly Rector of the Perth Academy.

ture, at the opening of the institution on 19th March, 1847, was delivered by Dr Anderson of Newburgh, his subject being "A general review of the first principles of science ; its pleasures and advantages." During the ensuing summer, lectures were delivered by various celebrated individuals, on education, chemistry, astronomy, &c.

In the session 1848, many lectures were also delivered on literary and scientific subjects ; but whether the citizens of Perth have little taste, or lack leisure to pursue the cultivation of their intellects, yet such is the fact, that the "Anderson Institution" has not received the encouragement which its promoters sanguinely expected. It is to be hoped, that for the credit of the "Fair City," the apathy to which we have now adverted is only temporary, and that when the greater part of the working men in other parts of the country are taking "by violence" the temple of knowledge, the citizens of Perth will not be behind their contemporaries in literary and scientific attainments. It is intended that the institution, if sufficient funds be obtained, shall have an observatory and philosophical apparatus, a library of books on science, general literature, and the arts, with a museum for exhibition of models and works of art.

There is at present connected with the institution, also, a valuable library of several hundred volumes, chiefly of a scientific character.

ECLECTIC SOCIETY.

This society was instituted in 1844, and meets once a fortnight during winter, for the reading of essays and discussion on subjects of philosophy, literature, and science.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

From the position Perth occupied in the middle ages, it might be expected to take the lead in regard to elementary education. Accordingly, we find that anterior to the reformation, its grammar school was the most celebrated in the kingdom ; and that noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children thither for their education. It is stated in Row's "History of the kirk," that, about 1550, Andrew Simson, the rector of the grammar school, had under his charge upwards of three hundred boys. And when John Row became minister* of Perth, in 1560, many pupils who attended it boarded

* In our notice of Mr Row, we omitted to insert the account of his conversion from popery, as given by his son. It is as follows :—"Being in Cleish, the house of the gentleman who had detected the imposture at Musselburgh, the young man

in his house, to whom he taught Greek and Hebrew—the latter language being at that time almost unknown in Scotland. Mr Row also gave instructions to the master of the grammar school in the Greek tongue, by which means it came to be afterwards taught in Perth. Row during his residence in Italy, studied Greek and Hebrew. He appears to have had a great aptitude for learning languages, and an ingenious method of communicating a knowledge of them to others. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken into Row's house but French. His son John, when he was between four or five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters before he knew the English letters; and at eight years of age he read the Hebrew chapter in the family. When he went to the newly-erected university of Edinburgh, his uncommon acquaintance with the Hebrew language attracted the particular notice of the learned and amiable Principal Rollock. And there is every reason to believe that the admirable Crichton was educated at this school, and boarded in the house of Mr Row.* It long continued to maintain its

who was said to have been cured of blindness, was brought into his presence, where he "played his pavier," by "flying up the lid of his eyes, and casting up the white." While Row was confounded at this discovery, the gentleman addressed him very seriously; "Weill, Mr John Row, ye are a great clergyman, and a great linguist and lawyer, but I charge you, as you must answer to the great God at the last day, that ye do not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that ye will, so soon as you come to your study, close the door upon you, and take your Bible, and seriously pray to God that ye may understand the Scriptures. Read the 2d chap. of the 2d epistle to the Thessalonians; and if you do not see your master, the pope, to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God, (as now he and his deceiving rabble of clergy in Scotland have done lately at Musselburgh,) ye shall say Squire Meldrum has no skill." It may be added that, in the beginning of 1560, Mr Row was admitted minister of Kenneuchar in Fife, where he married Margaret Beatoun, a daughter of the Laird of Balfour; and it was in the end of that year he was translated to Perth.

* Dr Thomson, in his statistical account of the town, has fallen into several errors regarding the Grammar School of Perth. The doctor says, that it "does not appear to have risen to any celebrity till the time when Mr Rynd was chosen rector, which was in or about the year 1580." Now if the doctor had just taken the trouble to consult "Row's historie of the kirk," he would not have hazarded the above statement, for it is stated in the account given by Row, of the conduct of the boys attending it, when at church that their number was "three hundred and above," and according to the same authority, the Grammar School of Perth "was then the most celebrated in the kingdom, and noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children thither for their education." These statements are

high character, and was the under government of a rector, or master, two ushers, and a janitor, with good salaries from the town council, and a small portion to the master from the kirk session. It had also originally a music master, with a salary; and the kirks of Perth excelled in church-music. Mr William Rynd is the first rector after the Reformation of whom we have any account. He was so distinguished as a scholar that when the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander, went to Padua, in 1594, he attended them as their governor. He returned with Alexander Ruthven, in 1597. One of the most celebrated rectors of the grammar-school was a grandson of John Row; he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This produced the following encomiastic verses by John Adamson, principal of the college of Edinburgh:

Perthana quondam Latialis linguæ schola
 Laude cluebat, fueratque unius labri;
 Nunc est trilinguis, Latio jungens Græciam,
 Et huic Palæstinam; omnium linguis loquens.
 O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam!
 O ter beatum Rollum rectorem tuum!
 Per quem juvenus, barbariæ procul habitu,
 Rudis et tenella primulis labellulis
 Solymas, Athenas, et Romam scite sonat.

Row had been recommended to the town council by Lord Chancellor Hay, and raised very much the reputation of the school. George, Earl of Kinnoull, placed several of his children under his care; and one of them made so great progress in the study of Hebrew, that before he was fifteen years of age he composed and pronounced an elegant oration, in Hebrew, in praise of that language, at the annual examination of the school. Mr Row became minister at Aberdeen in 1640. He published in 1643 his institutions of the Hebrew tongue, a work of considerable merit.

pretty strong proofs, one would think of the Grammar School of Perth having attained to celebrity long previous to the induction of Mr William Rynd as rector. The doctor seems also to doubt whether the "admirable Crichton received a part of his education at the Grammar School of Perth." He "can find no authority for such a belief," and endeavours to create an impression that he did not, by stating that Cluny is distant from Perth seventeen miles at least. Now all his biographers say that he was educated in Perth, and we may reasonably suppose that he was one of the pupils boarded with John Row. Many of the noblemen's and gentlemen's sons undoubtedly came a great deal further than seventeen miles. Besides great as the distance seems to the doctor's eye, there was no place nearer to Cluny where he could receive any thing like an education at all.

There have been a succession of superior teachers, who have filled the situation of rector of the grammar school, and kept up its reputation to the present time. Without giving a list of the many eminent persons who have received the rudiments of their education at it, we may mention what does not seem to be known to a recent writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, who states that Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was not indebted to Scotland for any part of his education—that that great man received the rudiments of his education in Perth, before he was removed to Westminster school. Mr Wm. Dunbar Steel is the present rector, and has a salary of £50, besides the fees.

In 1760 an academy for literature and the sciences was instituted in Perth. The first master appointed was Mr John Mair, a gentleman of considerable eminence in his profession; he died in 1769, and was succeeded by the well known Dr Robert Hamilton, afterwards professor of natural philosophy, Marischal College, Aberdeen. He removed to Aberdeen in 1779, having been in Perth for about ten years. On Dr Hamilton's resignation, he was succeeded by Mr Gibson, a gentleman who possessed peculiar talents for imparting to the youthful mind, with ease and perspicuity, a knowledge of the more difficult and abstruse parts of mathematics and natural philosophy, and by his unremitting attention to the advancement of his pupils, approved himself worthy to fill his office. To Mr Gibson succeeded Dr Adam Anderson, afterwards professor of natural philosophy in the University of St Andrews. He continued for many years to keep up the character of the academy; and it still flourishes under the present talented rector, Thomas Miller, Esq., A.M. The branches taught in the academy are—Arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, elementary and practical geometry, including the mensuration of surfaces, surveying, fortification, measurement of solids, gauging, natural philosophy, navigation, geography, astronomy, and chemistry.

The salary of the rector is £100 sterling, and that of his assistant £25 both payable from the burgh funds. Besides those now noticed, there are classes for instruction in French, Italian, Spanish, and German: present master, MR LAURENCE CRAIGIE.—In painting with oil and water-colours, penciling, and architectural drawing: present master, MR D. BROWN.—In plain and ornamental writing, and practical arithmetic: present master, MR JOHN SMITH, A.M.—In English grammar, elocution, composition, history, geography, and astronomy: present master, MR ALEX. B. SMITH.—The above teachers have each a salary of £25 from the burgh funds.—Teacher of music, MR D. PEA-

cock; salary £18. The Seminaries are under the superintendence of the town council who appoint the teachers.

Until 1807 the grammar school and the academy were conducted in separate buildings, the former on the north side of the South Street, on the site of the City Hotel, and the other on the site of the Presbytery Hall and Session House. In that year they were united in one general seminary, and accommodated together with the other classes above enumerated in the elegant building forming the centre of Rose Terrace. It was built by public subscription, at an expense of about £7000. The town council contributed £1050; Thomas Hay Marshall, Esq., gave the ground on which the building is erected, value £500; the surplus funds of the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Royal Perth Volunteers, amounting in all to £1100, was paid over to the promoters of the undertaking; besides large subscriptions from many of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county, and the citizens of Perth.

STEWART'S FREE SCHOOL.

This institution owes its existence to William Stewart, a native of Perth, who left it in early life, and settled in London, where he died. He bequeathed, in 1810, to the eight deacons of the incorporated trades of the city of Perth for the time being, subject to certain deductions, all his worldly estate, means, and effects, whatsoever and wheresoever situated, amounting to £1825 stocks in the Irish five per cents., and two shares in the fourth class of a government tontine, to be employed in payment of the expenses of the education of such a number of boys of poor but honest parents, burgher tradesmen of Perth as the said interest, or rents and profits, may suffice for; boys of the name of Stewart to be preferred in the first place. Mr Stewart provides in his will, "that no boys shall receive the benefit of this bequest till they shall have attained the age of seven, eight, or nine years, and to continue their education, for each distinct period, seven years, and no more." He is exceedingly anxious, too, about the education the boys are to receive, and specially mentions that they are to be taught "the principles of English grammar, writing, and arithmetic," and assigns the following reason for doing so: "my wish being that, as far as may be, the boys who shall receive the benefit of this bequest may not appear to be in a less respectable situation than others of the same class." Now, the "wish" of Mr Stewart is to be interpreted liberally, and it obviously was his intention that when burgher tradesmen's children receive a superior education who pay for it, the education given in Stewart's Free School is to be raised to

the same high standing. We humbly conceive unless such be done that the children taught there are not placed in that "respectable situation" which the benevolent testator designed.

A somewhat handsome building was erected in 1827, in Mill Street, at the joint expense of the incorporated trades, in which is a commodious school-room, and dwelling-house for the teacher; a play-ground is also attached. Mr Peddie, an energetic teacher, has been recently appointed as master, under whose superintendence the institution is likely to prosper. The free proceeds of the fund in 1827 were about £93 sterling, from which deducting an annuity of £20 to a former teacher, there remained the sum of £73 sterling, which was then estimated by the trustees as the amount of salary the schoolmaster would receive during the annuitant's lifetime, which is still payable. We understand, however, that the sum available for the salary of the teacher is now only about £44 sterling; but the incorporated trades each contribute a sum annually to raise it to £70 sterling.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

There are two such institutions, one in the Watergate and the other in the Newrow. They were erected in 1834, to supply the working classes, at a cheap rate, with an improved elementary education. The expense of building was defrayed partly by subscription, and partly by a grant from government. What is called the intellectual system of teaching has been adopted; and the branches taught are, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. The fees charged are extremely moderate, being only 8d. a month. Each of the teachers has a salary of £10 sterling, with a like sum for an assistant, payable from the burgh funds. The present teachers are MR THOMAS MILLER, Watergate, and MR PETER PROUDFOOT, Newrow. The town council have the appointment of the teachers.

WEST CHURCH PARISH SCHOOLS.

These schools were erected in 1839, by the Rev. Andrew Gray, then minister of the parish, aided by his congregation, especially the late Stewart Imrie, Esq., who gave the ground on which they are built, besides contributing liberally towards their erection. The building which contains the schools is rather a handsome one, and cost upwards of £1500. There are also play grounds attached. The schools were conducted with great efficiency, up to the disruption in 1843. They consisted of a juvenile, infant, and female industrial school, and were numerous attended. In the latter, besides reading, writing,

and arithmetic, the girls were taught sewing, and the various branches of domestic economy. By the constitution of the schools, they are permanently connected with the West Church parish, consequently, when Mr Gray and the great body of the congregation left the Established Church, they ceased to have a voice in the management. The teachers, Mr Adam and Miss Thomas, also resigned their situations, and the institution was closed for a considerable period. It has, however, been superintended for some time back by Mr Barbour, a teacher of ability who, along with the ordinary branches of education, has classes for instruction in the Latin and modern languages, and mathematics. The management of these schools are under a body of directors, chosen respectively from the congregation and the kirk session.

FREE WEST CHURCH SCHOOLS.

These schools are the spontaneous contribution of the Free West Church congregation to the cause of education, and are situated in the Glover's Yard immediately behind the church. The buildings are large and commodious, and besides the class rooms, contain a comfortable dwelling house for the teacher. The cost of their erection was £1100. The juvenile school was opened on the 13th November 1848, and excepting in the public seminaries, no institution in Perth gives such a comprehensive course of education. The following branches are taught: Reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, English grammar and composition, geography and history, astronomy, mechanics, and elements of science, Latin, Greek, mathematics, theoretical and practical. The institution is under the superintendence of Mr Adam, an experienced and popular teacher, formerly of the West Church parish schools. There is also a female industrial school in connection with it, and is conducted by Miss Turnbull. The deacons' court have the appointment of the teachers.

We cannot close this notice without expressing our grateful sense of the efforts made by the talented minister of the Free West Church, to secure for the community the cheap and efficient education given in the schools which have been erected mainly through his indefatigable and vigorous exertions.

FREE ST LEONARD'S SCHOOL.

This school is contiguous to Free St Leonard's Church, and was built after the disruption. In it are taught the elementary branches of education, and is numerously attended.—Teacher—*Mr J. Dewar.*

MIDDLE CHURCH PARISH SCHOOLS.

These elegant and commodious schools are situated in the Meal Vennel. They were erected at an expense of £1800; the Middle Church congregation contributing most liberally to their erection. The juvenile school was opened in 1840. By the constitution they were consigned over to the Middle Church congregation; of course they had to be surrendered at the disruption. The branches presently taught are reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Mr William M'Farlane, Teacher.

INFANT SCHOOL.

This institution was opened in 1827, under the benevolent auspices of some ladies of the county and city of Perth, for the religious and moral training of the children of the working classes. It was found to be attended with so great beneficial results that in 1838 a handsome schoolhouse was erected in King Street, with sufficient play-ground around it, at a cost of nearly £800, procured by public subscription and government aid. Since then the school has been kept in efficient operation by the charitable exertions and contributions of the Right Hon. Lady Ruthven, and its other patronesses. Legacies have been left to the school by the late Marquis of Breadalbane, the Hon. Mrs Miller, and Miss Stirling, Bertha Cottage.

From the opening of the school, 3381 girls, and nearly 1500 boys have received education, all belonging to the poorer classes, and of all denominations. At present there are about 200 pupils; and the teachers are assisted by about 20 monitoresses, two of whom have been elected by government as pupil teachers, and who receive their education two hours after the dismissal of the children. The children's hours are from 10 till 1, with an interval of half-an-hour for play, and from 3 till 4; and even with the training in the school much wholesome amusement to the mind is afforded. The branches of education taught are, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, sewing, plain and fancy knitting, and music. The fee for each child is only one penny per week, and several children of more indigent parents are educated gratis. The Misses M'Pherson, teachers.

Before concluding our notice of this institution, we cannot help quoting the language used in regard to it, as inscribed in the visitor's book by the Right Hon. Lord Ashley, that eminent patron and advocate for a sound religious and moral training among the poorer classes, and Mr Gordon, her majesty's inspector of schools in Scotland. Lord Ashley

says: "October 13, 1847. Very much gratified indeed. I never saw an infant school superior to this." Mr Gordon says: "May 13, 1848. This school, in both its departments, is exceedingly well taught, and very seldom surpassed, or even equalled."

Besides the institutions above-mentioned, there are a number of private schools, in which the ordinary and higher branches of education are taught by respectable teachers. It may be added, also, that the town council give a salary of £40 per annum to a teacher for the education of the poor, annual subscriptions to the Cherrybank, Dovecotland, and Craighend schools; and last year it voted to the infant school, the two schools of industry, and the house of refuge, the sum of £10 each. The reader will see there are abundant means of education in Perth, within the reach of all classes of the community, and that the Town-council, amid their party strife, have not neglected to contribute towards its furtherance. For this attention they are entitled to the thanks of the public. We have no means of ascertaining the numbers attending our educational institutions; yet, notwithstanding their multiplicity, we are sorrow to add that there are many parents who take no interest in the education of their children, either morally or intellectually. We trust, however, that as the habits of the working classes improve, so will the numbers be considerably lessened who are living in ignorance, crime, and misery.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF PERTH.

Under the feudal institutions the towns were held in a state of servitude by the kings or nobles. In the eleventh century, however, from the great prosperity of the free towns of Italy, the sovereigns of Europe conferred the like immunities and privileges* on the towns in their respective dominions. They were erected into bodies corporate and politic, with a right of being governed by a magistracy and council of their own choosing; and for the payment of fee farm rent or burgh mail, were put in possession of many important privileges. In such free towns the traders were constituted into a "Gilda Mercatoria" or merchant guild,† and were released, for their burgh mail,

* The honour of originally inventing these political constitutions entirely belongs to the Romans. They were introduced, as Plutarch says, by Numa; who finding, upon his accession, the city torn to pieces by the two rival factions of Sabines and Romans, thought it a prudent and politic measure to subdivide these two into many smaller ones, by instituting separate societies of every manual trade and profession.

—Blackstone.

† Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity, derived from the verb *gilden*, to

of payment of arbitrary tolls and customs for goods bought and sold in markets and fairs ;—of pontage, a payment for passing over bridges ; --of passage, the like for going through gates ;--of lastage, or the liberty to carry their goods up and down in fairs and markets wherever they pleased ;—and of stallage, a payment for a stall, or a right to have one in fairs and markets, which none could enjoy but free burgesses, i.e. the inhabitants of such free towns.

The erection of free or royal burghs in Scotland dates at least as early as David I. There is every reason to believe that Perth, in the reign of this monarch, was so constituted. As corroborative of this view we find in the charter of William the Lion, conferring on Perth all the privileges which were then possessed by the royal burghs, that those which were granted by David I. were also confirmed. According to the *leges burgorum*, or burgh laws, framed by David I., the magistrates of burghs were to “be chosen of faithful men, and of gude fame, be the common consent of the honest men of the burgh.” The magistrates thus elected were to decide upon all quarrels and complaints which originated within the burgh. Their judgements, however, were subject to the review of the chamberlain of Scotland, and his court of the four burghs. This court, in which the chamberlain presided, was composed of certain burgesses of the towns of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh,* who were appointed to meet annually at Haddington, to decide, as a court of the last resort, upon appeals taken from the chamberlain-ayres, and to deliberate and determine upon all matters respecting the common welfare of any of the royal burghs. Upon the office of chamberlain being suppressed, the power of controlling the magistrates accounts was vested in the court of exchequer ; that of reviewing their sentences was left to the ordinary courts of law ; and the power which the chamberlain, in his court of the four burghs, had, of regulating matters respecting the common welfare of that state, was conferred to the convention of royal burghs.

For a long period the town council was composed of members of the merchant guild alone. Nothing, however, is known when the trades were first admitted into it. The latter, according to antiquarian writers, were raised to the status of incorporations by the town council ; and they afterwards requested to be admitted by their representatives into

pay, because every man paid his share, towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the Guild-Hall.—*Blackstone*.

* When Berwick and Roxburgh were taken by the English, the burghs of Linlithgow and Lanark were substituted in their place.

the body which had bestowed upon them an existence. In fact the powers of the crafts in the middle ages were extremely fluctuating. The first notice we have of them as possessing a legal standing, is in the reign of James I., when in a parliament held at Perth on 12th March, 1424, it was ordained, "that in ilke towne of the realme, of ilk sindrie craft used therein, be chosen a wise man of that craft, and be consent of the officiar of towne, the quhilk salbe halden deakon or maister-man over the laife for the time, to governe and assay all warkes, that beis maid, before the craftes-men of that craft: Swa that the kingis lieges be not defrauded and skaithed in time to cum, as they have bene in time by-gane, throw untrew men of craftes."

In a subsequent parliament held in 1426, the office of deacon was utterly abolished, and the former meetings of the deacons condemned as the assemblies of conspirators. By the fourteenth parliament, however, of James II., held at Edinburgh 6th March, 1457, it was restored, so far as the goldsmiths were concerned, and enacted, "As anent the reformation of gold and silvere wrocht be goldsmithes, and to eschew the deceiving done to the kingis lieges, there salbe ordained in ilk burgh quhair goldsmithes workis ane ununderstandand and a cunning man, of gud conscience, quhilk salbe deacone of the craft. And quhen the warke is brocht to the goldsmith, and it be gold, what gold that beis brocht till him, he sall give it foorth againe in warke na war, nor elleven graines."

After this period the office soon became general among the different trades, and such was their growing influence, that in 1469, when new enactments were made regulating the election of "officiars pertaining to the towne as alderman, bailies, dean of gild, and other officiares, it was ordained, that ilk craft sall chuse a person of the same craft, that sall have vote in the said election of officiares for the time, in likewise year by year." It is evident, however, that they were not content merely to vote in the election of the magistrates, but also demanded that some of their number might be elected to fill the office of bailie. To this request the guild members of the council peremptorily refused to accede, which led to great contentions and disputes between them and the trades. Parliament was called upon to decide in the matter, and threw the weight of its influence into the scale of the guildry. Accordingly in 1491, the office of deacon was declared as "richt dangerous and cause of great trouble in burrowes," and deacons were required to confine themselves allenarly to the inspection of the work performed by those of their respective crafts. They appear to

have soon again resumed their functions, for we find the trades of Perth acting a prominent part in the numerous controverted municipal elections which took place in it, during the first half of the 16th century.

It may be shortly stated whence arose such disputes. It was the custom for the towns to choose for their provost one of the influential neighbouring landed proprietors, so as the more effectually to protect their privileges, defend themselves against aggressors, and secure the favour of the reigning prince. To fill such an honourable office was no less an object of ambition with the neighbouring barons and gentry. Accordingly, in the towns they had their partizans, who espoused their cause with a determination and an energy of which the burghers of modern times have little conception. For a long period the provostship of Perth was a bone of contention between the rival families of Charteris and Ruthven; sometimes the one and sometimes the other was the chief magistrate. Under such circumstances need we wonder to find the trades courted and their claims supported by the somewhat unscrupulous princes and barons of the sixteenth century.

At the election of magistrates in 1530, John Balneavis or Pyper, a fleshier, was elected a bailie by the partizans of William, Lord Ruthven. Pyper, however, and the provost and bailies in the Ruthven interest, were set aside, and those of the Charteris party confirmed as the legal magistrates. Shortly afterwards, they too were removed, and Lord Ruthven and the bailies elected the previous year, put in their stead.

From this period up to 1544, there were several controverted elections; that of 1542 was especially violent; both parties complained to the king, who sent a letter, instructing the citizens as to the mode in which the provost was to be elected; it was as follows:—"Counail, neighbours, and communitie of our burgh of Perth, we greet you well, for sae meikle as we hear there is appearand contention amangis zou about the election of zour provost; our will is herefor, and we charge zou to convene zour auld counsail and new and best neighbouris, and elect ane gude and common man to zour provost, for the well of our burgh, and as tyte (well) John Chrystison as any others, and that we hear na cummir nor trouble heruntill. Subscribit with our hand at Falkland, the sixt da of October, and of our reign the 20 zier, in absence of our signet."

On the 9th of October the above John Chrystison was elected provost and sherriff of the burgh, "the tolbooth being almost full of the

communitie and neighbours for the time contentant, and all in one voice to the said John's election for an common man."

James V. died on the 14th December, of the same year, leaving an only daughter to succeed him, Mary Queen of Scots. The parliament recognised her title, and appointed the Earl of Arran her tutor and governor of the realm. He was also declared the second person of the kingdom, being the great-grandson of Mary the sister of James III. Cardinal Beaton headed another party against the regent, and the queen-mother contended for preminence against both of them. The nation being thus divided into factions, the magistrates of burghs were often changed. Accordingly, we find the Ruthven party, who sided with the protestants, removed from the government of the town, and their rivals, the Charteris, reinstated in office. This proved so far advantageous to the crafts, as they were enabled to get one of their number, Gilbert Rattary, goldsmith, elected as one of the bailies, on the resignation of Walter Bruson, elected at Michaelmas, 1543.

At the election of the magistrates at Michaelmas, 1544, Lord Ruthven was again made provost, and Dionysius Cavers, goldsmith, elected a bailie. This encroachment on the ancient rights of the guild brethren kindled the ire of Adam Ramsay, "who, for himself, and the laive of the merchandis and brether of gild of this burgh, protestit that the administration of Dionysius Cavers, goldsmith, in office of bailzierie, not electit nor chosen by them, hurt not their privilege in time to come." This protestation was continued by the dean of guild annually for many years, but seeing the footing the trades had got in the council, it was ultimately given up.

In 1545, as has already been noticed in the historical sketch, Lord Ruthven was turned out of office by the regent, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, and John Charteris of Kinfauns put in his room. The citizens, however, refused to admit Charteris into the town; and he, in the assertion of his right, brought an armed force against it, who were repulsed, which gave Lord Ruthven and his party the ascendancy in the management of the affairs of the town. The victory was undoubtedly owing to the side which the trades took in the fray, and they ever after had one of their number elected as one of the magistrates. The party spirit between the guildry and the trades still continued; and such was the influence the former possessed in the different towns in Scotland, that they procured, in 1555, an act of parliament, abolishing the office of deacon altogether, and giving the provost, bailies, and council the power "to choice the maist honest

men of the crafts of guid conscience, and of everie craft, to visit their craft, that thai labour sufficiently, that the samen be sufficient stuff and wark, and thir persons be callit visitouris of their craft, and to be elected yeirly at Michaelmas, be the provest, bailzies, and counsale of burgh, and that thai thereafter gif their aith in judgement to visit leley and truely their said craft, without any power to make gathering or assembling of them to any privat convention or making of ony acts or statuts; but all craftsmen, in tym coming, to be under the provest, bailzies, and counsale, and their visitors. chosen, sworn, and admittit, to have voting chusing of officers and visitors; the thing is as the dekyins voted in use before, and that no craftsman bruik office within burgh in tym-coming, excepted twa of theme, maist honest and famous to be chosen zeirly upon the counsale, and that thir twa to be an pairt of the auditoris zeirly of the compts of the common guide."

This imprudent policy was, however, soon seen through, and the following year, the queen regent, notwithstanding the above act of parliament, restored to the trades the office of deacon, and uses very flattering language to the craftsmen of Perth in doing so. "Forasmuch as we, understanding that our noble progenitors, kings of Scotland, having regard and respect to the common well and policy of our kingdom, and that good manners and order did arise therein, and increase by tradesmen, without whom no kingdom or city could stand or be in esteem, did give and grant sundry privileges and liberties to tradesmen of burghs and cities of our kingdom, especially to our burgh of Perth; and moreover, we, having respect that the said burgh of Perth doth daily increase, and is principally upheld by the fortune, order, and policy of the tradesmen, and that they exceed the rest of the inhabitants and indwellers of the said burgh in number, and do equal the merchants themselves thereof in paying all manner of stents, taxations, and impositions whatsoever imposed on the said burgh, and that they are perpetually ready with their bodies and goods to defend our authority as the rest of the said burgh,—We, therefore, desiring peace, friendship, and good will betwixt the merchants and tradesmen of the said burgh may for the future appear, and be ceremoniously observed, and that every one of them, according to their several fortunes, have the equal use and enjoyment of their privileges for the future within the said burgh." "Moreover, we, by these presents, ratify and approve all other privileges, liberties, and faculties, given and granted by our noble progenitors to the said tradesmen in time bygone."

There appears to have been for a long period after this an unanimity

of sentiment and feeling between the two parties, of which the town council was now composed. Their numbers were equal, namely, fourteen of the guildry, and fourteen of the trades—and they both alike allowed themselves to be swayed by the influence of the noble family of Ruthven. On the extinction of that family, we see indications, however, of a desire on the part of the guildry, of resuming their ancient superiority over the trades; and in the charter of the confirmation of the rights and privileges of the town, granted by James VI., it is there stated that “also to his burgesses of Perth, that all of them shall be guild brethren, except *websters and waukers*.” By excluding these two incorporations from a seat in the council, of course the guildry had the majority in the council, and having one common interest, generally acted in concert;—they may be said to have dictated to their brethren of the trades, what measures should be adopted in municipal matters. The weavers and waukers were formally excluded from the council, by the convention of burghs, on the 19th July 1658, on the following grounds: “for the settling of peace betwixt the merchants and tradesmen of the said burgh of Perth at present, and for avoiding all controversies in future.”

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the guild side of the council adopted a most questionable but effectual method for suppressing free discussion in the council, and rendering the presence of the trades members as necessary only to confirm the acts made by the former. The system introduced was, that on all important questions, such as voting for a member of parliament, clergymen of the established church, teachers, &c., the minority of the guild members, should fall in with the majority; hence six individuals, along with the provost, who as presses having the casting vote, were able to control the whole council.* The trades felt, of course, their degraded posi-

* The working of the “beautiful order” is thus graphically described in a minute of the glover incorporation:—“Perth, 29th Sept. 1740, at six o'clock afternoon, Which day, convened in the ordinary meeting-house of the glover calling of Perth, in ane general court, John Miller, present deacon, (and convener of the trades,) together with the remanent brethren and freemen of the incorporation, being fifty in number, when the deacon represented to the calling, that for several years bygone these of the guild side in the town council have had combinations together, wherein six of them, with the presses, oblige the rest of their number to vote in elections, and in all other matters of moment in the town council, according to the minds of the majority (though never so contrary to their inclinations), which majority these seven are, the presses always having the casting vote; and none are admitted to the council on the guild side but upon making such promises, and con-

tion—they saw that at the council board they were just so many ciphers, and they longed to break up the iniquitous system which deprived them of their legal rights. For upwards of a century and a half, notwithstanding the various attempts made to overturn it, the “beautiful order”* maintained its ascendancy. The most memorable, though unsuccessful, endeavour to do so was in 1740. In that year three of the guild members sided with those of the trades, and on the day of the election they together left the council-house, and adjourned to the tolbooth, where the last year’s elections were made, and having chosen a presser and clerk, proceeded to elect magistrates and councillors for the ensuing year. The minority of the council, composed of the eleven remanent guild members, did not quietly submit to such proceedings, but presented a petition to the court of session, to get its sanction to sequestrate the common good of the burgh, and also raised mutual summonses of declarator and reduction. The matter was keenly litigated, and was finally decided by the House of Lords in favour of the minority, chiefly on the ground that the majority left the council-house, and completed their elections in the tolbooth. The law expenses amounted to upwards of £2000 sterling.

The only other attempt to break up the “beautiful order” was in 1774, when the convener court, along with certain merchants and guildry, resolved to oppose the right of the magistrates, to roup “the town’s salmon fishings, till such time as they agreed to serve the inhabitants, and expose the same to sale each day in the public market, and expected the trades would approve of it, which they accordingly did; and also agreed to join along with them in a petition to the court of session, “not only to insist upon salmon, but also to break up the “beautiful order;”—but this plea fell to the ground, the trades some months afterwards having declined to middle any farther with it, in consequence of the said plea—salmon—being “jumbled with other matters.”

forming to this arbitrary practice; and any who saw the unlawfulness of these promises afterwards, and did not continue to follow these engagements, at the very first election were turned out of their offices, or out of the council; by which illegal combination, seven men, of which the presser being one, overrule the whole council, consisting of twenty-six members, whereof fourteen are of the guildry, and twelve of the trades; and by virtue thereof, several worthy and useful members have been frequently turned out of council, to the great loss both of the guildry and trades—thereby both their privileges come to be in great hazard—elections, with all their votes of moment, have been carried as these seven desired.”

* The name by which the guild side of the council was generally known.

On the passing of the burgh reform act, in 1833, the whole system was swept away, and the guildry and the trades deprived of the exclusive right of managing the affairs of the burgh. By the above act in burghs returning members to parliament, the registered voters within the royalty, are electors of Town-councillors. Eight of the principal burghs, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Dumfermline, Dumfries, and Inverness,—are divided into wards, each choosing a proportional number of councillors. The number of councillors is that fixed by the set of each burgh; and where that is variable, the number is the smallest which by the set would constitute a full council. The electors in each ward, on the first Tuesday of November, vote at the intimated polling-places for the assigned number of councillors, in presence of the chief magistrate, or his legal substitute, who must have with him a certified copy of the list of voters. The poll remains open for one day, between eight in the morning and four in the afternoon. The poll-books are, at the close of the poll, sealed and sent to the provost, who, on the first lawful day thereafter, between twelve and two, breaks the seals, and, with the assistance of the town-clerk, casts up the votes, and declares the result. The identity of the party voting, his still holding his qualification, and his not having previously voted, may be appealed to the voter's oath; but no other oath can be put, except that against bribery, which may be administered by the magistrate, if required by any other voter. When a person has been elected by more than one Ward, he must declare for which he intends to serve; and when this occurs, or when the individual chosen will not accept, or there is a double return, a new election for a councillor must be resorted to. Every councillor must be an elector, residing within the parliamentary bounds of the burgh, or conducting business or residing within the royalty, previous to election, and a burghess previous to induction. A person elected is entitled to be admitted a burghess on proffering the fees. An honorary burghess-ship does not confer the qualification.

A third part of the council go out annually in rotation, and new councillors are elected in their place. If a magistrate or other office-bearer be included in the third part going out, his place is supplied by election by the council, the chief or senior magistrate having a casting vote in case of equality; the provost and treasurer remaining in office three years, and they and all magistrates and office-bearers, as well as councillors, being capable at any time of being re-elected. The official distinctions of deacon, convener, dean of guild, old provost,

and old bailie, cease ; and no distinction is made between trades bailies and merchant bailies, or trades councillors and merchant councillors : and the duties of dean of guild are performed by a member of the council appointed for that purpose, with this exception, that the deans of guild and deacon-conveners of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the deans of guild of Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth, remain members of the council *ex officio*.

Any magistrate or councillor may resign his office upon giving three weeks notice to the town-clerk, and all vacancies by death, disability, and resignation, are filled up by the council *ad interim* ; the person so appointed going out, and the vacancy being supplied, at the next annual election.

Crafts, trades, guildries, and other corporations, continue to elect their office-bearers ; and all trusts and directions of charitable institutions vested in them, remain with them, whether they be members of council or not. No councillor, or partner in business of a councillor, shall hold the office of town-clerk ; and that individual shall not interfere in elections. Substitutes for the provost at elections, and the assistants employed in disposing of claims, are entitled to a sum not exceeding three guineas a-day, and the polling clerks to one guinea a-day ; these sums, and all other election expenses, being defrayed out of the common good. The magistrates and council must make up, on or before the 15th of October each year, a state of the affairs of the burgh, subscribed by the senior magistrate, town-clerk, and treasurer, to lie for the inspection of the electors from the 15th of October to the time of election ; and an abstract with a balance sheet must be printed and published on or before the 20th of October. No councillor or magistrate to be liable for town-debts, or the acts of his predecessor, farther than might have attached to him as a burgess or inhabitant. All officials contravening this act may be sued in the Court of Session, within four months, by any party aggrieved, for the penal sum of £300, which or any smaller sum assessed by a jury, shall be paid on conviction to the pursuer, with full costs of suit.

The present Magistrates and Town Council of Perth are :—

David Clunie, Esq., Lord Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner.

William Imrie, Esq., Dean of Guild.

James Dewar, Esq.

David Stuart, Esq.

Charles Shedden, Esq.

John Pullar, Esq.

David Ross, Esq. Treasurer

} Bailies.

First Ward—Messrs David Clunie, baker, Kirkwood Hewat, candlemaker, John M'Ewen Gray, ironmonger, John Fisher, baker, David Murie, general agent, Wm. M. Fairney, shoemaker, David Stuart, merchant.

Second Ward—Messrs Andrew Davidson, writer, William Dow, ship-owner, Peter Graham, ship-owner, James M. Honey, writer, James Dewar, bookseller, Charles Shedden, watchmaker.

Third Ward—Messrs. David Ross, merchant, John Kemp, writer, John Pullar, dyer, James Balmain, tobacconist, John M'Farlane, founder, Peter Imrie, cabinet maker.

Fourth Ward—Messrs. Andrew Heiton, architect, John M'Lauchlan, slater, Alexander Frazer, shoemaker, Thomas Richardson, stationer, James Readdie, builder, William Halley, merchant.

CHARTERS.

The Charter by which it is ordinarily deemed that Perth was erected into a royal burgh, is dated the 10th of October, 1210, and is attributed to William the Lion, who—in a subsequent charter—is styled “the founder and instaurator of our said royal burgh of Perth, after the vastation and ruin thereof by the inundation of the said flood and river of Tay.” When this charter was inspected by the Municipal Commissioners, they found strong reasons for doubting its authenticity. A long series of authentic charters follows:—1st, A Charter by Robert I. conferring on the burgesses of Perth the rights of guildry, and of merchandise in all places within the sheriffdom of Perth, an establishing certain prohibitions in their favour, and granting them certain rights of pre-emption. 2nd, Letters made and granted by Robert I., dated in the 12th year of his reign, enforcing these rights of pre-emption. 3rd, A Charter by David II., dated in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, ratifying and confirming the charters of William and Robert. 4th, A Charter of feu-farm, granted by Robert II., dated in the fourth year of his reign. By it there are granted to the aldermen, burgesses, and community, and their heirs and successors, in fee and heritage perpetually, the burgh of Perth, “together with the waters, stanks, mills, multures, and their sequels, with the inches thereof, lying within the water of Tay; viz., the lands of Inchirrit, Inchyra, and Sleepless;” together with the fishings, “and the yearly rent of the roods of land and burgage ferms, tolls, and small customs of the said burgh.” 5th, A charter by Robert III., dated in the fifth year of his reign, granting to the community a sheriff chosen out

of the number of their own burgesses and inhabitants, and a right to certain fines and amerciements. 6th, Two separate charters, made and granted by Robert III., both in the eighth year of his reign, dated, the one the 28th February, and the other 10th May 1397, giving power to the community to apprehend forestallers, and to confiscate their goods. 7th, A charter of confirmation by Robert III., dated 6th May 1399, and tenth year of his reign, ratifying and confirming the foresaid letters made and granted by the foresaid Robert I., these being *verbatim* inserted in the foresaid charter. 8th, A charter by Robert III., dated 31st January 1404, and fifteenth year of his reign; granting to the aldermen and community certain moneys, payable to him out of the burgage ferme of the burgh. 9th, A charter by Robert III., dated 1st March 1405, and sixteenth year of his reign, granting power to the aldermen, bailies, councillors, and dean of guild, to make, after mature deliberation, as is requisite, with the council and community of the said burgh, statutes and ordinances, constitutions and consuetudes, relative to its government. 10th, A charter of confirmation by Patrick, Lord Ruthven, dated 26th December 1450, ratifying and confirming "certain evidents" granted to the burgh by his ancestors, of ane certain piece of land, with the pertinents, lying within the monastery of the Carmelites of Tullilum, and the common moor of the said burgh of Perth; selling also the said piece of ground to the burgh, and renouncing all right that he might have or crave to the said common moor, and chiefly to that part commonly called Gateside." 11th, Act, deliberation and declaration of the auditors of exchequer, contained on the back of the charter of Robert III., dated in the fifth year of his reign. This declaration is dated in an Exchequer Court of King James IV., holden at Edinburgh 18th June 1474, ordaining that the fines and amerciements of the justice-ayre of Perth should be paid to the aldermen and sheriff of Perth, and accounted for according to the tenor of that charter. 12th, An indenture, dated 4th November 1494, made by Lord Ruthven and his son to the burgh, relative to certain mill-leads and water-passages. 13th, Two charters of James VI., the one dated 9th August 1569, and the third year of his reign; and the other, 29th July 1587, and twenty-first year of his reign; confirmed by acts of parliament on the 29th July 1587, and 5th June 1592. 14th, A decret of the commissioners of burghs, of 21st June 1582, giving precedence to the commissioners of Perth to those of Dundee. 15th, A charter of confirmation of the whole rights and privileges of the

burgh of Perth, granted by James VI., dated 15th November 1600, and the thirty-fourth year of his reign. This is deemed the governing charter. It is of great length, and specially confirms all the preceding charters, and likewise certain other writs which it is not thought necessary to specify. The ordinary privileges and powers incident to a royal burgh are granted in their fullest extent. The right to have a sheriff of their own is confirmed to the burgesses and inhabitants. The power of choosing a coroner is also confirmed, together with the whole property and rights formerly granted, and powers to levy certain duties upon vessels navigating the river Tay above Drumlie.

It is proper to state that, in drawing up the following statements relative to the property, revenue, and other matters connected with the city, we have been chiefly indebted for them to the excellent report of the "Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland." The report is drawn up in such concise language, that it would be "gilding refined gold" to attempt to alter it much :—

PROPERTY.

Although the City of Perth is still possessed of large Heritable Property, numerous alienations have been made. These alienations commence in the year 1746, and extend to the year 1847. The first, as already has been stated, was a gift of Gowrie House and gardens, to William, Duke of Cumberland—a mark of the gratitude and respect of the burgh for his services against the rebels. This property was afterwards sold by his Royal Highness, and at a later period re-purchased by the town. About 1812 the site of it was acquired by the county, and on which are erected the County Buildings and Jail. The last alienation, in 1847, was a part of the grounds called Souterland, or Sharp's garden, it being found necessary to complete the general termini for the different railways.

All of the intermediate alienations, commencing on the 3d of June 1754, and terminating on the 24th of December 1828, were made ordinarily for a price paid, and also for a feu duty ; but occasionally for a feu-duty only. Downwards, to the year 1794, the sums received as prices are generally small, £200 being the highest. The feu duties are likewise low, the highest being £8. From the year 1794, downwards, much larger sums were received, as £400, £500, £1,000, and £1,461, and there are feu duties so high as £20, £28, and £30. The general list of alienations includes those of the

Burgh Muir, the whole of which was feued in lots betwixt the years 1800 and 1828, in consideration both of prices and feu-duties. The aggregate amount of the prices was £4,671 10s. The feu-duties are payable principally in grain, and the aggregate amount is 310½ bolls of wheat, 251 bolls of barley, and £17 in money, giving on an average of seven years an estimated income of £800, 11s. 6d.

The property at present belonging to the burgh consists of lands, houses, churches, mills, and waterfall, fishings, harbours, public markets, coal and wood yards, and lime shed and dung depot.

The lands are as follows:—1st, The lands or farm of Nether Tullylumb: in the town's titles they are called Meikle Tullylumb, and Unthank, Crawhill of Dawhaugh, and belonged to the Carmelite or Whitefriars of Tullylumb; they were, in 1560, conveyed by Robert Rytte, then prior, to Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir, and were acquired by the town partly in 1725, from Patrick Ross, in Kirkaldy; and partly in 1747 from Patrick Davidson of Woodmill. They are situate—at least *quoad sacra*—in the parish of Tibbermuir. They hold of James VI's hospital for payment of 16s. 8d. yearly feu. 2d, The Cow-cause-way lands, on which the City and County Infirmary is built, and partly let as garden ground. These lands were originally a garden belonging to the chapel of St. Laurence the martyr, and were purchased by the town in 1747, from the heirs of John Mercer, writer. They hold of the hospital for payment of 5s. yearly feu, and 1s. ground annual. 3d, Lands called Soutarland, on which a part of the Terminii for the different railways is now built and partly occupied as garden ground. These lands were purchased in 1710 from Patrick and Robert Whyte, and hold of the hospital for payment of 2s. 10d. for yearly feu. 4th, The North and South Inches—the former containing about 100 acres, and the latter about 72, of which the pasturage is let yearly by public roup. These inches have been the property of the community from time immemorial, and although not specially mentioned in the charter by King James VI. confirming the rights and privileges of the burgh, yet they may be held to be included in the general terms “Inches” and “Meadows” used in said charter. By a contract of excambion entered into betwixt the Earl of Kinnoull and the Burgh in 1802, the community are bound not to build on any part of the North Inch; and in the Charters to the feuars of Marshall Place, are bound not to build within 400 yards of the front of Marshall Place. There are ten different tenements situate in different parts of the town; besides certain houses at the shores, let

along with the lime, coal, and wood yards. The four Parish Churches, with the exception of the pews belonging to the incorporated trades, heritors, and other individuals. Mills and waterfalls,—consisting of the Flour, Meal, and Barley Mills, kilns and granaries; Spinning and Oil Mill, at Mill Street, together with their waterfalls; and also the waterfall at Tulloch Bleachfield. Fishings, which consist of the Weel of West, the Back Shot, the Fourth Shot of the ships, the fishings upon Sleepless Island; as well as the Over and Nether Shots of Girdom, and the fishings of the Loch, as the other fishings on said island; the fishings on the south and north sides of the Island of Inchirrit, and the fishings called Balhepburn Inch, at the island of Inchyra.

The Burgh claims the exclusive right of a free port and harbour on both sides the river Tay opposite to the sheriffdom of Perth; and has a right, by royal charters, to levy anchorage, shore dues, and other port customs on vessels, and goods imported, and exported at the shores of Perth, which has been reserved under the Harbour and Navigation acts. The town receive one twelfth of the shore dues collected under said acts in lieu of their right to levy dues under their charters.

TAXATION.

1st. *Customs leviable at the different Ports.*—Almost all necessities and luxuries are included. Independently of the special enumeration, there is an article “merchant goods,” by which there is imposed a duty upon each pack or horse load of all kinds which are the manufacture or produce of Scotland or England, and not particularly mentioned in that table. All of the duties are charged in Scotch money. The inhabitants are exempted from the dues on various articles; and on other articles lower duties are exigible from them than from strangers. “All landed gentlemen and ladies, or their children, who reside and keep families within the burgh, shall be free of port custom and meal market dues for all the produce of their own grounds imported for the use of their families in town.”

2nd. *Meal Market Dues.*—These are regulated according to the “table of pignory and pecks.” A few examples shall be selected. *First*, ten shillings and eightpence Scots for each chalders of farm meal, or meal imported into the Tay, put into granaries for sale, the quantity of which amounts to, or exceeds, 100 bolls belonging to one man, but not to companies except under certain qualifications. *Secondly*, all meal brought into the town, except the flour of wheat, in

smaller quantities for sale, to pay one shilling and six pennies Scots for each boll, whether the same be put into granaries or not, or sold in the meal market or not. *Thirdly*, one penny sterling shall be paid for each boll of ungrinded corn brought into the market, and so on proportionally;—eight pennies Scots for each horse load of apples and certain other fruits. *Fourthly*, one shilling and two pennies Scots for each load of salt. There are exemptions similar to those stated under the preceding branch.

3d. *Flesh Market Customs*.—Each cow or ox, sixpence. Each calf, and certain other animals belonging to burghers inhabitants, one penny; to strangers, one penny farthing. Each lamb or kid, one penny. All sterling money.

4th. *Weigh-house Dues*.—These dues are exigible on a variety of enumerated articles, as wool, butter, cheese, tallow, &c. The prevailing rate is one shilling and four pennies Scots per stone. Two pennies Scots per stone are payable for merchant goods, being staple ware. Exemptions and privileges similar to those already stated exist with relation to this branch.

The administration of this department is strict, for it is provided, “that the tacksman of the weigh-house shall keep an exact account book of all merchant goods and other effects as laid in and delivered out of the weigh-house from time to time,” and which book he is to lay monthly before the magistrates, in order to their inspecting the same, and judging the exactness thereof, and that under the penalty of 500 merks.

The value of the property of the Burgh, including customs, as estimated a number of years ago by a committee of the Town Council, assisted by men of skill, was about £67,000, after deducting debts.

REVENUE OF THE CITY OF PERTH,
For the year ending 30th September, 1848.

Rent of Arable Lands,	£ 94 15 0
Do. of Fishings,	1055 0 0
Do. of Mills and Waterfalls,	997 5 6
Do. of Customs,	646 5 0
Do. of Inches,	400 0 0
Do. of Coal and Wood Yards,	340 15 0
Do. of Shipbuilding and Lumber Yards,	221 13 3

Carry forward	£3695 13 9
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Brought forward,				£3695	13	9
Do. of Houses, Shops, and Cellars,	421	17	0
Do. of City-Hall,	81	2	0
Fou-Duties and Ground Annuals,	...	...	...	353	9	1
Privilege of Bridges across Lade, &c.	...	...	...	6	5	0
Burgh Muir Feus,	...	...	...	832	4	0
Burgess Entry-Money,	...	...	...	19	18	8
Shores-Dues,	...	...	...	334	5	9
Seats in the Churches,	...	...	...	443	16	0½
Double Feus,	...	...	...	27	8	10
Scottish Central Railway,	...	...	...	77	9	4
Total Revenue,				£6293	9	5½

EXPENDITURE.

Civil Department,	...	...	£2132	7	3
Ecclesiastical do.	...	...	882	6	2
Education do.	...	...	742	1	11
Repairing Property,	...	...	1206	3	7
Public Burdens,	...	...	396	11	9
Expense of Justiciary Court,	...	...	36	4	11
Finance Department,	...	...	1422	5	11
			£6818	1	6

Expenditure exceeds the Revenue, £524 12 0½

CESS.

According to a statement furnished by the collector of cess to the commissioners on municipal corporations in 1833, and which has but little varied since that time.

	£.	s.	d.
The assessment levied for the previous ten years, from the average number of 1,458 persons, was	3,726	7	4½
The sum paid to Government during the same period was	3,354	0	0
Leaving the expense of collection,	372	7	4½
Average yearly expense,	37	4	8½

When a new survey is made, the assessment is so proportioned that three fourths are laid upon the houses and lands within the royalty, and the remaining one-fourth upon trade. The latter por-

tion is termed "trade stent," and is laid on and apportioned yearly by twelve respectable burgesses, appointed and sworn in by the magistrates. When houses become ruinous, or new ones are built, the proportion between the land cess and trades'-stent occasionally varies a little. But when a new survey is taken, they are again equalized, agreeably to the proportions already stated. The last survey was taken in 1829. There are no exemptions from the cess or stent. The exemptions and differences of rates relative to the customs and certain other duties have been already stated.

JURISDICTION.

The jurisdiction of the provost, dean of guild, and bailies, *qua* such, extends over the royalty of the burgh; but the boundary of the royalty is not well defined. The property holding burgage, situate without the line of the ancient walls, exceeds in extent that within those walls. Within the same territory the provost is also sheriff, by virtue of the charter of Robert III., of 10th April, 1339.

The jurisdiction is exercised by the magistrates personally and directly. The dean of guild exercises judicial functions in conjunction with a council, consisting of the provost, three merchant bailies, two members chosen by the incorporated trades in their court of conveyance, and four members chosen by the guildry incorporation. There are no dependencies, and there is no delegated jurisdiction. The town clerk acts as assessor, for doing which duty he receives no emolument.

There is a Burgh Court held every Tuesday, in which one of the bailies presides. Each of the four bailies does duty for three months. A guild court is held, regularly, on the fourth Monday of each month; and occasionally at other times when business requires.

All the usual civil causes for which the court is competent, are occasionally tried. The amount of sums pursued for in actions of debt, range from £10 to £30, the average being about £12. In general, those actions of debt only are brought before the court which are incompetent, by reason of amount, before the small debt court, but in which summary execution, by "act of warding," is desired. Actions of sequestration, removing, &c. are occasionally raised, and applications for the act of grace and for law-burrows are occasionally made. In the dean of guild court, there are brought actions for demolishing ruinous houses, lining buildings, condemning deficient weights and measures, or unwholesome food, and punishing the offenders.

In consequence of the operation of the Small Debt Court Act, there are very few cases brought before the Burgh court.

CITY SEAL.

A common seal belonged to the City of Perth, in the reign of Alexander II., and perhaps long before. No impression of it being extant, nothing is known whether it was the same as that afterwards used. Impressions from the seal used, however, from about 1400 to the Reformation, are appended to many of the charters of the religious houses at Perth. On one side was represented the decollation of St. John the Baptist: on the reverse, his enshrinement; and round both sides of it were the words: "*S. communis ville Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Berth.*"—The seal of the community of the town of St. John Baptist of Perth. After the Reformation, the above seal was laid aside; and the one used since refers to the Roman origin of Perth:—it bears an imperial eagle, displayed with a red escutcheon, charged with the Holy Lamb, passant, carrying the banner of St. Andrew, surmounts the breast of the eagle, and has the legend at the bottom:—" *Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege.*"—The King, Law, and People.

ANCIENT PRIVILEGED BODIES.

The exclusive privileges of the guildry and the corporations were exercised in a very rigid manner in Perth. The former body consists of burghesses and guild brethren, who are subdivided into merchant burghesses and trades burghesses. The corporations are seven in number; and before their exclusive privileges were abolished by act of parliament in 1847, any person, before he was entitled to deal as a merchant or tradesman, had to be entered as a burghess and guild brother. With relation to merchants, the term is to "merchandize," which signifies to keep open shop for buying and selling. With relation to tradesmen, the term is, to "exercise his craft." Tradesmen become entitled to "merchandize," by becoming burghesses and guild brethren; but they cannot exercise any particular craft without entering with the corporation.

The constitution, revenues, and expenditure of the guildry, and then those of the corporations, will be detailed.

GUILDRY.

The Guildry corporation, which is of great antiquity, consists of dealers, who are said to exercise certain "sciences." The whole are

styled merchant burghesses, and are about 500 in number. These sciences are four, viz., merchants, maltmen, surgeons, and dyers. About nine-tenths belong to the first "science." The power of administration of their public rights—as of admission of burghesses—is vested in the guild court. Previously to 1817, that court likewise administered their pecuniary concerns. But, since that period, the latter have been under the superintendence of a committee distinct from the guild court.

The guild court consists of eleven members, viz., the dean, who is the president, the provost, the three merchant bailies *ex officio*, four guild brethren elected by the whole guildry, and two tradesmen elected by the convener of court. The dean of guild never acts except by the authority of a majority of his court. Independently of its judicial functions, the business of the court consists principally of admitting burghesses, and recording the indentures of apprentices. This court claims the sole right of admitting burghesses, and consequently of regulating the amount of entry money. But this right was disputed by the town council, who contended that it was lodged, not in the guild court alone, but in it and the town council. This dispute arose in consequence of the guildry having, in the year 1825, raised the entry money. The result was a lawsuit, which was ultimately dropt by both parties.

The fees of admission consist of entry money, and of certain small dues, viz., 10 merks as upset, and £4 Scots as "football." The entry money varies according to the grounds upon which the application for the right of burghess-ship is rested, and likewise according as the applicant wishes to be a merchant or trades' burghess. There are three degrees of rates: 1st, those of sons and sons-in-law; 2nd, of apprentices; and, 3d, of strangers, applicable both to merchant and trades' burghesses. The rate varies also according to the age of the applicant. A certain portion of the entry money is paid into the common good, and the remainder, the much larger part, to the guildry.

The guildry are possessed of large property, and have a considerable revenue. Their real property is valued at £28,000. It is composed of land situate five or six miles distant from Perth, of burgh subjects, and of feu duties.

The revenue is derived principally from the following sources:—1st, rents and feu duties; 2nd, interest of money lent to the feuars of the guildry property on the security of the property so feued; 3rd,

burgess entry monies ; 4th, rents of church seats ; 5th, small dues collected from the shipping for the use of planks for loading and unloading, and similar petty casualties. Within the last ten years the income of the guildry has varied from L.1,600 to L.1,200. The average is stated to be between L.1,300 and L.1,400.

The expenditure is great. The most important article consists of the weekly allowances to the poor who have claims upon the fund. Those allowances are stated to amount to about L.800 per annum. The persons who are entitled to pecuniary aid are decayed members, widows, and orphans ; but there appear also to exist certain less defined connexions which give a claim. The applications for aid are lodged in writing every month : ordinarily a small committee is appointed to inquire into each case, and an allowance is given according to the circumstances. The allowances are fixed in reference partly to the actual necessities, and partly to the previous station, of the applicant. In general, no relief is given to persons having an income of L.10 or upwards ; but, in the event of accidental distress, an occasional donation is given to them. No really needy person having claims on the corporation is refused assistance, although the average expenditure should be exceeded. At present there are about 100 on the regular roll, whose allowances range from 1s. to 3s. 6d. per week. There are also about 12 on the quarterly roll of non-resident members, and 10 or 12 who, in addition to their weekly allowance, receive occasional donations. It was lately resolved to strike off the allowances to non-resident members, because they were found to have no other effect than to relieve the parishes liable. In adjusting the allowances, an endeavour is always made to keep them within the weekly average, which has varied from L.10 to L.12, and which the office-bearers are now desirous to reduce to L.8 or L.9, in order to meet the deficiency of income occasioned by the decrease of rents, and the abolition of the payments for licenses to trade.

About L.40 is allowed for the education of children. The guildry have not refused any applications by members for having their children educated, even although the circumstances of the applicants were not such as to render them entitled to the benefit of the charity roll. There are about 35 children educated by the guildry. This branch is superintended by a committee ; and the outlay is deemed advantageous, as many of the children " turn out well."

INCORPORATED TRADES.

There are seven corporations in Perth, which possessed the ordinary exclusive privileges. Those are founded upon consuetude or immemorial usage, for the incorporations have no special charters or seals of cause, but rely, *first*, upon the general charter of the burgh; *secondly*, upon a charter granted by Queen Mary, of 28th May, 1556, to "the trades of Perth," reponing them against an act passed in June, 1555, which prohibited the election of deacons, and granting them the same rights as merchants in the election of office-bearers within the burgh; and, *thirdly*, the charter by James VI., of 22nd July, 1581, in favour of the craftsmen of burghs. The corporations are the hammermen, bakers, glovers, wrights, tailors, fleshers, and shoemakers.*

The incorporated trades have a court termed the "Convener Court," composed of their deacons, and the deacon of the weavers. For some time past the only business of the court has consisted in electing the convener. It has no funds. Formerly a small sum was paid to it by each trade for an annual dinner, which is now abolished.

Although the corporations have lost all political influence, it may not be out of place to notice shortly their constitution and usages. Their erection, as already stated, into bodies corporate, was of a considerably later date than the merchant guild. They were so constituted by the town-council, who found them to be very troublesome neighbours. Each corporation formed a little community of itself; all its members, however, did not follow one occupation. A number of kindred occupations were united into one body which were called sciences, as, for example, the Hammerman corporation which consists of ten sciences, blacksmiths, watchmakers, goldsmiths, tinsmiths, &c. The members of the corporation were only allowed to practice one science, and could

* The Municipal Commissioners say, relative to "the weavers":—"The weavers have sometimes been styled a corporation; but they ought rather to be deemed a friendly society; for they never had, nor claimed, the right of being represented in the Town Council, nor of exercising exclusive privileges." With all due deference to such learned authority, we cannot admit altogether the correctness of the above statement; for the Town Council records bear testimony to both the "weavers and waukers" having their representatives in the Town Council. It is likely, however, that they were excluded from it prior to the charter of confirmation of privileges of the burgh by James VI.; but, on the other hand, it seems that they insisted upon retaining their former right up to 1658, when the convention of burghs deprived them of their seats.

change it for no other, but with the consent of the brethren, and on the payment of additional fees. The corporation exercised an absolute control over the individual members. They regulated the number of apprentices he was to have, who were always lodged in the house of their master. Apprentices could not be entered freemen until they had served as journeymen for a certain period of years. At the entry of a member, so much was paid for foot-ball, and a dinner or banquet, as it was called; and on the marriage of a member he has to give a foot-ball, under the penalty of "being pointed and stramied of fourteen shillings, and his buith closed up, but the payment of the same." Members, too, were not to bring to their meetings staff or other weapon, under the penalty of forty shillings Scots. They were also obliged to attend all meetings when warned, and the funerals of deceased brethren, under severe penalties. Such was the exclusive spirit which actuated these bodies, that no one could sell within the burgh, except on market days, such articles as were made by them. Moreover they had the right of charging certain fees from strangers for liberty to sell their work, and of inspecting it, and which, if they found insufficient, was condemned and destroyed.

The office of deacon was, up to a very recent date, considered a most important one. It gave the person holding such situation a seat in the town-council, and brought him into contact with the more wealthy and influential portion of the community. He reigned with absolute control over his own corporation, and was regarded with a deference and respect which, now-a-days, would be considered ludicrous; the member was to be pitied who in any way insulted the deacon. In the minutes of the wright incorporation, under the date of 3d February, 1541, we find, at a meeting held on the South Inch, Patrick Mar, officer of the trade, "is ordained to fall down on his knees, and seek the deacon of the craft's forgiveness, at his buith door, and give to our lady's altar ane stane of wax, for blaspheming the said deacon." The deacons were often called upon to visit with punishments such of the brethren as were guilty of certain offences. In the records of the wright incorporation, we find several instances of this power. We notice one—"The 8th June 1551, Whilk day John Bailie, deacon, discerned Oliver Cragie, in 2 lb. of wax, for molesting the kirk, and for putting fire in Patrick Mar his bed, at the time of yule at the evening sang."

To be a deacon was the highest object of an aspiring tradesman's ambition. The potwallapers of an English burgh were never more

assiduously canvassed for their votes, than were the members of the incorporations by the candidates for the offices of deacon and box-master. For weeks before the day of election, the members thought it below them to fulfil the orders of their customers. Their whole time was consumed in the public house. It was no unusual thing to see written, with a piece of chalk on the shop door of the more active of the corporation,—“Gone a boeing.”* The offices of trades bailie and deacon convener were still more anxiously sought after. To such an excess was the struggle for them often carried, that many a person in comfortable circumstances, acquired habits of dissipation, ruined their trade, and brought themselves and their families to beggary. On the morning of the election,† the opposing parties assembled as early as five o’clock, at their respective rendezvous, where they regaled themselves with “foaming tippeny,” whisky, and Athole brose. The near approach of the eventful hour, of course, quickened their exertions: and innumerable manoeuvres were practised to bring forward their friends and keep back the wavering and doubtful; some of the latter were filled so drunk as to render them quite insensible, and consequently unable to attend and give their votes: others of them were sent off to the country in carriages, till the hour of election was past, and left to return to their homes in the best way they could. At eight o’clock morning the corporations assembled in their respective halls, the door was immediately locked, and the elections proceeded with. The quiet observed on such occasions was not unfrequently disturbed by members seeking admittance—and and it is a well-authenticated fact, that, not a very great many years ago, at a contested election for deacon of the shoemaker corporation, a member pledged to — one of the candidates, and on whose vote depended the issue of the election, found himself excluded by being too late. The ingenious son of St. Crispin was, however, not to be done, so, ascending the loft immediately above the hall where they met, he forced himself through the ceiling, down among the astonished members of the craft, gave his vote, and turned the scale of the election in favour of the candidate whom he supported. The deacon, on being elected, presented the corporation with a fire-lock, and the boxmaster had to give a sword or a sum of money.‡

* Canvassing.

† The Wednesday morning immediately following the election of the Magistrates and councillors.

‡ The following excerpt from the records of the Wright Incorporation, shews the value put by the corporation on such gifts:—4th October, 1660, “Whilk day

When the population ceased to be trained to the use of arms such gifts were, of course dispensed with.

When the elections were finished, the members adjourned to some favourite public house, and were regaled with rum and milk at the expense of the deacon. In the afternoon they partook of a substantial dinner, the cost of which was defrayed generally out of the corporation funds. The last scene of the Michaelmas proceedings was the election of deacon-convenor. It being, however, only among the deacons themselves, this was gone about in a very quiet and orderly manner. It may be mentioned, that the convenor, when elected, was put in possession of a flag called the "Blue Blanket," or Craftsmen's Banner. On its being unfurled, every member of the incorporated trades was expected to turn out with their weapons of war. In the afternoon a sumptuous dinner was prepared, to which the magistrates, clergy, and all those who at any time had held office as deacon, trades' bailie, or trades' councillor were invited. It may be added, that some of the incorporations had what was called a "washing up" on the following Saturday. It may be noticed, also, that still most of all the corporations have a dinner at the annual election of office-bearers. Our limited space does not permit us to enter upon the consideration of what was the social condition, the political position, and the influence of the craftsmen on the progress of society, up to the time when they merged—so far as political rights were concerned, into the general community. A remark or two must suffice. We find them existing at first as a degraded class,—enjoying few physical comforts—having little or no intellectual culture—and the votaries of gross and debasing superstitions. But we find them also possessing the elements of progress;—we see them animated with a spirit of sturdy independence; an indomitable perseverance; and a keen sense of the injuries heaped upon them by the haughty but cringing merchant guilds. The struggle between the crafts and the latter body was severe and protracted, yet they ultimately won for themselves an equality of rights. It was among them, too, that the principles of the reformation first gained a footing, and when a crisis came, we find them nobly defend-

the wright calling considering that it is the custom of most part of the trades of the burgh, that each entrant deacon gives an firelock, and each boxmaster an sword, or three pounds scots. The present deacon hath voluntarily offered and gifted to the calling an firelock; and therefore the calling unanimously ordained his successor entrant deacons to doe the like; and the succeeding boxmasters to give the calling an sword. or three pounds therefor."

ing them at the expense of their lives. In the struggles, moreover, for civil and religious freedom during the 17th century, they never are to be found on the side of the oppressor. In fine, it is to the stand taken by the incorporated trades against the self-elected "beautiful order," that we owe in a great measure the control which the community now possess in the management of the affairs of the burgh.

HAMMERMEN.

This corporation consists of ten "sciences," viz., blacksmiths, farriers, gunsmiths, watchmakers, saddle cap and harness makers, brass and iron founders, jewellers and goldsmiths, coachmakers, cutlers, tinsmiths and plumbers. The number of members is 65. The entry money to sons of freemen is £3 1s. The income arises from entry money, recording indentuers, house rents, and church seat rents.

The total income at Michaelmas, 1848, was £180 5 9
The expenditure which consists of pensions, repairs,
salaries, &c. amounted to 183 18 3

The exclusive privileges were rigidly enforced, and prosecutions often raised against unfreemen, who attempted to exercise any of the "sciences."

BAKERS.

The number of this corporation is about 30. It consists of one "science" only. The entry to sons of freemen is £1 18s. 4d. They are bound in thirlage to the towns mills, at the twentieth boll.

Their income arising from entry money, and rents,

was at Michaelmas, 1848, £200 0 0

The expenditure for the year was 199 16 7½

The number on the poor roll is 9, the amount they receive weekly ranges from 2s. 6d. to 3s.

GLOVERS.

This corporation is by far the most wealthy in Perth, and consists of two "sciences," viz., the glovers and skinners. The number of members are about 75. The entry for freemen's sons is regulated by their age; those under 30 being admitted for £1. The property of the corporation consists of land, houses, and shops, feu-duties, money lent out at interest, and church-seat rents.

The yearly income arising from those sources,
and the entry for freemen, was, for the year
ending at Michaelmas 1848, . . . L.1,722 15 1½

The expenditure during the same period was, 1,374 9 10½

On 11th January, 1848, the corporation adopted a scheme for giving annuities to members and to widows, on the principle of a legal right. Its main provisions are, that every member, fifty years of age, and who has been twenty years a freeman, shall be entitled to an annuity of fifteen pounds per annum; and after obtaining the age of fifty-five, this annuity shall be raised to twenty pounds per annum; and at the age of sixty and upwards, to twenty-five pounds per annum. The widows of resident members shall be entitled to an annuity of twenty pounds per annum.

WRIGHTS.

This corporation now consists of seven "sciences," viz.—Wrights, barbers, coopers, slaters, plasterers, glaziers, and masons. Formerly, however, the surgeons and bookbinders were connected with them. Their number is 91. The entry money of sons of freemen is regulated by their age. The income of the corporation is derived from house rents, and seat rents in the East and West churches, interest of money lent and in bank, and mortcloth dues.

The income for the year ending Michaelmas, 1848, was £385 7 1

The expenditure, 294 12 1

Leaving a balance of income over expenditure of £90 15 0

There are 28 poor on the roll, who receive a weekly allowance varying from 2s. to 3s. 6d. Each of them receives also £1 1s. for yearly rent, besides a quantity of coals. This corporation were very tenacious of their rights and privileges, and prosecutions often raised against unfreemen.

TAILORS.

This corporation number about 30, and consists of two "sciences" the tailors and staymakers. The fee for the admission of freemen's sons is £1 11s. 8d.

Their income for the year ending Michaelmas, 1848, was £250 0 0

The expenditure, 185 0 0

In 1848 they adopted, by way of experiment, the plan of giving a small annuity of £5 to members on attaining a certain age.

FLESHERS.

This body are about 20 in number, and consists of one science. The entry money for freemen's sons is £3 17s.

Their income, arising from rents of houses and church seat rents, was at Michaelmas 1848, about	L.132 0 0
The expenditure,	145 0 0

SHOEMAKERS.

The shoemaker incorporation consists of one "science." They number about 35. The entry money to sons of freemen is L.1 14s. 2d.

The income for the year ending Michaelmas, 1848, was L.137 9 7½

The expenditure during same period, 137 4 2

There is on the poor roll, nine decayed members and three widows, who receive weekly allowances ranging from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d.

POLICE COMMISSION.

The paving, lighting, cleansing, and police establishments are administered under a statute, entitled "An act for more effectually paving the streets of the city of Perth; for the better lighting, watching, and cleansing the said city and suburbs thereof; for maintaining and regulating the police of the same; and for other purposes relating thereto."—dated 14th June, 1839.

The former statutes obtained in 1811, and 1819, confined the power of the police authorities within the burgh, which caused much inconvenience, the royalty forming but a part of the bounds over which streets and houses extended. Disturbances in the suburbs could not be quelled. The evil disposed had only to cross a street, when they were beyond the control of the police. The statute contains little different from ordinary police acts.

The city and suburbs is divided into seven districts or wards. The commissioners of police are 28 in number, namely, the Lord Provost of Perth, the four bailies and treasurer, the sheriff of the county, and the sheriff substitute for the eastern district of Perthshire, both for the time being; three commissioners for each of the wards, excepting the seventh which consists of the bounds of police situated on the east side of the river Tay, and elects two commissioners. Police commissioners are chosen by those assessed upon a yearly rent or value of £5; and those assessed upon the yearly rent or value of £10 are entitled to be elected commissioners. No person in arrear of assessment can be elected or is entitled to vote, under a penalty not exceeding £5.

The assessment is imposed upon rents of £2 and upwards; and in imposing it the police commissioners appoint a surveyor for valuing the property within their jurisdiction. They fix the rates of assessment, 1st., on assessable premises within the burgh, which is termed the "royalty rate," not to exceed 4d. per pound, and is applied to the paving, and keeping in repair the streets and thoroughfares within the royalty, and 2d., an assessment not to exceed 9d., levied in name of "general rate," to be supplied in defraying the expenses of watching, lighting, and cleansing the city and suburbs.

The commissioners' powers and duties are "to estimate, assess, levy, and apply the sums of money authorised to be raised and received for the purposes of this act; to appoint treasurers, collectors, clerks, surveyors, superintendents or inspectors of police, lieutenants, sergeants, watchmen, scavengers, and other inferior officers, to be employed within the said city and suburbs in the execution of this act, and to remove them at pleasure, to fix the salaries and wages to be paid to them, and to increase or diminish their numbers from time to time as they shall see cause; to make rules and regulations relative to the conducting of the elections of the commissioners under this act, and in regard to the paving, lighting, cleansing, guarding, watching and patrolling of the streets." And it is also enacted "that the lord provost and four bailies of the city of Perth, and the sheriff of the county of Perth or his substitute usually holding his courts within the said bounds of police, or any one of them, shall be judges in the police court under this act, and it shall be lawful for them or any one of them to hear and give judgment in a summary manner."

The form of procedure is by the complaint to the provost, or one of the bailies, by the procurator-fiscal of the city, or the police superintendent; or the sheriff-depute of the county, or his substitutes,—or the procurator-fiscal of the county. Power is given to commit to hard labour or solitary confinement for a period not exceeding 60 days, and to impose a fine not exceeding L.5.

Income from 31st July 1847, to 31st July, 1848,	L.6507	5	4
Expenditure for same period,	6495	5	11

WATER COMMISSION.

An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1829, "for supplying the city of Perth, and suburbs, and vicinity thereof, with Water."

There are 18 Commissioners, viz., the provost, the dean of guild, the first merchant bailie, the convener of the trades, the sheriff-sub-

stitute of the eastern district of Perthshire, the president of the society of procurators, and two persons elected by each of six wards, into which the city and suburbs are divided for the purposes of the act. The electors are all rate-payers, upon an annual rent of £5 yearly; and £10 yearly forms the qualification for being elected a water commissioner. The assessment is leviable from proprietors and occupants, and the *maximum* is five per cent. on the actual rent or annual value. The water commissioners appoint a surveyor to make up yearly a rental of the property liable. They fix the rate of assessment, which is levied by a collector appointed by them, and they have two clerks for keeping their records and accounts.

The duties have been levied from Whitsunday 1847 to Whitsunday 1848, at the rate of 1s. per pound on dwelling-houses, and 3d. on shops and warehouses. The sum levied and recovered amounted to £1,336, 8s. 8d.

The powers under this act are permanent; but it provides that the debt, amounting on 30th September, 1848, to £10,148, 16s. 8d. shall be liquidated in not less than 30, or more than 50 years; after which the assessment shall be only for the annual expense.

The proceeds of the assessment are applied in payment of the interest of the debt, and the annual expense of management.

The water with which the town and the railway terminii* are supplied is taken from the Friarton island, directly opposite the water works, situated at the north east corner of the south inch, immediately below the Dundee railway viaduct. The water percolates through a large gravel bed, and is drawn from a deep drain by means of an iron pipe, laid in the channel of the river. The works are rather of a peculiar construction. The tank is made of cast iron, tastefully embellished with pilasters, and surmounted by a cupola of lead, and painted so as to give it the appearance of stone. It rests upon a circular piece of solid stone-work, which, to the top of the balustrade, is forty feet in height. The chimney stalk attached to the engine house is said to be a copy of Trajan's pillar, at Rome. For the elegant design of the building and efficiency of the works, the public is indebted to the architectural taste and engineering skill of the late Dr Adam Anderson, professor of natural philosophy in the university of St Andrews. The water, from the pipe above-mentioned, is pumped into the tank by a steam engine of considerable power, and thence con-

* The Water Commissioners have engaged to supply this place with 50,000 gallons of water per day, for the yearly payment of £300.

veyed through service pipes laid throughout the city and the suburbs on the west side of the river Tay. In every street are public wells for supplying the inhabitants; besides, many families have a supply for their own accommodation.

NAVIGATION AND HARBOUR COMMISSION.

The harbour is governed by three acts of parliament, namely, 11 Geo. IV., and 1 Will. IV., cap. 121; 4 & 5 Will. IV., cap. 67; and 2 Vict., cap. 21. Before the passing of these acts, the affairs of the port and harbour of Perth, and the interests of the navigation of the Tay, were attended to by the magistrates of the city of Perth, in virtue of certain rights of freeport and harbour, and of certain powers and privileges as conservators of the Tay conferred upon them in early times by the Kings of Scotland, and which were confirmed by a Charter of King James VI., as well as by a subsequent decree arbitral pronounced by the same monarch, both of which were ratified by an act of the Scottish Parliament, July 9, 1606. The rights, powers, privileges, and jurisdiction so vested in the magistrates of Perth, were saved and reserved by the statutes above recited. There are thirty commissioners under these acts:—the member for the city, fourteen of the town council, six commissioners of supply, three shipowners, and six burgesses of Perth.

The act of 1830 being considered as very defective, another act was obtained in 1834 by which power was given to the harbour commissioners, in addition to the operations authorised by the previous statute, to form a tide harbour, docks, and canals: "to cause, lessen, or remove in whole, or in part, by dredging by steam-vessels, hand labour, or otherwise, all banks, bars, fords, shallows, hursts, or other obstructions" to the free navigation of the river; to adopt every other means for improving the navigation by deepening or altering the channel, and connecting several islands in the Tay with the mainland. The time for executing the works was limited to five years from and after the passing of this act, in so far as regards the operations for deepening and improving the navigation of the Tay, and to twenty years so far as regards the other works and operations; but by a supplementary act obtained in 1839, a further period of two years was allowed for completing the river operations. Compensation was provided to the proprietors of salmon fishings for the damage that it was supposed must be occasioned to their interests by the operations authorised by the act. The produce of each proprietor's fishings was

to be ascertained by the average of the five years preceding 1834, and any shortcoming was to be paid over annually by the commissioners during the continuance of the operations, and for five years after they should cease, at which time the permanent damage to fishings should be ascertained, and the compensation paid over to the parties entitled to receive it, in capital sums.* The commissioners, besides expending the surplus of the statutory rates and duties, were authorised to borrow money for the purposes of both acts to the extent of L.50,000, for which the magistrates and town-council were authorised to interpose the security of the city of Perth. The provisions of the statute of 1830, as to the liability of the property of the city for the indemnification of parties entitled to damage, were repeated. And the commissioners were prohibited from proceeding farther with the operations authorised, than the deepening of the river, and the formation of the harbour, or from expending or borrowing more than a limited sum for these purposes, until compensation should be made or provided for to the proprietors of salmon fishings.

Immediately after the passing of this act, the harbour commissioners commenced their operations, and in the course of the last ten years much has been done for the improvement of the navigation. The principal fords, and many intermediate shallows, have been removed, together with many detached boulders of immense size. The river, along its course from Perth to Newburgh, has been dredged and deep-

* The amount of compensation due to the fishing proprietors, is now in course of arbitration. They have already received upwards of £8000, and several thousands more will be required to meet the demands made upon the commissioners, in carrying out their operations, the commissioners have been greatly hampered by the method of compensation and imperfect construction of the clauses which provide that the average produce of the fishings for five years previous to the operations should be ascertained, and in the event of falling off, the commissioners under the act should "be bound yearly, and each year, to make good and pay to the said owners or occupiers the loss or damage arising from such deficiency." It was likewise provided, that five years after the operations ceased, a count and reckoning should take place between the commissioners and "the proprietors and their successors, who shall by themselves, or their tenants or lessees, have claimed or received any compensation," and that if, on the average of the whole years of the operations, the commissioners have paid more "to the proprietors or lessees" shall be bound to repay. In a case advocated to the court of session, James Hepburn and others, advocates, v. the commissioners and the Earl of Wemyss respondents, the lord president in giving judgement, stated the "clauses are anything but clear," and the other judges although differing in the interpretation, agree in affirming the imperfect construction of the act.

ened. The islands of Sleepless, Darry, and Balhepburn have been connected with the mainland by embankments formed of the produce of the dredging, so as to confine the whole of the water in the navigable channel, and render the scour more effective. The banks of the river in many places, where much contracted, have been excavated and removed, in order to equalise the currents, by allowing sufficient space for the free passage of the water. A tide harbour—the first part of the plan for establishing docks at Perth—has been formed, and a road from the town to communicate with it, which is now in constant use. All these improvements have been effected at an expense of not less than L.53,000.

The advantages that have already resulted from the works carried on by the harbour commissioners are neither few nor small. By affording a clearer and freer passage for the tidal currents, the tide now begins to flow at Perth fully half an hour sooner than before, while the time of high water remains nearly the same; and thus the advantages of increased depth, due to the presence of the tide, are proportionally increased throughout the whole range of the navigation. The depths in the shallowest parts of the river are now pretty nearly equal, being 5 feet at low and 15 feet at high water of ordinary spring tides. Steamers of small draft can now ply regularly at low water, while, at ordinary spring tides, vessels drawing 14 feet of water, can come up to Perth in one tide with ease and safety. In the year 1833, the registered tonnage of vessels belonging to the port of Perth, was 5,149, the number of vessels of 100 tons and upwards being only 12, and the largest vessel 144 tons. In 1848 there were 90 registered vessels belonging to the port, whose tonnage was 8,706, including 18 vessels from 100 to 150 tons; 4 from 150 to 200; 5 from 200 to 300; and 3 above 400 tons register; the arrivals and departures for 1848 were 973, of which 21 British and 23 foreign were from foreign ports; and so great has the traffic become, that sometimes no fewer than 15 vessels, all under sail, now arrive at the shore in one tide. The harbour revenue during the above period, was L.3,792, 8s. 6½d. The customs, which before the commencement of the statutory operations produced only L.2,969, produced, last year, L.19,834, 3s. 9d. The harbour debt is L.45,290, 8s. 2d. It may be added, that the commissioners have applied to parliament to get an alteration of the rates levied under the harbour act, the time extended for executing the works, and powers to borrow an additional sum of L.30,000 on the security of the rates. In a report on the Tay, drawn up by Messrs

Stevenson and Sons, they thus describe the changes effected by the works of the navigation commissioners.

"1st, That the fall on the bed of the river, from the tide basin at Perth, to Newburgh, in 1833, was 4 feet; but now it has been ascertained to be only 2 feet.

"2nd. In 1833, the passage of the tidal wave from Newburgh to Perth—8·56 miles—occupied 2h. 30m., being at the rate of 3·42 miles per hour, while, since the works were finished, it has been ascertained to be propagated in the same places in 1h., 40m., being at the rate of 5·13 miles per hour, giving a decrease in the time of 50m., and an increase in the speed of the first wave of flood of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, since the commencement of the works.

"3rd. The spring tides in 1833, at Perth, flowed 2h. 20m., ebbed 7h.; and, at low water, the river ran at its natural level for 1h. 45m.; but now the tide flows 3h. 10m., ebbs 7h., and stands at low water only 1h., being an increase in the duration of flood of 50m., and a decrease in the time at which the river is uninfluenced by the tide of 45m.

To complete what has been so well begun, they again say, "The works we propose for the further improvement of the navigation consist of two departments. For the lower part of the river we recommend the formation of a line of conservation for the margin of the channel, by the erection of a system of "rubble-walling," instead of the present irregular and broken line of shore, formed by the protusion of jetties into the stream. From our knowledge of the effects of similar operations on other navigations with which we have been professionally connected, we have no hesitation in saying, that, were such a wall as we propose carried in a judicious line of direction, from a point near the junction of the Earn to a point at or near Flisk Point, the level of the low water between Newburgh and Balmbreich would soon be lowered, and the present obstruction to the passage of the tidal wave being removed, its propagation would be greatly accelerated. This change would, of itself, operate beneficially on the whole line of navigation to Perth, at which place the first of flood would be hastened in proportion to its earlier appearance at Newburgh, while the scour would be rendered more effective. In connection with this work, we recommend for the upper part of the river the continuance of dredging, the beneficial effects of which on the channel of the Tay are still far below their limits. From calculations we have made, we are of opinion, that by the removal of a quantity of material, not much exceeding that

already raised, and the construction of the walling alluded to, a depth of from 19 to 20 feet, at highwater of ordinary spring tides, up to Perth, would be obtained; and by continuing these operations, the depth might be still further increased. It will be observed, that these improvements could be carried on without abstracting, or in any way interfering with the back-water of the river, which would even be somewhat increased; and thus the sea channels of the Firth would be improved, and all questions as to injuriously affecting other interests would be avoided.

“It is not possible with our present information, to form anything but a rough approximation to the expense of the works we have sketched out. But we are of opinion that the “rubble walling” between the Earn and Flisk Point, and the dredging to obtain the proposed depth of from 19 to 20 feet, would be executed at a cost of from L.45,000 to L.50,000.

“The establishment of wet docks at Perth, as proposed in our report of 1834, and partially executed, could not fail, in connection with such an improvement in the navigation as we have pointed out, to be attended with great advantage, both to the city of Perth, and to the whole surrounding district of country.”

THE TAY, ITS INUNDATIONS AND BRIDGES.

We consider that it will form no inappropriate sequel to the foregoing account of the navigation, to add the following description of the Tay, its inundations, and an account of the bridges, which at various periods have spanned it, connecting Perth with the opposite bank of the river.

The Tay has its source in the western extremity of Perthshire, in the district of Breadalbane, on the frontiers of Lorn in Argyleshire. At first it receives the name of the Fillan. After a winding course of eight or nine miles it spreads itself out into Loch Dochart, and, under the appellation of the Dochart, flows in an easterly direction through the vale of Glendochart, at the eastern extremity of which, having previously received the waters of the Lochy, it expands into the beautiful long narrow lake, called Loch Tay. Issuing thence, it speedily receives a great augmentation by the river Lyon, and running north and east at Logierait, about eight miles above Dunkeld, it is joined by the Tummel. It now takes a direction more towards the south, to Dunkeld, where, on its right bank, it receives the beautiful river Bran. On leaving Dunkeld, it runs east to Kinclaven, and after

receiving a considerable augmentation to the volume of its waters by the accession of the Isla, the Shochie, and the Almond, it flows in a south-westerly course to Perth. A short way below Perth, it assumes the appearance of a firth or estuary. At the foot of the vale of Strath-earn, it receives on its right bank its last great tributary, the Earn, and gradually expanding its waters, it flows in a north-easterly direction past Dundee, till it falls into the sea, between Tentsmoor Point and Buttonness.

The river Tay, with its numerous tributaries, receives the drainage water of a district of Scotland which as measured accurately on Arrowsmith's map, extends to 2283 square miles. Some of the most elevated land in the country is included in this space, and the volume of the river is consequently subject to sudden and great fluctuations, depending on the state of the weather, or the melting of the snow in the highland districts. This liability to fluctuation in the amount of its discharge is greatly aggravated by the effect of the westerly gales on Loch Tay, whence the river issues. These gales, acting on the lake, raise the level of its surface at its eastern end, and the water pours into the river in large quantity, often causing unexpected freshes, independently of rain or sudden thaws. The mean discharge of the river at Perth, as determined by the late Professor Anderson of St. Andrew's, from accurate measurement made for a judicial purpose is 218,158 cubic feet per minute; and if that of Earn, which, as lately ascertained, is 54,959 cubic feet, be added, the whole *mean* discharge of the Tay at Mugdrum island, exclusive of the drainage of the valley between Perth and that place, is 273,117 cubic feet per minute. Judging from the extent of drainage, as compared with any other river in Scotland, and it is believed in Britain, the Tay appears to be much the largest. The Clyde, for example, drains 945 square miles; the Spey, 1234; the Tweed, 1687; the Forth, 793; the Cromarty Firth, 633; the Dornoch Firth, 589; while the drainage of the Tay, as already stated, is 2283 miles.

The river is, at present, navigable as far as Perth, which is 22 miles from Dundee, and 32 from the German Ocean. The influence of the tide extends to the junction of the Tay and the Almond, which is $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles above Perth, and $34\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Gaa Sands, at the entrance to the Firth of Tay.

The town being so little raised above the level of the Tay, it is not at all surprising that it is subject to frequent inundations. The earliest account we possess of Perth being inundated, is related by Fordun.

This accurate historian says, "In the year 1210, and, as some would have it, about the time of the feast of St. Michael, there happened such a great fall of rain, as made the brooks and rivers exceed their usual channels, and carry off much of the harvest crop from the fields. The water of Tay, with the water of Almond, being swelled by the increasing rain, and by a spring tide from the sea, passed through a great part of that town, which of old, was called Bertha, now also Perth, in Scotland. In consequence of a mound or rampart giving way, not only some houses, but also the large bridge of St. John, with an ancient chapel, were overthrown. William the King, David Earl of Huntington the King's brother, Alexander the King's son, with some of the principal nobility, went into a boat, and sailed quickly out of the town, otherwise possibly they might have perished. Of the burgesses, and other persons of both sexes, some went into boats, and others fled, for safety, to the galleries or balconies which were over their houses."

The next remarkable one was in 1621. The most circumstantial account of it is contained in the kirk session register. In the language of the time it is denominated :—

"An remembrance of God's visitation of Perth."

"It is to be noted and put in register in this book, the great and miraculous deliverance, that the Lord gave to this burgh of Perth, of an fearful inundation of waters compassing the same on all parts, so that therethrough the brig of Tay was haily dung down, except only one bow thereof standing. None could get furth of it, nor yet come within it, to make any relief thereto. The manner of the rising of the water was this, the rain began on Friday the 12th October, about ten hours of the day, it continued that day and Saturday, and in the night, unlooked for, the water rose so high that all them that dwelt outwith the Castel-gavel port in laigh houses, the water increased so, that they behoved to go to high houses for preservation of their lives : and being in high houses, the water rose to the loftings in the highest mid houses in the Castel-gavel, before six hours on Munday in the morning, and the wind and weest continuing, the water came up to Gilbert Henderson's yett [gate] in the Castel-gavel, and to Margaret Monypenny's yett in the fish-market ; to Donald Johnston's yett in the High-gate ; to the Meal-vennal in the Southgate ; and the water ran like miln-clouses, at the yetts of diverse parts on the north side of the High-gate. An great tempestuous wind at the east, blew all this time. The waters also came above Henry Sharp's shop in the Speygate.

The like fearful inundation of water was never seen in no living man's remembrance, which brought the people under such fear, that they looked for nothing but to have been destroyed.

"The waters began to decrease afternoon on Monday (15th), but after daylight past, there arose a great tempest of wind and rain than at any time of before, which so affrighted the people that night, that they looked for nothing but the waters should have arisen to greater height, nor they were of before. Notwithstanding thereof, miraculously, through the great mercy of God, but without all men's expectation, the water greatly in the mean time decreased: Which in the morning moved the people in the kirk, and all other places, to give most hearty thanks to God for his mercy towards them. Mr John Malcom proved the part of a faithful pastor to his flock, with great godly courage, and magnanimity, to comfort them with the mercy of God. Great plenty of corns in all parts, both stacks and stooks, being on haughs and valley-ground, was carried away by the waters; and diverse ships by tempest perished, and horse, nolt, kye and sheep, drowned."

In 1774 Perth also suffered greatly from an inundation of the Tay. A severe frost set in about the end of December 1773, which continued with snow showers, at intervals, till about the 11th of February 1774. The Tay had become frozen over in the beginning of January, so that when the thaw came the ice was of tremendous thickness. The stream tide on the 14th of February raised the ice about four feet, and loosened it on either side of the river; on the return of the tide, however, it subsided again, being still unbroken. Almond, and the upper tributaries of the Tay, however, began to flow, and sent forward great shoals of ice which again raised the ice in the Tay above the bridge; below, however, it yet remained firm and unbroken. Many people began to be apprehensive, especially if the dissolved snow from the mountains should swell the river before the ice was broken below the bridge to give it vent, for the river was one continued sheet of thick ice for above eight miles, from Luncarty down to the mouth of Earn river. The water increased with the dissolved snow, and tore into pieces the ice above the bridge, which was crowded with spectators trembling for the event. About mid-day the water, choaked up by the ice, overspread the whole North Inch, broke down a long wall of stone and lime at the head of it, lodged upon its surface immense blocks of ice above eighteen inches thick, piled one upon another, and tore up and broke a fine row of trees. In a short time the town was an

island; the water ran with a great current through the Castle-gavel, and north end of the Skinnergate, and laid many houses under water, so that infirm and sick people were with great difficulty removed to places of safety. The water from the Inch increasing, took its course through the Blackfriars grounds on the north of the town, where there was a stone wall through the middle of these grounds from north to south. Nothing could resist its impetuosity, and the force of the large blocks of ice floating in it; the wall was overturned, and the water directed its course to the Mill-wynd, at the west end of the town, and, to the surprise and consternation of the inhabitants, laid their habitations six feet under water. There was no getting out nor in to many houses in New-Row. The Spy and Hospital Gardens on the south were under water, and the gardeners were obliged to fly to the upper stories of their houses. Mean time the pressure of the water, and the great blocks of ice, broke down the walls on the west side of the Deadland garden and orchard immediately below the bridge. The trees broke the force of the great masses of ice, otherwise the houses in the orchard would have been in the utmost danger of being carried into the river. During this havoc, the whole ice over the Inch floating like moving mountains, was in one tremendous motion pressing towards this place, where it found a vent, and as it continued to run through this new passage into the river, it soon began to subside above, and, some time after, the ice opposite to Gowrie House broke quite across the river, by which means the water found a free passage under the ice. The confusion and alarm at this time was very great betwixt two and three in the afternoon, and things continued much in the same situation until about nine o'clock at night, when the ice at the bridge began to give way with amazing cracks and noise by the inundation from Tay, which raised the water some feet above the spring of the arches of the bridge. To such a height was the water raised, and such immense blocks of ice floating in it, that in its passage it broke down the parapets on the north shore, and ran in a violent current through the strong arches below the council-house, and lodged great blocks of ice a great way up the High Street, overturned the walls of several gardens in the Watergate, and filled them with ice. Five ships were thrown upon the quay; four were got off without damage, the other suffered considerably. About eleven o'clock that night the river began to clear and subside. The bridge did not receive the smallest damage; only a small part of the parapet beyond the river was broken by the ice. From Almond, which is

more than two miles above the town, down to the foot of the South Inch, was one sheet of water. From the bridge, Muirtown and the town had the appearance of islands. Although many people were under fearful apprehensions, it is amazing that so little damage was done, and no lives lost.

In 1814 the town suffered severely, also, from the breaking up of the ice. A severe frost set in about the end of December 1813, and continued till the beginning of February 1814. The thaw came gradually on, and the weather was, for the season, extremely mild. On Friday, 12th February, about noon, the ice in the Almond yielded to the rise of the water, and was carried down to the Tay. The broken ice from the mountain-streams arrived soon after, with a considerable fresh; but not so great as usual on such occasions. About three o'clock afternoon, the ice above the bridge began to move, and, breaking against the piers, was carried down through the arches. The force of the water, however, was not sufficient to burst asunder the massy sheet, which extended from the Blackfriars grounds, to the opposite shore. Between the bridge and the Friarton the ice remained entire, and there being no vent for the fast-accumulating masses of ice from the hills, the water suddenly rose to a great height. About midnight the pent up water of the Tay, directing its course across the North Inch, soon flooded Rose Terrace, Barossa Street, the North Port, Castle Gable, and the Skinnergate; in fact the water advanced within 95 yards of High Street. The South Inch being several feet under the water, consequently the Edinburgh road was impassable. The water rushed in an impetuous torrent up Canal Street; and the New Row, and the Hospital gardens were completely inundated. One family, in a house behind Marshall Place, had to take refuge from the swelling flood on the top of the house, till relieved in the morning. The water continuing to rise through the night, in the morning it was sufficiently high to float boats in many parts of the town. Many families, greatly alarmed, removed from their houses; and such as remained had to receive supplies of victuals brought in boats. On the Friarton island many cattle and sheep were drowned. Goods lodged in warehouses and cellars were greatly damaged or destroyed. Five vessels were thrown out of the river upon the old shore, and had to be re-launched. The water continued to rise the whole of Saturday; late in the evening, however, the ice at the Friarton began to give way, and when once the river got clear, the current rushed through the arches of the bridge with such impetuosity as caused the entire fabric to shake, and

carrying down the huge blocks of ice which had impeded its course. When the flood subsided, the North Inch was covered with masses of ice of enormous thickness. It was feared that the pasturage of the Inch would be destroyed by such quantities lying upon it. A genial spring, however, followed, and, together with gentle western breezes, the ice rapidly disappeared; and a finer crop of grass has not since been seen on the Inches. The height of the flood at the bridge was upwards of 23 feet—being several above the spring of the arches.

The Tay, since 1814, has several times been frozen over, but without inundating the town at the breaking up of the ice. In the winter of 1838 it was closed as far down as the mouth of Earra river, for nearly eight weeks. Two dinners were cooked and served up on it. The first was given by the Messrs Graham, merchants, and shipowners, and to which the magistrates, clergy, and a number of the influential inhabitants of the town were invited. The other by the sailing masters of the vessels then closed up in the harbour.

The highest flood of the Tay, in late years, was in October 1847. Previous to its rise, there was a long track of dry weather. During the harvest of 1847, scarcely a shower had fallen. On the 31st of September the sky became cloudy, and a drizzling rain ensued. On the 2nd and 3rd of October, a dreadful storm of wind with rain blew from the north-east. In these few days 4 4·10 inches of rain fell, being one half more than the ordinary average for the whole month of October. The rivers Isla and Ericht were very much swollen, so much so, indeed, was the latter stream, that the current carried away the greater part of Kirkmichael kirk-yard, and part of the bridge which crosses it at Blairgowrie. The storm was not so severe in the western parts of Perthshire, but was confined chiefly to the north, and north-east of Scotland. On Thursday, 5th of October, at the foot of High Street, the water in the Tay, at 3 o'clock afternoon, had risen to 18 feet, and at the county buildings, to 22 feet deep. The water continued to rise slowly till the hour of high water—3 o'clock—on Friday morning, when it gradually subsided. The whole of the North Inch was covered, as well as the North Port, and Castle Gable; at foot of Mill Street, it was about 2 feet deep. The South Inch, and the Newrow were also under water to a considerable depth. The height of the flood at the bridge, was 19 feet.

In February of the present year, the Tay again submerged the South and North Inches, the North Port, and other parts of the town. The

height of the river at the bridge, was about 3 feet lower than at the inundation in 1847.

From the above notices, the reader will perceive that the inundations of the Tay, arise from two causes :—First, from the choking up of the river by the ice. To remedy that, is clearly impossible. Second, from heavy falls of rain contiguous to the upper tributaries of the Tay, and the dissolved snow from the mountains. Various conjectures have been made as to the frequency which of late we have been visited with these inundations. The most feasible, however, is that which attributes them to the great extent of land now drained. There is one thing also, which, though we have never seen it mentioned anywhere, is, in our opinion, one of the causes of such sudden risings of the river. It must have been observed, by those who have paid any attention to the floods of the last three years, that they have been highest immediately before the hours of high water—that they have taken place at the height of the stream tides. Now in connection with these facts let it be remembered, that owing to the improvements made on the river by the navigation commissioners, the tide is at Perth half an hour earlier than formerly. Moreover, there is a greater and more accelerated flow of the tidal wave, consequently, the downward current is sooner and more effectually retarded; the water, of course, is thrown back, and rises to a greater height in those places which are situated contiguous to the parts of the river subject to the influence of the tides.

Making no pretence to engineering skill ourselves, of course we are unable to say how Perth may be best protected against the risings of the Tay; yet we think there is something in the suggestion made by a scientific friend who says, that the cheapest and most effectual remedy against inundations, would be to deepen the river from the bridge to the Muirton bank.

It is said that Agricola constructed a wooden bridge over the Tay in 78, when he founded Perth. Whether such was the fact, it is now impossible to say. If however, reliance is to be placed on Fordun's statements, there was a bridge connecting Perth with the opposite bank, prior to 1210, but which was then destroyed by an inundation. There are no documents extant to inform us whether it was immediately rebuilt subsequent to that event. The earliest authentic notice relating to the bridge of Perth, is in the records belonging to the abbacy of Scoon. King Robert Bruce, in 1329, sent an order to the ab

bots and monks, to allow the magistrates of Perth, the liberty of digging stones out of the quarries of Kincarrochie and Balcormac, for building the bridge of Tay, the bridge of Earn, and the church.

The bridge then built, according to Mercer's chronicle, was partially destroyed in 1573. Mercer thus adverts to its destruction at different times :—

“ The falline doune of the three howis of the brig of Tay be the greit wattr and of Lowis Vairk on the 20 of Decembir, 1573. The downe falling of 5 bowis of the brig of Tay on the 14 day of Janeveir, 1582. The downe falling of the bra trein pillaris of the brig of Tay on the 29 day of Decembre, 1589.”

The citizens of Perth seem, however, to have immediately set about the building of another bridge. A wooden fabric, of no very substantial description, was put up ; and we find, from the town council records, that such was its precarious state—it “ being laid over with single deals”—that no heavy loads could be carried across it. Owing to the poverty of the town, the building of the stone one proceeded but slowly. Contributions were solicited in all quarters and from all sorts of persons, and even those guilty of criminal offences had to pay fines for forwarding the work. Amid, however, many obstructions and delays, “ the inlaying the key-stane of the last arch of the brig of Tay” took place on 7th November, 1616 ; and among the last things we find mentioned in the town council records relating to it, is an “ order to put *the king's arms in stone* on the west side of the brig of Tay nearest the Tolbooth.” The bridge finished in 1617 was a stately building, and considered a great ornament. It was in a line with the High Street, and had a very strong gate at the west end. It was destroyed by the overflowing of the river on the 14th October 1621.* An attempt was made to get the bridge rebuilt. A subscription was opened, headed by James VI., and Charles Prince of Wales. The

* Calderwood gives the following account of its destruction at that time :—

“ October 14th, 1621, the stately bridge of Perth newly completed, consisting of ten arches, was destroyed by the high swelling of the river Tay. The water of Almond, and a loch be-west the town, came down on the west hand, as dangerous as the river on the east. The town was environed with water, so that none could pass out for five or six days ; nor could the inhabitants go from house to house for the water in the streets. Young children were let down at windows by cords to boats. The people ascribed this wreck to iniquity committed in the town ; for there was held the last General Assembly, and another in 1596, when the schism in the kirk began ; and in 1606 here was held that Parliament, at which bishops were erected, and the Lords rode first in their scarlet gowns.”

former giving 40,000 merks, and the latter 10,000, followed by a long list of the nobility and gentry. The king's death suspended the scheme, and owing to the troubles that followed in the reign of Charles I., it was never revived. During a century and a half the only mode of crossing the river was by ferry boats.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, owing to the increasing population and commerce of the country, the want of a bridge over the Tay at Perth was severely felt; and it is to the patriotic exertions of Thomas the eighth Earl of Kinnoull, that the public is mainly indebted for the erection of the handsome structure which now spans the Tay. By his lordship's recommendation, Mr Smeaton, a celebrated engineer, was employed to draw out plans for the bridge, sound the river, and pitch upon the most convenient place of the town for raising it. In 1765 an act of parliament was obtained, and a subscription immediately set on foot to defray the cost of its erection. The government gave out of the forfeited estates L.11,000; the City of Perth L.2000; the Convention of Royal Burghs L.500; the Earl of Kinnoull L.400; the nobility, gentry, and other wealthy individuals in all parts of the country, also contributed most liberally. Materials of all sorts being provided, "the work was commenced," says an account drawn up at the time. "On the 23d July 1766, the wooden piles for the intended bridge over the Tay were begun to be driven, in presence of the magistrates and a considerable number of the inhabitants of the town; and on the 13th October, same year, Thomas Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, accompanied by William Stewart, Esq., Provost of Perth, the Magistrates and Council, and the Members of the Bridge Committee, proceeded to the other side of the river by water, and there, in the eastern pillar within the river, his lordship laid the first stone of the intended new bridge by striking it with a mallet in the presence of a great number of spectators. The foundation stone was a large square hewn stone without any inscription. When the ceremony was over they returned by water to Mrs. Hickenshaw's, where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion."

It was completed and opened to the public 31st October, 1771: the whole cost of its erection being L.26,631, 12s 5½d.

The bridge consists of ten arches, its length is 900 feet; and has a clear water way of 575 feet. The piers are founded ten feet beneath the bed of the river upon oaken and beech piles. The centre arch is 75 feet in diameter.

By the act of parliament above mentioned, the commissioners of

the bridge were empowered to borrow upwards of L.5000 on the credit of the pontage of one farthing on passengers, and which was to be taken off when the money was paid with interest. The pontage was levied from 1771 to 1788, and realized, on an average, L.750 per annum. The bridge commissioners were also empowered to raise a free capital of L.1,500, to be laid out at interest, for the necessary support and reparation of the bridge. The act thus states who are to be commissioners :—The sheriff depute of the shire of Perth for the time being, the provost, dean of guild, and first merchant bailie of the burgh of Perth for the time being, together with every commissioner of supply, or land-tax for the county of Perth for the time being, who shall advance and lend the sum of one hundred pounds sterling upon the credit of the tolls granted, or who shall advance and pay the sum of ten guineas as a free gift, towards building the bridge, and the heir-male of every such commissioner of supply, being of lawful age, and a commissioner of supply : And also every person who shall advance and lend the sum of two hundred pounds sterling upon the credit of the tolls and duties granted for building of the said bridge, or who shall advance and pay the sum of twenty guineas, as a free gift for building the said bridge, and the heir-male of every such person being of lawful age, shall be, and they are hereby constituted commissioners for designing, erecting, and building the bridge, and for executing all the other powers granted by the act.

Great inconvenience has been found by the narrowness of the bridge, and several plans have been suggested for widening it. A plan for doing so was several years ago prepared by Mr Stevenson, the estimated expense of which was L.8000. But as the parties interested could not agree whence the funds were to be procured, the scheme was dropped.

BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS.

THE history of Banking in Perth is rather curious and not devoid of interest. The first bank established was called "the Banking Company," and commenced business 4th June 1763 ; the notes signed John Stewart and Co., the Perth arms being at the head of the note, the office in the Newrow. Mr Stewart, however, and his co-partners did not long retain a monopoly of the banking business ; for in the course of little more than the next twelve months, no fewer than five other banking companies were established, viz. :—The Tannerie Banking Co., erected 4th June, 1764 ; the notes signed Stewart, Richard-

son. & Co., an oak tree being at the head of the notes, the office in the Curfew Row. The Banking Co., erected 20th June, 1764, the notes signed Blacklaw, Wedderspoon, & Co.; the thistle and crown being at the head of the notes, the office in the High Street. The Banking Co., erected 17th July, 1764, the notes signed M'Keith, Rintoul, & Co.; the king's head being at the top of the notes, the office in the High street. The Craigie Banking Co., a garb being at the head of the notes; the notes signed John Ramsay & Co., dated 20th August, 1764, the office in the High Street. The Banking Co., erected 3d September, 1764, the notes signed John Bruce; the Bruce's crest and motto being on the head of the notes—the office in the Kirkgate.

It required but little sagacity to foresee that so many banking institutions could not subsist in Perth. Their projectors entered into negotiations to unite all under one strong body; accordingly, on 1st March, 1766, was formed "The Perth United Company;" the capital being L.32,000 sterling, divided into 320 shares of L.100 each. The sum advanced for commencing business was L.8000; so that each proprietor paid only 1-4th of his share. The capital stock was soon, from the increase of business, raised to L.50,000. Their place of business was in an entry on the south side of High Street, on the present site of St. John Street. An opposition, however, to the above company was immediately started under the name of the "General Bank of Perth," which never did any business, and was soon dissolved. The Perth United Company's deed of copartnership expired 1788, when a new company was formed, called "The Perth Banking Company." Their contract being for 20 years, ran its course prosperously, and ceased in May 1808, when the present company was formed. Their place of business is in George Street—their authorised circulation of notes is L.38,656; average circulation in notes during four weeks ending 27th January 1849, L.40,245: average amount of gold and silver coin held during four weeks as above, L.12,246.

In 1810 a company under the name of "the Union Bank," in shares of L.500 each, was established; owing, however, to the limited number of partners, and other causes, little business was done by them, and it was dissolved in 1836.

A desire among the commercial and agricultural classes, in the city and county of Perth, to have a more direct controul in the banking business than they then had, led to the formation of the

"Central Bank of Scotland." It was established on 1st May 1834, and has a capital of £250,000, in 2500 shares of £100 each, of which £25 per share only has been called up. From the last returns it appears that there are 405 partners, and 6 branches; and pays a dividend of 8 per cent. The present price of the £25 paid up is £43. The business of the bank has rapidly increased. The amount of bank notes authorised by law to be issued by them is £42,983. The average circulation in notes during four weeks ending 27th January 1849, was £43,299; average amount of gold and silver coin held during four weeks as above £14,643. Their first office was on the west side of St John Street; but at Whitsunday last they removed to the elegant buildings they have erected on the opposite side of the same street. This handsome structure is thus described in the Companion to the British Almanac:—"The front of the bank consists of a ground floor and two upper stories, of five windows each; in the former, which is of lofty proportions, are two large Doric doorways, and between them three windows with dressings and cornices. The windows of the next floor, before which is carried a continuous projecting ballustrade or balcony supported on trusses, are pedimented, and have Corinthian pilasters. In the upper floor, the windows are of nearly the same proportions, and though their dressings are comparatively plain, they have cornices. A block cornice and ballustrade complete the elevation. Here there are quoins at the angles; and good architectural expression has been so far attended to, that the cornice and ballustrade are returned at the ends where they show themselves above the adjoining houses. Of the interior it is enough to say that the public office is distinguished by a highly enriched panelled ceiling, which, however, contrasts too greatly with the plain walls, and seems to demand some embellishment for them also."

Besides the Perth and Central Banks, there are in Perth a branch of the Bank of Scotland, the office in Princes' Street; a branch of the British Linen Company, they occupy the handsome premises on the east side of George Street, next to the bridge: a branch of the National Bank—the office at foot of High Street, in the premises formerly occupied by the Union Bank; and a branch of the Commercial Bank, the Office in South Street.

THE SAVINGS BANK OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PERTH.

This institution is conducted and sanctioned in terms of the acts of

parliament 9th Geo. IV. c. 92; 3d William IV. c. 14; 5th and 6th William IV. c. 57; and 7th and 8th Vic. c. 83. It is established for the safe custody and increase of small savings, belonging to the industrious classes. Among other advantages the following may be mentioned :—

Any sum from 1s. up to £150 will be received from individual depositors, provided not more than £30 is deposited by each in one year. Societies and charitable institutions of any kind may deposit to the extent of £100 in the year, and £300 in all; while Friendly societies may lodge their whole funds without any limitation. The whole, or any part of the sums deposited, may be withdrawn whenever required. Interest at a comparatively high rate is calculated on the accounts once a year, and added to the principal, by which depositors derive the benefit of compound interest. Every sum of 5s. and upwards gets the benefit of it. The whole funds in this bank are specially exempt from income tax, and the stamp and residue duties do not apply to sums under £50.

According to the report for the year ending 20th November, 1848, the number of accounts by depositors, in connection with the bank at Perth, were 5303—36 belonging to charitable institutions, and 23 the deposits of various friendly and benefit societies, shewing an increase on the previous year of 283.

The report gives the following view of the operations of the bank during the past year :—The number of transactions on deposit of principal sums are 9020—of which more than a third, or 3518, were in sums under L.1, and averaging 11s. 2½d.; 3158 were in sums between L.1 and L.5, and averaging L.2, 15s. 8½d.; and 1135 were between L.5 and L.10, averaging L.7, 18s. 7½d.; and shewing, that, while cumulatively upwards of four-fifths, or 86 per cent. of the whole transactions on deposit were under L.10, there were of these 45 per cent. under L.1, 40 per cent. under L.5, and only 14 per cent. above that sum and under L.10. In the repayment transactions, similar results are exhibited; out of 6420, there were 5236, or 81 per cent. under L.10; and of this latter number, 48 per cent. were in sums under L.1, averaging 8s. 7d.; 39 per cent. under L.5, averaging L.2, 14s. 8d.; and 13 per cent. between L.5 and L.10, averaging L.7, 11s. 7d. per cent. The investment transactions in interest have been 6921 in number, and amount to L.2815, 9s. 4½d., being an average of 8s. 1d. to each depositor. In payments of interest during the currency of the year, on accounts paid up, there were 1618

transactions—the total interest thus paid being L.209, 8s. 2½d., gives 2s. 7d. of an average to each. There are now in all 7,427 current deposit accounts, and an invested capital of L.107,854 0s. 3½d.

Besides the Savings Bank there are a number of friendly and yearly societies mainly supported by the working classes. The objects of these institutions are to give to the members when, by sickness or other casualties, they are unable to attend their ordinary employments, a certain weekly sum, averaging about 5s.; and an allowance from L.2, to L.10, at the death of members or their wives. In connection with the yearly societies there is a loan fund from which members may draw a sum of money, generally not above L.5, which is paid back in weekly instalments.

ROYAL PERTH GOLFING SOCIETY.

Golf is we believe a game peculiar to the Scots. From acts of the Scottish parliament, we find that in the fourteenth century, the game of golf had already become a very general amusement in Scotland. On the statutes which had been enacted against the playing of it falling into desuetude, it was very much practised by the nobility and gentry in all parts of the country. The Inches of Perth have been long noted as ground on which golf has been played. The above society was instituted on 5th April, 1824, its members are considered superior players. To encourage this amusement, the Duke of Buccleugh presented to the society a gold medal, which along with that of the society's, is played for in the month of September, each year. The Pitfour silver medal is played for in April. Throughout the season there are matches almost every day, between the members themselves, or noted players from other places.*

PUBLIC BATHS.

These have been erected by public subscription, and indicate the progress which the middle and working classes are making to procure such luxuries as tend to renovate the physical constitution, and give tone and vigour to the mind. The baths were opened to the public

* Many of the citizens of Perth, practice the ancient game of curling. There are two clubs, namely, "The Perth" and "St Johns. For a number of years there has also existed a "Cricket Club," the members of which, have attained to great proficiency in playing the game. In matches with other clubs, they have generally been the victors.

in 1846. The building which contains them, though having no claim to architectural embellishment, is chaste in its design,—and including the fittings up of the interior, cost upwards of £1300. There are thirteen bath rooms, four of which are exclusively appropriated to females. From the encouragement which they have received, little can be said as to their future success. There is indeed a falling off last year in the number of baths taken : a number of circumstances, however, account for this. Last year the summer weather was generally chill and unfavourable ; besides, fever and other diseases prevailed to a considerable extent, which no doubt prevented many from using them. In 1847 there were of baths taken, 7,457 ; in 1848, 6,406, being 1051 less than the previous year.

ANCIENT PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The principal ones of which local antiquarians speak, were, 1st, *The Castle*, which stood at the north end of the Skinnergate ; as to what was its extent or its strength, no vestige remains to tell us.

2d, *The Parliament House*.—This structure stood in the Parliament close, north side of High Street, on the site of the hall belonging to the Royal Arch Mason Lodge. It was a very ancient building, and supposed to have been erected in the 12th century. The hall where the parliament met was a large square room, the ceiling high and finely stuccoed, the walls wooded half-way up, and a large chimney in the west side. The room where the lords of the articles sat, was also of an elegant description, as well as the apartment where the officers of the parliament attended. The main room was long occupied as an Episcopal chapel, and the other apartments by a number of poor families. It was taken down in 1818.

3d, *The Monks Tower*.—Stood till about 50 years ago. When erected is matter of dispute, some supposing it to have been built by General Monk, one of Cromwell's commanders ; but we find it mentioned long ere this person came to Scotland. In the *Muses Threnodie*, written thirty years before the army of commonwealth came to Perth, there is a lengthened description of it. It was situated at the south-east corner of the promenade in front of the county buildings. It was of an oblong form, and was deemed a place of strength. When Lord Chancellor Hay, the first Earl of Kinnoull, resided in Gowrie House, "he built a turret or summerhouse upon the top of Monk's tower." The only representation of the building extant is on a farthing, issued by Mr John Ferrier, in 1797. Before taken down, it served as a powder magazine to the company of artillery, stationed in Gowrie House.

4th, *The Market Cross*.—This building stood in the middle of the High street, between the Kirkgate and the Skinnergate. When first erected nothing is known. It was demolished by Cromwell's army to supply materials to build the citadel upon the South Inch. A new one, however, was put up in 1669. In the previous year the town council had agreed with Mr Robert Milne to build the cross; L.200 sterling to be paid for its erection. The building was an octagon, about twelve feet high, and had a spacious terrace on the top, with a flight of steps leading to it. In the centre stood a beautiful pillar of a circular figure, and of the Corinthian order, of one stone about twenty feet high. The lower part of the cross was ornamented with heads of lions, bears, and griffins. On days of rejoicing wine was run out of the mouths, upon the streets, for the populace to partake of. On the east side, in a grand compartment, was the royal arms of King Charles II., and on the west side, the arms of the city of Perth; and on the other six sides, in compartments, were a rose, a thistle, a fleur-de-lis, an Irish harp, the sword and sceptre, and a portcullis. From the cross, royal proclamations were made, and the more solemn denunciations of the law were published. In 1765, the town council considering the cross was a great impediment in passing along the High street and in entering the Kirkgate and the Skinnergate with wheeled machines, ordered it to be taken down; it was accordingly sold next day to a mason for L.5. He immediately pulled it down, and carted away the stones. The place whereon it stood is marked by the causeway being paved in the figure of an octagon, with radii diverging from a stone in the centre.

THE MILLS.

Perth has long been famed for its flour and barley mills; but by whom originally built little with certainty is known. Tradition bears that they were in possession of John Mercer, a burgess of Perth, who was proprietor of estate of the Meiklour, in 1106. He was progenitor of the Aldie family, he gifted them to one of the Scottish kings, who, as a compensation, in part for the gift of the mills, granted Mercer a vault in the church as a burying place.* If such transactions as the

* "The tradition concerning it," says Mr Scott in his Statistical Account, "may be seen in the following old verses, which I received many years ago from a gentleman in Aberdeen, the late Mr David Mercer, who was a descendant of the family. They appear to be a translation from the Latin:—

'Behold the arms of the Mercers are
Three mill rynds, three gold balls, with glittering star

above took place it must have been in the time of Malcom Canmore, or at least in the time of David I., for the last mentioned king granted, in 1126, the property of the church and tithes to the abbey of Dunfermline. Whatever truth there may be in the above statements, one thing is evident, the mills were royal property as early as 1244, and continued to be so till the reign of Robert II., who, in 1375, made a gift of them to the aldermen, burgesses, and community of Perth. King Robert Bruce, in 1323, granted a charter exempting the Dominican Friars "from the payment of multures out of five chalders of wheat, two chalders of barley, also out of all kinds of grain for their use ground at his mills of Perth. Also the Friars to have their grain to lie at the mills room-free, after his own grain, the grain of his chancellors, justiciaries, and Chamberlains, and the grain of any other person found at the mills, in the measure of three bushels. At Aberbrothwick, the 8th of January, in the 17th year of his reign."

The water by which the mills at Perth are driven is taken from the river Almond, about four miles west from Perth. The admission of the water into the aqueduct is regulated by a sluice, supported by a strong embankment of masonry, called Louis'-Wark.* It is thought to have been originally constructed by the Romans for supplying the ditches around the walls with which they fortified the town. It must have been made before the time of Malcom Canmore, as without it there could not have been a supply of water for the mills which were then at Perth. After supplying the mills, the lade branches off in different directions. The main stream flows down Mill street, and

To let the world know that their ancient race
Possess'd three mills, for many ages space
In pleasant Perth, near situate by Tay,
Which mills Perth keeps unto this present day.
Three balls next shew them potent in each thing
Therefore they gift these mills unto the king,
Who for their golden gift, and loyal mind,
With arch'd tomb in church did them provide,
With lands, rents, arms of privilege and fame,
Kept now by Adie's lairds, chief of the name.
Lastly, the star, clear shining as a gem,
Proves their descent out of Moravian stem.
Likewise their will and virtue doth presage,
In name and fame to last with shining age.
Therefore men may avow, with justest breath,
Mercers are, yes, older than old Perth.'

The two concluding lines, in which the Mercers are represented as older than old Perth, refer to Boece's fabulous story of Perth having originally stood two miles farther north."

* This term, according to Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, means Water Work.

joins the Tay at Deadland gardens. A branch turns off at Methven street, and goes round by Canal street, joining the river at the Old Shore. From this a branch runs off above the old gas works, and flows round the west and south side of the South Inch, uniting with Craigie burn, and joining the Tay at the Friarton.*

THE CITY HALL

Was erected a few years ago, to hold public meetings, and other assemblies. It is one of the largest public rooms in Scotland, measuring 98 by 66 feet, and capable of holding nearly two thousand persons. To it is attached an elegant ante-room, the walls of which are adorned with several well executed ancient and modern paintings. It may interest the antiquarian reader to know that the City Hall stands on the site of the great college yard, gifted to the town by the Queen of James VI., in 1604.

COUNTY BUILDINGS AND JAIL.

They are erected on the ancient site of Gowrie house and gardens. The principal building is a large and handsome structure looking to the Tay, between which and it is the projected street leading along the margin of the river to the bridge. It is in the Grecian style of architecture, and said to be an exact copy of a temple at Paestum, in Italy. It has an elegant portico with twelve columns in front. Opening from the portico there is a large entrance hall; to the back of which stands a flight of steps leading to the gallery of the Justiciary

* In connection with the town's aqueduct, we must not forget to mention the "Boot of Bowsie;" the common tradition respecting it is, that a proprietor of Balhousie, desirous of erecting a mill near his house, applied to the king for a boathole of water from the lade, a little above the town, but the boot being without a sole, he thereby obtained a supply of water to drive his mill. What appears to be the true account of the matter is thus stated by Cant:—"The boot, or bould of Balhousie, is a strong stone-work on the east bank of the aqueduct, in which is a round hole with a ring of iron at both ends, thirty-two inches round, for conveying water from the aqueduct to the mill of Balhousie, by contract and agreement betwixt the Eviots of Balhousie and the town of Perth. In the archives of the town the following contract is recorded:—"This indenture maid at Perth the 19th June, 1464, betwixt the alderman, baillies, counsell, and communitie of Perth, and Richard Eviott of Balhousie, the said bowt shall be taen up and newlie maid of threttie twa inches of wydnes within at baith the endis, and bandit with iron baith within and without at baith the ends." This stone-work was repaired about eighty years ago, and the rings adjusted according to the original contract, in presence of commissioners appointed by the Earl of Kinnoull, and the magistrates of Perth."

Hall. The Justiciary Hall occupies the back part of the centre of the building, and is 66 feet by $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the upper part. Under the gallery there are jury and witnesses' rooms. Behind the judges' bench are the judges' rooms. From the prisoners' box a flight of steps leads down to a passage communicating with the prisons. The County Hall, which occupies all the south wing, is 68 by 40 feet; in it are portraits of the late Duke of Athole, and Lord Lynedoch, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and one by Pickersgill, of Sir George Murray. To the right of the entrance to the County Hall is a committee room 30 feet square, and above, a tea or card room $44\frac{1}{2}$ by 30 feet. In the north wing is an entrance into the Justiciary Hall, for the judges and magistrates. This entrance also leads to the sheriff's court and clerk's office, which are contained in the north wing. Above the north entrance is an office for the collector of cess. The remainder of the building contains two arched record rooms, one on each side of the north entrance; and above the one on the right, is a room for the sheriff. The building cost L.22,000.

The city and county jail is fronting the Speygate, and occupies its whole length on the east side. It is surrounded by a high wall. In the centre is the main entrance, and opposite to which is the jailors house, the upper part of it being appropriated for the debtors prison. The jail has recently been much extended, the older part greatly altered, and now consists of 46 ordinary cells, 3 reception cells, (used also as cells for the refractory), 2 debtors' rooms, a class room, 4 airing yards, kitchen, washhouse, baths, store-rooms, &c.; with house and office for the governor and matron. The prison is warmed by Arnott's stoves, and lighted with gas. The officers consist of a governor and matron, a chaplain, (who acts also as teacher,) a surgeon, two male warders, a female warder, and a gate-keeper. The prison is under the management of a body of directors, of whom 17 are chosen from the county, and 3 from the town, the latter being the provost and 2 senior bailies. The building with the extension and alterations, cost about £14,000.

Daily average return of prisoners for					1847.	1848.
Criminals, male,	-	-	-	-	44	66
Do. female,	-	-	-	-	25	29
Debtors,	-	-	-	-	2	1
Total,					71	96

GENERAL PRISON FOR SCOTLAND.

This prison stands on the site of the general depot, which was erected in 1812 for prisoners of war, is under the management of 21 directors, who have also a superintendence of all the prisons in Scotland. The expense of the establishment is defrayed from the public funds. No person is sent to the prison for less than 12 months. It is on the separate system; and has 260 cells for males and 100 for females. There is also a department for criminal lunatics, for 35 males and 18 females, of whom there are a considerable number.

GREY FRIARS BURYING-GROUND.

Before, and for some time subsequent to the Reformation, the places of interment for the town or parish, were within and around the different churches and religious houses. Around St. John's Church was a spacious burying-ground. The ground around the church of the Black Friars monastery was another place of burial; and we learn from the kirk-session register, of date 3d June, 1589, "that a strong wall be built round the Black Friars kirk-yard." From the kirk-session registers we learn that on 20th Dec. 1580, the ground of the Grey Friars was set apart as the burial ground for the parish; and on 5th June, 1581, a tax is ordered to be levied on burials, for upholding the walls. It is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, and the oldest tombstone bears the date of 1580. There is nothing peculiar or striking in the tombstones or inscriptions upon them, but of late the taste for the ornamental has decidedly improved. The ground was levelled and greatly embellished by the present superintendent several years ago, but his efforts have not been well seconded by the town council. His assistants have been withdrawn, and it is again getting into its old appearance. Such is the crowded state of the ground, it is with difficulty a ripe grave can be got. The town council lately purchased a piece of ground above Dovecotland, from the glover incorporation, for a cemetery, which will be found of great advantage to the community.

CHAPTER XII.

A VOLUME could be easily be filled with a detail of the doings of the citizens of Perth, since the suppression of the rebellion in 1746. We deem, however, such a narration unnecessary. Our fathers and grand-fathers, enacted too subordinate parts in the political drama, to entitle them to much notice. In their day, we doubt not, they did their duty. They partook in the progressive enlightenment that has taken place, and what we have to say concerning them, will be noticed under the head of manners. There is one event, however, which it would be unpardonable not to give some account of. We refer to the reception given by the citizens of Perth to her Majesty, Queen Victoria, when visiting Scotland in September, 1842 :—

It having been known that the Queen was to visit Dupplin Castle and the Palace of Seone, it was resolved by the Town Council to present an address to her Majesty, deliver to her the keys of the city, and confer on her consort, Prince Albert, the freedom of the burgh. Accordingly preparations for doing so were made on an extensive scale. A barrier gate was erected, of splendid proportions, at the southern extremity of Prince's street. It consisted of a principle arch, with two smaller gateways on either side. The former was 30 feet in height, surmounted by a highly ornamented entablature of 15 feet, making the entire height of the structure 45 feet, surmounted by a line of vases.

The Queen having left Dalkeith early on the morning of the 6th September, arrived at Dupplin Castle by half-past 3 o'clock afternoon, whither the magistrates, accompanied by the city clerks, had repaired to present an address of congratulation on her approaching the ancient capital of Scotland. On doing so the magistrates immediately returned to town, and took up their station out-side the barrier, along with the other members of the town council, on a slightly elevated platform tastefully covered and adorned with crimson cloth, and a moveable platform of the same height which stretched outwards to nearly the centre of the roadway. On this the Lord Provost and Magistrates walked out to tender their homage to the sovereign. Kneeling on a stool, about a foot in height, covered with crimson

velvet, the Lord Provost, (Charles Graham Sidey, Esq.) having had the keys of the city handed him by the City Chamberlain, respectfully presented them on a crimson velvet cushion to the Queen, in a short address, to which the Queen graciously replied, "that she had great pleasure in returning these keys, being quite satisfied they could not be in better hands."*

Prince Albert having been presented with the freedom of the burgh,† the royal party then moved onward along Princes' Street, by the South Street, to St. John Street, and by the High Street and George Street to the bridge. The throng on the streets was very great, and considerably retarded the progress of her Majesty. They were checked, however, by the barrier at the bridge, it being stopped for general passengers an hour previous to her Majesty's approach. At Bridgend, the carriages of the magistrates and town council filed off, and the sheriff of the county having resumed his proper place, the royal cortege set off at a round pace to the Palace of Scone, where it arrived at a quarter to seven o'clock. It was calculated that in and around Perth on that day there could not have been less than 100,000 individuals. Not a single accident occurred to mar the harmony and enthusiasm manifested on the occasion. The arrangements which had been made by the magistrates, met with the entire approbation of her Majesty and Prince Albert.

A civic entertainment was given on the same evening by the magistrates and town council. It took place in the County Hall, which began to fill immediately after the royal procession passed through; and by seven o'clock there were about 500 gentlemen present. The Lord Provost was in the chair, supported by Mr Sheriff Whigham and Mr Smythe of Methven; and many of the county gentlemen were in the body of the room. The banquet was composed of cake, fruit, and wines of every description.

There was also, on the North Inch, a display of fire-works, on an extensive scale. Previous to the commencement—which was at 10 o'clock—the crowds amused themselves with the transparencies and illuminated devices in the streets. The leading attraction was Mr Patrick Wallace's triumphal arch in Atholl Street. The effect after

* The keys were of silver, richly chased, and of an antique form, being a facsimile of a pair found in the Greyfriars, and deposited in the museum of the Antiquarian Society.

† The box in which the freedom of the City was inclosed, was formed of a piece of oak of great antiquity, found in excavating the river Tay.

nightfall, when only the transparencies and variegated lamps were visible, were exceedingly beautiful,—the whole looked like a magic scene suspended in the air by some invisible power. Mr Wallace's dwelling house, adjoining, was also lit up with wax candles, being the only private display of the kind. The George Hotel displayed in front, the royal crown, with the ciphers V. & A. on each side, in gas. Being the only one in George Street, the effect was exceedingly brilliant.

On Wednesday morning a deputation of the magistrates proceeded to Scone Palace, to solicit the honour of her Majesty's and Prince Albert's signatures in the guildry book, in imitation of the precedents followed by James VI., and Charles II. They were introduced by the Earl of Mansfield to Sir Robert Peel; and having told their object, Sir Robert most readily and frankly agreed to show the signatures to her Majesty and the Prince, for which he carried the book to the royal presence, and returned with it, with the signatures and mottos written on separate pages, as follows:—

“ Dieu et mon Droit.

VICTORIA R.”

Scone Palace,
September 7, 1842.

“ Tren und Fest:

ALBERT.”

Scone Palace.
September 7, 1842.

On the forenoon of the same day, shortly after eleven o'clock, her Majesty and Prince Albert, accompanied by a numerous suite and retinue, set off from Scone Palace to Taymouth, by way of Dunkeld. The day was beautiful; and the royal party seemed in the highest spirits. At the western barrier of the bridge they again received the respectful homage of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, in passing; which they courteously returned.

The Queen rather unexpectedly visited Perth in 1849. Her Majesty had been residing for nearly three weeks at Balmoral, and returned to Aberdeen, purposing to embark at that port for London. It was considered advisable, however, in the then state of the weather, to travel over-land. The royal party left Montrose at a quarter past six o'clock, and arrived at the General Terminus, Perth, at a quarter past eight. Her Majesty was conducted on the Midland Railway by

Charles B. Ker, Esquire, resident engineer on the Aberdeen line. At nine o'clock in the evening, Her Most Excellent Majesty Queen Victoria, arrived at the George Hotel, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, Prince Alfred Ernest, and the leading members of the Royal Household. Her Majesty, with the Royal Family, and retinue, honoured the George by making it their residence for the night, and taking breakfast next morning, when they left by the Scottish Central Railway for Carlisle. In consequence of the great attention paid to the comfort of her Majesty, by Miss Davidson of the George, it has been, by appointment, named the "*Royal George Hotel*."

The promise which Perth gave during the latter half of the eighteenth century of attaining commercial greatness, was soon blighted. She appears to have reached the climax of her prosperity about 1794 or 1795. Linen was the staple manufacture. Above 1500 looms were employed in the town and suburbs in the weaving of linen and cotton, of which the annual value was about L.100,000. Besides, there was at least bought in the Perth market, and wove in the surrounding country, linen and cotton cloth to the value of L.120,000. It was by enterprising Perth manufacturers that the Bleachfields and Printworks in the neighbourhood were first established. The latter, in 1794, did business at least to the extent of L.80,000. The manufacture of boots and shoes, too, was considerable; there were of them annually shipped to London of the value of L.8000. There were various tan-works, by which were prepared from 8,000 to 10,000 hides, and about 500 dozen calf skins, annually. There were in the neighbourhood three mills for the manufacture of paper. The ancient fraternity of the glovers and skimmers were also, at this period, doing a good deal of business: 30,000 sheep and lamb skins were dressed; and from 2000 to 3000 dozens pairs of gloves were made annually. The book-printing was carried on vigorously, and from 20,000 to 30,000 volumes were printed annually—so much for the trade of Perth towards the close of last century. One great cause of the decline of the linen trade evidently arose from the introduction of cotton. The Perth manufacturers were generally wealthy. They stuck to the linen manufacture, and when they saw it gradually superseded by the general use of cotton goods, they retired from business altogether. The following account of the cotton manufacture, from its introduction into Perth up to the present time, drawn up by one of our most

enterprising manufacturers, solely for the History of Perth, will, we are sure, be appreciated :—

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the linen trade, which up to that time had been the staple manufacture in Perth, came to be entirely superseded by the introduction of the cotton trade, and so rapid was the change, that by the beginning of the present century there was scarcely any one engaged in weaving linen, with the exception of a few hands employed at daiper work. At the first it was only coarse fabrics that were attempted ; in a few years, however, the very finest reeds were going, both in cambrics and jaconets ; about the year 1804 or 1805, a light kind of fabric, named cassas, were introduced, and were made to a very great extent—they were mostly intended for printing, and designed for exportation ; and during the continuance of the demand for this article, perhaps the highest price ever given for plain work was obtained. British manufactures, generally, about this period, reached their highest figure, both in the home and foreign market. At the beginning of this century, also, inkle and carpet weaving were both introduced, but neither of them were persevered in for any length of time, so as to have given them a fair trial. About the year 1807, harness weaving was begun in Perth, and proved very successful, so that a great amount of hands ultimately came to be employed at this kind of work ; and some of the richest patterns that were made anywhere, were woven in Perth, both for native, Paisley, and Edinburgh manufacturers ;—and such was the character of the Perth workmen, that successful efforts were made by Edinburgh houses to obtain their service, and several weavers left Perth and went to Edinburgh. This branch of weaving continued to prosper in Perth till the general failure of it in all places, owing to the change of taste, that made harness work a drug in the market. Previous to the introduction of the cotton trade into Perth, umbrella cloth formed a portion of the trade ; they were a coarse thin fabric of linen, named scloits, which required to be waxed before being made into an umbrella ; but, along with the introduction of cotton, a great change was made in this article, by the substitution of a very strong, close fabric, made of dyed cotton yarn, such as is still used, and which required no waxing. This change in the fabric soon came to be generally approved of. From the first, Perth obtained the highest character for the manufacture of umbrella ginghams, both as regards fabric and finish. It has always, therefore, taken the lead in the London market. Till the late stagnation in business, the weaving of

this article employed a large portion of hands. A few years ago the manufacture of galas, woollen shawls, and plaids, were attempted in Perth with considerable success, and still promises fair to form, ultimately, a good portion of the Perth manufactures. The other kinds of work presently going are, pullicates, checks, and stripes, partly made by native manufacturers, and partly forwarded by Glasgow houses,—mostly all intended for exportation. The number of weavers now in Perth is greatly reduced from what they once were; this is owing to the low rate at which hand-loom weaving is, and has been paid these many years, so that few youths are disposed to learn it, and the consequent waste fails to be supplied.

Perth cannot now be called a place where manufactures are carried on to any great extent. The Bleachfields and Printworks have passed out of the hands of her citizens. The glove trade has entirely left us :—what was formerly one of the most extensive tanworks in the north of Scotland, is now converted into a weaving factory; and the ancient skinner's yard is covered with a church and a school. The volumes which were issued in thousands from the printing presses, are rarely seen. The position which Perth now occupies is that of a great central mercantile depot for supplying the extensive lowland and highland districts which radiate from the banks of the Tay to the west and the north, with the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life. The following is a statement of the average annual imports of grain for the last five years, from Martinmas 1843, to Martinmas 1848, viz. :—

	Qrs.
Wheat,	8,680
Oats and Barley,	8,020
Pease and Beans,	2,830

During the same period the average imports of the following articles were, as undernoted, viz. :—

	Tons.
Coals,	39,045
Lime,	2,210
Iron,	3,080
Guano,	990

Timber, 2,550 loads of 50 cubic feet.

The chief articles exported are,—1st. salmon. The yearly average for the last 10 years is 4100 boxes, or 216 tons. The rental of the whole fishings on the Tay amount to nearly £10,000. 2nd. potatoes. Previous to the failure of this crop in 1845, there were annually sent to London about 150,000 bolls. The other exports consist of grain,

of which in some years 40,000 quarters have been shipped. Timber and slates are also exported in large quantities.

The population of Perth has but slowly increased. In 1562 it is said to have been 6075; in 1755 it was 9019; in 1801 it was 14,878; in 1811 it was 17,248; in 1821 it was 19,068; in 1831 it was 20,016; and in 1841 it was, within the parliamentary boundaries, 20,167; inhabited houses in 1841, 4770; real property in 1815, £34,838; in 1848 £56,539.

The number of interments in the Greyfriars burying-ground, from							
1st August, 1844,	to 31st July, 1845, was,						431
1845	1846,						546
1846	1847,						720
1847	1848,						966

The interments in 1845 and 1846, may be considered about the average. In the two following years the increase is mainly to be attributed to the great number of railway labourers in Perth, as well as to the prevalence of fever.

Perth returns a member to parliament. Before the union it sent a commissioner to the Scottish parliament. From that period up to the passing of the Reform Bill, it was joined with Dundee, Forfar, Cupar and St Andrews, in returning a member. The present member is the Right Hon. Fox Maule: he has been three times returned for the burgh, first by a majority in 1841, and unanimously in 1846 and 1847. The parliamentary constituency is 1041, municipal do. 776.

Perth in respect to railway communication possesses advantages and facilities enjoyed by very few towns in the kingdom. There are four different railways, which meet in a general terminii, namely, the Dundee and Perth, 20½ miles in length, opened in 1847. It crosses the Tay by a bridge of twenty-five arches, erected of timber, with the exception of the piers on which the draw is constructed, and stands twenty-five feet above high water mark. The cost of its erection was £28,500. From the bridge it is carried over the town to the terminii by a viaduct of some thousand feet in length. The Scottish Central, 45 miles in length, opened in 1848, affording communication with Glasgow and Edinburgh. The Edinburgh and Northern, 45 miles in length, opened in 1848; and the Scottish Midland Junction, extending to Forfar, 30 miles in length, opened in 1848.

The poor in Perth are numerous. Besides about L.2,500 given annually by the different incorporated trades to decayed members and their widows, there is an assessment levied equally on the proprietor

and the tenant, for the support of the general poor. From 1st July, 1848, to 1st Jan. 1849, there were on the poor-roll 756 paupers, who received weekly sums, varying from 6d. to 6s. The sum thus applied was L.1,326, 16s. 3d. ; and besides paying for lunatic paupers and expenses of management, the whole amount expended by the Parochial Board of Perth, during that period, was L.2,327, 8s. 2d. The assessment for the present half-year has been raised from 1s. to 1s. 4d. per pound. It may be added that the great proportion of the paupers in Perth, are natives of our agricultural districts, especially the highlands, and have been driven from their cottages, and pendicles, and little farms, by the unpatriotic and illiberal system prosecuted by some proprietors, of letting out their estates to a few individuals. They come with the miserable capital of a few pounds, scraped together with much toil and industry, into the town, and generally at an advanced stage of life. There it is soon spent, and they sink into pauperism.

The reader will have gleaned from the notices scattered over the previous pages, what has been the intellectual progress of the citizens of Perth during the bye-gone century, and it remains only to remark, that there are four newspapers connected with Perth ; they are respectably conducted, and have all of them a considerable circulation in the city and county. The oldest is the *Perthshire Courier*, established in 1809 ; the *Perthshire Advertiser*, established in 1829 ; *Perthshire Constitutional*, established in 1835 ; and the *Northern Warder*, established in 1845. In 1770 a monthly periodical was started, entitled the "Perth Magazine;" it lingered till the fifth volume was published ; since that time several literary miscellanies, of various merits, have been attempted, but without success. Our want of space precludes us noticing at any length, as we intended, the changes in the manners and social condition of our citizens since the middle of last century. We can only glance at them. The physical comforts of all classes have been vastly enhanced since the above period, whether as regards the houses that shelters them ; the clothing that covers them ; or the food that sustains them. Eighty years ago the common draught was small beer, at twopence the pint. Bread made of oat meal and barley was more generally used than wheaten bread. The artizan part of the population fared indeed but indifferently. The breakfast consisted of porridge and skimmed milk ; the dinner, of green kail and other vegetables boiled with field pease and groats—barley not being then in use. Nettles were frequently used instead of greens. Pease ban-nocks were eaten with this mess to add nourishment to the meal. The

supper consisted of sowens or brose, and occasionally a little flesh meat on Sundays.

The dress of the men was of hodden grey, and the every-day dress of the women consisted of coarse blue petticoats, and a short gown of the same stuff. The dress of the wealthier classes was stiff, formal, and unnatural. But perhaps with such decided superiority over our ancestors in regard to external comforts and intellectual advantages, we may have lost their simple manners, their temperance, their frugality, that disinterestedness which then generally obtained of regarding their neighbours, of whatever condition, with kindly and benevolent feelings. They assuredly had none of that *hauteur* which now-a-days keep the various classes of society at a distance from their fellows, and by which they are as little known to one another as if they belonged to a different species, or at least to a different country.

SUPPLEMENT TO HISTORY OF PERTH.

MEMOIR OF HENRY ADAMSON.

HENRY ADAMSON, the author of the two following poems, was a native of Perth. According to the parish register, he was baptized 1st November, 1581, by Mr Patrick Galloway; and the witnesses or godfathers, were Oliver Peblis, and William Fleming. His parents occupied a respectable rank in society. His father, James Adamson, was a considerable merchant, and evidently was a person possessing active business habits; for we learn from the town council records, he was much employed in town's matters. He was dean of guild in 1600, and provost, from Michaelmas 1609, to Michaelmas 1612. His mother, Margaret Anderson, was a sister to Henry Anderson, then proprietor of the lands of Tullielumb. The latter had received an academical education, was master of arts; he studied for several years at Padua in Italy; and at his return from that country, he was chosen a magistrate of Perth, in 1611. He was the author of several Latin poems. When James VI. visited Perth, in 1617, he was addressed in a Latin poem by Henry Anderson. It is published in "The Muses Welcome to King James the VI." He lived to a good old age, and was so much esteemed that he was styled "the sun of Perth." From the relationship above stated, Henry Adamson, like many celebrated persons, seems to have been indebted, in a great measure, to

the mother's side for the high intellectual powers he possessed. Little is known of his personal history. It is said that he was educated for the clerical profession; and in the dedication prefixed to his poems, he designates himself a "student in divine and human learning." He does not appear, however, to have followed it in the latter part of his life; for we find in the town council records, under the date of 23d February, 1618, "that Henry Adamson, son of James Adamson, is nominated to be reader in the room of John Fyfe, deceased; and also to the *sang school*, in like manner vacant during will."^{*}

The next notice relative to his personal history contained in the above records, is a "license granted to Mr Henry Adamson, reader, for six days, to visit his brother, Mr John Adamson, then sick in Edinburgh." He retained the situation of the "*reader of the psalms*" until his death in May 1637. Mr Adamson appears to have been married; for in the Greyfriars burying-ground there is a tombstone which has been erected to the memory of his wife. It bears the following inscription:—"Here lieth Katherine Buchanan, daughter to William and Helen, and spouse to Mr Henry Adamson, obit 10th November;" the rest is obliterated. On the stone are cut the arms of both the Adamson and Buchanan families.

The *Gabions* and the *Muses Threnodie* were written about 1620. But though importuned by his friends to publish them, he, for a long time, resisted all their solicitations. At last, however, he consented to do so, and prepared them for the press, dedicating them to the magistrates and town council of his native city. A manuscript copy of the *Muses* had been sent to the celebrated poet, Drummond of Hawthornden, who, after perusing it, transmitted the following letter to Adamson, dated Edinburgh, 12th July, 1637, but which, of course, he never received, having died, as already stated, two months previous:—

To my worthy friend Mr Henry Adamson.

"SIR,—These papers of your mournings on Mr Gall, appear unto me as *Alcibiadis Sileni*, which ridiculously look with the faces of Sphinges, Chimæras, Centaurs, on their outsides; but inwardly contain rare artifice, and rich jewels of all sorts, for the delight and weal

^{*} The situations to which Mr Adamson was appointed, was reader of the psalms, or precentor and music teacher. The former situation is not to be confounded with the ancient office of reader, which existed in the Church of Scotland for about twenty years after the Reformation, when it was suppressed.

of man. They may deservedly bear the word, *non intus ut extra*. Your two champions, noble zanys (buffoons) discover to us many of the antiquities of this country, more of your ancient town of Perth, setting down her situation, founders, her huge colosse or bridge, walls, fousies, aqueducts, fortifications, temples, monasteries, and many other singularities. Happy hath Perth been in such a citizen, not so other towns in this kingdom, by want of so diligent a searcher and preserver of their fame from oblivion. Some muses, neither to themselves nor to others, do good, nor delighting nor instructing. Yours perform both, and longer to conceal them, will be, to wrong your Perth of her due honours, who deserveth no less of you than that she should be thus blazoned and registrate to posterity, and to defraud yourself of a monument, which, after you have left this transitory world, shall keep your name and memory to after times. This shall be preserved by the town of Perth, for her own sake first, and after for yours; for to her it hath been no little glory, that she hath brought forth such a citizen, so eminent in love to her, so dear to the muses.—W. D.”

The poems were at length published in 1638. Mr Cant, in the introduction to his edition of the poems, says, that “ Henry Adamson died in 1639, the year after they were published.” It is easy to see how Mr Cant has fallen into this mistake. He evidently has done so from a perusal of the above letter of Sir William Drummond, and the dedication prefixed to the poems. That they really were, however, published after his death, is fully borne out by the town council records. Under date of 15th May, 1637, there is an allowance granted to John Adamson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, for a book to be published. Besides as shewing that Henry Adamson died in 1637, we find in the same records, under date of 21st August following, that instructions are given “ for putting a person on trial to *Read the Psalms in the Parish Kirk*.” We learn, also, from them, that, at a meeting of the town council held on 27th November, 1637, the question was discussed, whether a book called “ *Gaw's Tears*” shall be dedicated to the magistrates and town council, or to the Earl of Kinnoull. Now we do not think it at all likely if Adamson had been alive that the matter of the dedication would have been left to the town council to decide. The above body, however, allowed the original one to remain. The only other reference the town council records contains relative to these poems, is that on 12th February, 1638, there was produced 30 copies of the “ *Mirthful Mournings on the Death of Mr Gall*,” which were distributed among the members. Adamson appears to have had a high character during his lifetime for learning, wit, and sweetness of disposition. His death was much lamented.

The following lines, addressed to Perth, will give the reader some idea of the reputation which his uncle, Mr Henry Anderson, and himself, enjoyed :—

“Two Henries, like two suns upon thee rose,
 The uncle and the nephew, and did close,
 The one a summer, the other a winter day,
 Nor longer could on our horizon stay.
 With home-bred beams the one on thee did shine,
 Th’ other with rays brought from the coast *Lavine* ;
 But herein they excel fair Phœbus brother,
 He and his beams do rise and set together ;
 Their rays shine most, themselves when under earth,
 And shall perpetual splendour give to Perth :
 So be it ay, upon thee, noble town,
 May many such suns rise, and so go down.

The first of the poems is an humorous description of the curiosities in Mr George Ruthven’s closet or cabinet, which that venerable person denominated his *Gabions*.* Mr Cant states, and we agree with him, that the poem is beyond the reach of ordinary capacities, and seldom taken notice of by common readers. The “*Muses Threnodie*” is a sort of elegy, or lamentation, on the death of Mr John Gall.’ Ruthven and Gall are the only characters introduced, who carry on a dialogue, in which an account is given of the antiquities of Perth and its environs ; whilst the mourner, Mr Ruthven, at certain intervals, is represented as unable to find any comfort or solace in the world, because of the death of his friend Gall. The concluding stanzas thus depict his feelings :—

Far be the thought I therefore must absent me,
 And never more unto the world present me ;
 But solitary with my Gabion’s stay,
 And help them for to mourne till dying day.
 Then farewell, Cabine ; farewell Gabions all ;
 Then must I meet in heaven with Mr Gall ;
 And till that time I will set forth his praise,
 In elegies of wo and mourning layes :
 And weeping for his sake, still will I cry,
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?

* The word *Gabion* is of Mr Ruthven’s own coining, and was well enough understood among his select friends to mean nothing more than the miscellaneous curiosities in his closet, as described in the poem.

The reader will at once perceive, in perusing the poems, that the name by which they are generally known, is an erroneous one, though very popular; and if a name must be given to the first, it ought to have been called Ruthven's Gabions.

From the "Muses Threnodie," we learn that between Henry Adamson, Mr Geo. Ruthven, and Mr John Gall, there subsisted the warmest friendship. Mr Ruthven was descended from the noble family of that name, and was a physician and surgeon in Perth. He was about ninety-two years of age when the two poems were published. In the museum of the literary and antiquarian society, there is an arm chair which belonged to him. On the back of it is carved his initials, the Ruthven arms, and the date, 1588. Mr John Gall was a merchant, well educated, of amiable disposition, ready wit, and much esteemed. His premature death, of consumption, occasioned the above mentioned elegiac and descriptive poem.

It may be noticed, also, that his brother John, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, superintended the publication of the Poems. Principal Adamson was distinguished as a scholar, and possessed a well cultivated taste. An anecdote is told of James VI., in which Adamson figures as one of the leading characters, which it may not be out of place here to relate :—

"When on his visit to Scotland, in 1617, the king was very desirous to hear a syllogistic disputation. He, accordingly, ordered the professors of Edinburgh college, which he was accustomed to call his own college, to attend him in the royal chapel at Stirling Castle, on an appointed day, where he was surrounded by the flower of the nobility, and by many learned men of both nations. The subject of disputation had been previously announced. Mr Henry Charters, the principal, being averse to such a public appearance, deputed Mr John Adamson, one of the professors, to preside in the disputation; and Mr James Fairly to defend the thesis; Mr Andrew King, Mr James Reid, and Mr William King, were appointed to impugn it. The king made his remarks upon it, which he delivered with great authority and pedantry, but not with much delicacy. One of the theses was on 'local motion.' The king was much pleased with the defence, and advanced some arguments against the thesis, observing, with great triumph, to some of the doctors near him, 'These men know Aristotle's mind as well as himself while he lived.' On some of the other theses, his majesty sometimes spoke for the impugner, and sometimes for the defender, in good Latin, and with considerable knowledge of scholastic

philosophy. After disputation, the king went to supper, and, soon after commanded the masters of the college to wait upon him, and, in their presence, he discoursed very learnedly, of all the purposes which had been agitated, and then addressed the actors—‘Methinks,’ said he, ‘these gentlemen, by their very names, have been destined for the parts they have acted to-day. Mr Adamson, you was president—Adam was father of all, and very fitly Adam-son had the first part of the act. The defender is justly called *Fair-lie*—his thesis had some *fairlies*, and he supported them *fairly*, and with many *fair lies* given to the impugnors. And why should not Mr Sands be the first to enter the *sands*, but now I clearly see that all sands are not barren, for certainly he hath shown a feckless wit. Mr Young is very old in Aristotle. Mr Reid need not be red with blushing for his acting to-day. Mr King disputed very kingly, and of a kingly purpose, anent the royal supremacy of reason over anger and all passions.’ One who stood by, told his majesty that there was one of the company of whom he had taken no notice, viz. Mr Henry Charters, principal. ‘Though averse to speak in public in so great an assembly,’ wisely answered the king, ‘his name agreeth very well to his nature, for charters contain much matter, yet say nothing, but put great purposes in men’s mouths.’ ”

THE
INVENTORY OF THE GABIONS

IN MR. RUTHIVEN'S CLOSET, OR CABINET.

Of uncouth forms, and wond'rous shapes,
Like Peacocks, and like Indian apes ;
Like leopards, and beasts spotted,
Of clubs curiously knotted ;
Of wond'rous workmanships and rare,
Like eagles flying in the air ;
Like Centaurs Marmails in the seas ;
Like dolphins, and like honey bees :
Some carv'd in timber, some in stone,
Of the wonder of Albion ;
Which this close cabin doth include,
Some portends ill, some presage good :
What sprite Dædalian hath forth brought them ;
Ye gods assist, I think ye wrought them.
Your influences did conspire,
This comely cabin to attire.

Neptune gave first his awful Trident
And Pan the horns gave of a Bident.
Triton, his trumpet of a Buckie,
Propin'd to him, was large and luckie.
Mars gave the glist'ring sword and dagger,
Wherewith some time he wont to swagger.
Cyclopean armour of Achilles,
Fair Venus, purtrayed by Apelles.
The valiant Hector's weighty spear,
Wherewith he fought the Trojan war.
The fatal sword and seven fold shield
Of Ajax who could never yield :

Yea, more, the great Herculean club,
 Bruis'd Hydra in the Lerne dub.
 Hot Vulcan with his crooked heel,
 Bestow'd on him a temper'd steel !
 Cyclopes were the brethren Allans,
 Who swore they swet more than ten gallons,
 In framing it upon their forge,
 And temp'ring it for Mr George.
 But Æsculapius taught the lesson,
 How he should use't in goodly fashion,
 And bade extinguish't in his ale,
 When that he thought it pure and stale,
 With a pugill of Polypodium ;
 And Ceres brought a Manufodium,
 And will'd him toast it at his fire,
 And of such bread never to tyre ;
 Then Podalirius did conclude,
 That for his milt was sov'reign good.

Gold hair'd Apollo did bestow,
 His mighty sounding silver bow ;
 With music, instruments great store,
 His harp, his cythar, and mandore ;
 His piercing arrows and his quiver,
 But Cupid shot him through the liver,
 And set him all up in a flame,
 To follow a Peneian dame ;
 But being once repudiat
 Did lurk within this cabinet ;
 And there, with many a sigh and groan,
 Fierce Cupid's wrong he did bemoan ;
 But this deep passion to rebet,
 Venus bestow'd her amulet,
 The fiery flame for to bear down,
 Cold latusce, and Populeon :
 And thenceforth will'd the poplar tree
 To him should consecrated be.
 With twenty thousand pretious things,
 Mercurius gave his staff and wings :
 And more this cabin to decore,
 Of curious staffs he gave fourscore ;
 Of clubs and cudgels contortized,
 Some plain work, others crispe and frized,
 Like satyrs, dragons, flying flowls,
 Like fishes, serpents, cats and owls,
 Like winged horses, strange chimæras,
 Like unicorns and fierce pantheras.
 So livelike that a man would doubt,
 If art or nature brought them out ;

The monstrous branched great harthorn,
 Which on Acteon's front was born,
 On which did hing his velvet knapsea ;
 A scimitar cut like a hacksaw ;
 Great buckies, partans, toes of lapsters ;
 Oyster shells, ensigns for tapsters ;
 Gadie beeds, and chrystal glasses ;
 Stones, and ornaments for lasses ;
 Garlands made of summer flowers,
 Propin'd him by his paramours ;
 With many other pretious thing,
 Which all upon its branches hing :
 So that it doth excell, but scorn,
 The wealthy Amalthean horn.
 This cabin contains what you wish—
 No place his ornaments doth miss ;
 For there is such varietie,
 Looking breeds no satietie :
 In one nook stands Lochabrian axes ;
 And in another nook the glaxe is ;
 Here lys a turkasse, and a hammer ;
 Here lys a Greek and Latin grammar ;
 Here lys a book they call the dennet ;
 There lys the head of old Brown Kennet ;
 Here hings an auncient mantua bannet ;
 There hings a robin and a jannet,
 Upon a cord that's strangular ;
 A buffet-stool sexangular :
 A fool muting in his own hand.
 Soft, soft, my muse, sound not this sand :
 What ever matter come atherter,
 Touch not, I pray, the iron morter :
 His cougs, his dishes, and his caps ;
 A totum, and some bairnes taps ;
 A gardareilie and a whistle ;
 A trumpe, an abercorn mussel ;
 His hats, his hoods, his bells, his bones,
 His alley bowles, his curling stones,
 The sacred games to celebrate,
 Which to the gods are consecrate ;
 And more, this cabin to adorn,
 Diana gave her hunting horn ;
 And that there should be no defect,
 God Momus' gift did not inlake ;
 Only ——— was to blame,
 Who would bestow nothing for shame :
 This cabine was so cramm'd with store,
 She could not enter at the door :

This pretty want for to supply,
 A privy parlour stands near by,
 In which there is in order plac'd,
 Phœbus with the Nine Muses grac'd,
 In compasse, sitting like a crown ;
 This is the place of great renown :
 Here all good learning is inschryn'd,
 And all grave wisdom is confin'd ;
 Clio with stories ancient times ;
 Melpomene with tragick lines ;
 Wanton Thalia's comedies ;
 Euterpe's sweetest harmonies ;
 Terpsichore's heart-moving cithar ;
 Lovely Erato's numb'ring meeter ;
 Caliope's heroic songs ;
 Urania's heavenly motions ;
 Polymnia, in various musick,
 Paints all with flowers of rhetorick ;
 Amidst sits Phœbus laureat,
 Crown'd with the whole Pierian taste ;
 Here's Galen, and Hippocrates ;
 Divine Plato, and Socrates ;
 Th' Arabian skill and excellence ;
 The Greek and Roman eloquence,
 With many worthy work and story,
 Within this place inaccessory.
 These models in this cabine plac'd,
 Are with the world's whole wonders grac'd ;
 What curious art, or nature fram'd,
 What monster hath been taught, or tam'd ;
 What Polycletus in his time,
 What Archimedes rich engine ;
 Who taught the art of Menadrie,
 The Syracusian Synedrie :
 What gods, or mortals, did forth bring,
 It in his cabinet doth hing ;
 Whose famous relicks all are flower'd,
 And all with precious poulder stow'd ;
 And richly deck't with curious hingers,
 Wrought by Arachne's nimble fingers.
 This is his storehouse, and his treasure ;
 This is his paradise of pleasure ;
 This is the arcenal of gods—
 Of all the world this is the odds :
 This is the place Apollo chuses ;
 This is the residence of Muses ;
 And to conclude all this in one,
 This is the Romaine Pantheon.

THE
MUSES THRENODIE.

Of Mr George Ruthven the tears and mournings,
Amidst the giddie course of fortune's turnings,
Upon his dear friend's death, Mr John Gall,
Where his rare ornaments bear a part, and wretched Gabions all.

FIRST MUSE.

Now must I mourn for Gall, since he is gone,
And ye, my Gabions, help me him to mone;
And in your courses sorrow for his sake,
Whose matchless Muse immortal did you make.
Who now shall pen your praise and make you knowne?
By whom now shall your virtues be forth showne?
Who shall declare your worth?—is any able?—
Who dare to meddle with Apelles table?*

Ah me! there's none!—And is there none indeed?
Then must ye mourn of force,—there's no remed:
And I for my part, with you in my turne
Shall keep a dolefull comfort whilst ye mourne:
And thus with echoing voice, shall howl and cry—
Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

Now first my Bowes begin this dolefull song:
No more with clangors let your shafts be flung
In fields abroad, but in my cabins stay,
And help me for to mourn till dying day;

* Apelles was a celebrated painter in the days of Alexander the Great, who would allow no other painter to draw his portrait; he left an imperfect picture of Venus, which no other painter would venture to finish.

With dust and cobwebs cover all your heads,
 And take you to your matins and your beads :
 A requiem sing unto that sweetest soul,
 Which shines now sainted above other pole.
 And ye my clubs, you must no more prepare
 To make your balls flee whistling in the air,
 But hing your heads, and bow your crooked crags,
 And dress you all in sackcloth and in rags,
 No more to see the sun, nor fertile fields,
 But closely keep your mourning in your bields ;
 And for your part the tribble to you take,
 And when you cry, make all your crags to crake,
 And shiver when you sing, alas ! for Gall !
 Ah, if our mourning might thee now recall !
 And ye, my loadstones, of Lednochian lakes,
 Collected from the loughs, where watrie snakes
 Do much abound, take unto you a part,
 And mourn for Gall, who lov'd you with his heart ;
 In this sad dump and melancholick mood,
 The burdown ye must bear, not on the flood,
 Or frozen watrie plaines, but let your tuning,
 Come help me for to weep by mournfull cruning ;
 And ye the rest my Gabions less and more,
 Of noble kind, come help me for to roare !
 And of my woefull weeping take a part—
 Help to declare the dolour of mine heart :
 How can I choose but mourn, when I think on
 Our games Olympick-like in times agone ?
 Chiefly wherein our cunning we did try,
 And matchless skill in noble archerie,
 In these our days when archers did abound
 In Perth, then famous for such pastimes found :
 Among the first for archers we were known,
 And for that art our skill was loudly blown :
 What time Perth's credit did stand with the best
 And bravest archers this land hath possesst ;
 We spar'd no gaines nor paines for to report
 To Perth the worship, by such noble sport :
 Witness the Links of Leith, where Cowper, Grahame,
 And Stewart won the prize, and brought it home ;
 And in these games did offer ten to three,
 There to contend : *Quorum pars magna fui.*
 I mourn, good Gall, when I think on that stead,
 Where yee did hail your shaft unto the head,
 And with a strong and steadfast eye and hand,
 So valiantly your bow yee did command :
 A sliddrie shaft forth of its forks did fling,
 Clank gave the bow, the whistling air did ring ;

The bowlt did cleave the clouds, and threat the skyes,
 And thence down falling to the mark it flies :
 Incontinent the aimer gave a token,
 The mark was kill'd, the shaft in flinders broken :
 Then softly smiling, good Gall, thus quod I,
 Now find I time my archerie to try ;
 And here by solemn vow I undertake,
 In token of my love, even for thy sake,
 Either to hit the mark, else shall I never
 More with these arms of mine use bow and quiver ;
 Therewith my ligaments I did extend,
 And then a noble shaft I did commend
 Unto my bow, then firmly fix't mine eye,
 And closely levell'd at Orion's knee—
 A star of greatest magnitude, who ken'd it
 So well as I, prays you be not offended ;
 (For I did use no magick incantation
 For to conduct my shaft, I will find cation :)
 Then cleverly my fien soone can I feather ;
 Upon my left arm was a brace of leather ;
 And with three fingers haling up the string,
 The bow in semicircle did I bring ;
 With soft and tender lowse out went the shaft,
 Amids the clouds the arrow flew aloft :
 And as directed by a skilfull hand,
 With speedie hand, the steadfast mark it fand ;
 The aimer gave his signe, furthwith was known,
 The shot was mine, the boult in flinders flown ;
 Above his shaft, in such difficile stead,
 Closely I hit the mark upon the head ;
 Then on the plain we caprel'd wonder fast,
 Whereat the people gazing were agast :
 With kind embracements did we thurst and thrimble,
 (For in these days I was exceeding nimble,)
 We leap't, we danc't, we loudly laugh't, we cry'd,
 For in the earth such skill was never try'd
 In archerie, as we prov'd in these days,
 Whereby we did obtain immortal praise :
 Then, gossip Gall, quod I, I dare approve,
 Thou hast a trusty token of my love.

What shall be said of other martial games ?
 None was inlaking from whence bravest stemmes ;
 Victorious trophées, palmes, and noble pynes,
 Olives, and lawrels, such as aunient times
 Decor'd the Grecian victors in their playes,
 And worthie Romanes in their brave assayes,
 For tryal of their strength each match'd with other,
 Whose beauty was, sweat mix'd with dust together :

Such exercises did content us more
 Than if we had possess'd King Cræsus' store.
 But, O ye fields ! my native Perth neerby,
 Prays you to speak, and truly testifie,
 What matchless skill we prov'd in all these places,
 Within the compass of three thousand paces
 On either side, while as we went a shooting,
 And strongly strove who should bring home the booting ;
 Alongst the flowrie banks of Tay to Almond ;
 Ay when I hit the mark, I cast a gamound ;
 And there we view the place, where sometime stood,
 The ancient Bertha now o'erflowed with flood
 Of mighty waters, and that princely hold,
 Where dwelt King William, by the stream down rol'd,
 Was utterly defac'd, and overthrown,
 That now the place thereof can scarce be known :
 Then through these haughs of fair and fertile ground,
 Which, with fruit trees, with corns and flocks abound,
 Meandering rivers, sweet flowres, heavenly honey,
 More for our pastime than to conquest money :
 We went a shooting both through plain and park,
 And never stay'd till we came to Lows wark ;
 Built by our mighty Kings for to preserve us,
 That thencefurth waters should not drown, but serve us ;
 Yet condescending it admits one rill,
 Which all these plains with christal brooks doth fill ;
 And by a conduit, large three miles in length.
 Serves to make Perth impregnable for strength,
 At all occasions when her clowes fall,
 Making the water mount up to her wall,
 When we had view'd this mighty work at random,
 We thought it best these fields for to abandon :
 And turning home, we spar'd nor dye nor fowsie,
 Untill we came unto the Boot of Bowsie,
 Along this aqueduct, and there our station,
 We made and viewed Balhousie's situation.
 O'erlooking all that spacious pleasant valley,
 With flowers damasked, levell as an alley,
 Betwixt and Perth, thither did we repair,
 (For why the season was exceeding fair :)
 Then all alongst this valley did we hye,
 And there the place we clearly did espye,
 The precinct, situation, and the stead,
 Where ended was that cruel bloody fead,
 Between these cursed clans Chattan and Kay,
 Before King Robert John upon the day
 Appointed, then and there, who did convene,
 Thirty 'gainst thirty match'd upon that greene,

Of martial fellows, all in raging mood,
 Like furious Ajax, or Orestes wood,
 Alonely arm'd with long two-handed swords,
 Their sparkling eyes cast fire instead of words ;
 Their horrid beards, thrown browes, bristled mustages
 Of deadly blows t'inshew, were true presages.

Thus standing, fortune's event for to try,
 And thousands them beholding, one did cry,
 With loud and mighty voice, stay, hold your hands !
 A little space, we pray, the case thus stands ;
 One of our number is not here to day—
 This sudden speech did make some little stay
 Of this most bloody bargain, th' one party fight
 Would not unless the number were made right
 Unto the adverse faction, nor was any
 That would take it in hand, among so many
 Beholders of all ranks, into that place
 On th' other side none would sustaine disgrace,
 To be debarred from his other fellowes,
 He rather hung seven years upon the gallows.

Thus, as the question stood, was found at length,
 One Henry Wind, for tryal of his strength
 The charge would take, a sadler of his craft,
 I wot not well, whether the man was daft,
 But for an half French crown he took in hand,
 Stoutly to fight so long as he might stand,
 And if to be victorious should betide him,
 They should some yearly pension provide him,
 The bargain holds ; and then with all their maine,
 Their brakens buckled to the fight again ;
 Incontinent the trumpets loudlie sounded,
 And mightilie the great bagpipes were winded :
 Then fell they to't as fierce as any thunder,
 From shoulders arms, and heads from necks they sunder,
 All raging there in blood, they hew'd and hash'd,
 Their skincoats with the new cut were outslash'd ;
 And scorning death so bravely did outfight it,
 That the beholders greatly were affrighted ;
 But chiefly this by all men was observed,
 None fought so fiercely, nor so well deserved
 As this their hired souldier, Henrie Winde,
 For by his valour, victory inclinde
 Unto that side ; and ever since those dayes
 This proverb current goes, when any sayes,
 How come you here ? this answer doth he finde,
 I'm for mine owne hand, as fought Henrie Winde,
 So finely fought he, ten with him escap't,
 And of the other but one, in flood who leap't

And sav'd himself by swimming over Tay,
But to speak more of this we might not stay,
Thence did we take us to the other hand,
From this divided by a chrystal strand
From whence the King beheld with open sight,
The long time doubtfull event of this fight :
From off his pleasant gardens flowery wall,
Which we the gilted arbor yet do call.
And here some monuments we did descry,
And ruin'd heaps of great antiquity ;
There stood a temple, and religious place,
And here a palace, but ah, woeful case !
Where murdered was one of the bravest Kings,
For wisdom, learning, valour, and such things
As should a Prince adorn ; who trades and arts,
By men of matchless skill brought to thir parts,
From Italy, Low Germany, and France,
Religion, learning, policy to advance,
King James the first of everlasting name,
Kill'd by that mischant traitor Robert Grahame.
Intending of his crown for to have rob'd him,
With twenty eight wounds in the breast he stob'd him.
Unnatural paricide, most bloody traitor !
Accursed be thou above any creature !
And curst be all, for so it is appointed,
That dare presume to touch the Lord's anointed !
This Phoenix Prince our nation much decor'd,
Good letters and civility restored,
By long and bloudie wars which were defaced,
His royal care made them be re-embraced,
And he this city mightilie intended
To have enhanc'd, if fates had condescended,
For which, if power answer'd, good-will we would
With Gorgias Leontinus, raise of gold
A statue to him, of most curious frame,
In honour of his dear and worthy name.
He likewise built most sumptuously fair,
That much renown'd religious place and rare,
The Charterhouse of Perth a mighty frame,
Vallis Virtutis by a mystic name.
Looking along that painted spacious field,
Which doth with pleasure profit sweetly yield,
The fair South Inch of Perth and banks of Tay,
This Abbay's steeples, and its turrets stay ;
While as they stood (but ah ! where sins abound
The loftiest pride lies level'd with the ground !)
Were cunningly contriv'd with curious art,
And quintessence of skill in everie part ?

My Grandsire many times to me hath told it ;
 He knew their names, this mighty frame who moldit :
 Italian some, and some were Frenchmen borne,
 Whose matchless skill this great work did adorne,
 And living were in Perth, some of their race,
 When that, alas ! demolish'd was this place ;
 For greatness, beauty, stateliness so fair
 In Britane's isle, was said, none might compare :
 Even as Apelles for to prove his skill,
 In limning Venus with a perfect quill,
 Did not on some one beauty take inspection,
 But of all beauties borrowed the perfection :
 Even so this Prince, to policie inclinde,
 Did not on some one fabrick set his minde,
 To make the prototype of his designe,
 But from all works, did all perfections bring,
 And rarest patterns brought from every part,
 Where any brave Vitruvius kyth'd his art,
 So that this great and princely enterprise,
 Perfections of all models did comprise ;
 And in this place, where he doth buried lye,
 Was kept the relict wherein he did dye—
 His doublet, as a monument reserv'd,
 And when this place was raz'd, it was preserv'd,
 Which afterwards I did see for my part,
 With holes through which he stab'd was to the heart.

Then, good Gall, thus quod I, what shew of reason,
 Mov'd this unnatural traitor work such treason ?
 Reason ! good Mr Gall did thus reply,
 Reason ! so much in shew I do deny ;—
 Reason ! no reason did he have at all ;
 But wormwood, bitter malice, Stygian gall
 Within this traitor's heart did closely lurk,
 Which moved him this tragedie to work ;
 And I would truly tell this woefull storie,
 But that my tongue doth faile, mine heart's so sorrie ;
 Yet whiles that we unto the town do go,
 Monsier, the true occasion will I show.

This worthie Prince, according to the taillie
 Made by King Robert, when heirs male should faillie,
 Of his son David then Earle of Stratherne,
 So soon, I say, the King as he did learne
 That heirs male of this David were surceast,
 Into these lands he did himself invest :
 For David leaving after him no son,
 His lands by right come back unto the crown ;
 Yet after him one daughter did survive,
 In marriage which to Patrick Grahame they give,

To whom she bore a son, one Melisse Grahame,
 Whose parents dying young, Robert did claime,
 As uncle, and as tutor, of these lands
 To have the charge devolved in his hands,
 Which when the King most justly did deny
 To give, and gravelie shew the reason why,
 This bloody traitor from his gorge did spew
 Words treacherous, nor to be spoke, nor true ;
 For which he justlie Traitor was declar'd ;
 But he the King's authoritie nought car'd,
 But more and more pursuing his intent,
 To Walter, Earl of Athole, streight he went,
 Whom well he knew to have the like designe
 Above all things for to cut off the King,
 And all the race sprung of Eliza Mure ;
 With witches did consult, and sp'rits conjure,
 This to effect, and all th' infernal furies,
 With draughts and spells, and such unlawful curies ;
 At length, he finding that incarnate fiend,
 Believ'd his response should have steadfast end,
 Which was, that he should once before he dye
 Be crown'd King, with great solemnitie :
 Which came to pass indeed, but not with gold,
 For his familiar sp'rit kept that untold :
 Thus these two traitors cruelly did hatch
 The treason which this good King did dispatch.

Both of these traitors at the crown did aime :
 Th' one thought his nephew might it some time claime,
 And he without all question would succeed ;
 For well he knew to cut the fatal threed ;
 Likewise that other hell-taught traitor, Walter,
 Believ'd by no meanes his response could alter ;
 Thus both of them, fed with ambitious hopes,
 Kept secret by themselves their partial scopps,
 But mutually this one thing they intend—
 The King must die, and here their thoughts they spend.

But this Earle Walter, subtile more than th' other,
 His quaint designe 'gan cunningly to smother ;
 Observing well the Grahame's proud haughty braine,
 Greatly aggreg'd the wrongs he did sustaine,
 Affirming that there was none had a heart,
 But would avenged be ; and for his part
 He would assist, and when the turne were ended,
 Against all deadly ; Grahame should be defended ;
 Thus by ambition witch't, and rage demented,
 This traitor execut what was intended,
 Who from the famous Trojan had his name,
 And from the woods when he did hear the fame

Of this infamous act, at Edinburgh then
Residing, to make peace between these men
Who of the Greek and Trojans are descended !
O how he was inrag'd ! O how offended !
To see so brave a Prince so traiterouslie
Cut off, he roar'd and rail'd outrageouslie
'Gainst all the nation, but when he justice done,
Had seen upon the traitours, then his tune
He quickly chang'd, now have I seen, said he.
A cruel crime revenged cruellie.
This tragick task, Monsier, in hand to take,
Mine eyes do melt in tears, mine heart-strings crake,
What ! shall I speak of Priam King of Troy,
By Pyrrhus kill'd ? that cannot much annoy :
Or shall I of brave Julius Cæsar tell,
Whom these two traitors did in senate kill ?
These may affect us with some small compassion,
But for to speak of this, is a tentation.
Cæsar for valour, learning, and meek mind ;
And ah ! too much like Cæsar in his end.
Excusa Moi, Monsier, mine heart's so sorie,
That I can tell you no more of this storie.
When I think with what gravitie and grace
This tragedie was told, tears weet my face ;
And I do wish good Gall thou were on live,
That with Mæonian style thou mightst deserve
Such memorable acts, or else thy spirit
In some new body plac'd, it to inherit :
Ah me ! this cannot be, which makes me cry,—
Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?

SECOND MUSE.

But this sad melancholick disquisition,
 Did not besit our jovial disposition,
 In these our days ; therefore when we had mourned
 For this good Kiug, we to the town returned,
 And there to cheere our hearts, and make us merrie,
 We kindly tasted of the noble berrie ;
 Melancholie and grief are great men-killers :
 Therefore from Tamarisk, with some capillars
 Infusde we drank, for to preserve our splens
 From grief, our lungs from cough, and purge our reins ;
 But this receipt Gall did not keep alway,
 Which made him die, alas ! before his day.

Then home we went, into our beds to rest —
 To-morrow again we to the fields addrest us ;
 And in my bed as I did dreaming ly,
 Me thought I heard with mighty voice, one cry,
 Arise, Monsier ! the day is wondrous fair—
 Monsier, arise ; then answered I, who's there ?
 Arise, Monsier, the third time did it call ;
 Who's there ? quoth I, it is I Mr Gall,
 Then I awoke, and found it so indeed,
 Good-morrow, Mr Gall, Monsier, God speed.
 Good Mr Gall, dreams did me much molest
 This night, and almost rave me of my rest,
 Monsier, quoth Gall, what motion might that be ?
 Said I, I dream'd I was in archerie,
 Out match'd so far, that I was stricken dumbe,
 For very grief to be so overcome,
 Monsier, said he, that's been a mightie passion,
 That hath you stricken dumb in such a fashion.
 A passion so great that I did sweat,
 My sinews tremble, and my heart did beat.
 At length, respiring, these few words did speak :—
 O noble heart of force, now must thou break !
 For to these days was never in this land
 That did o'ercome this matchless maiden hand ;
 And dreaming, as I judg'd with Mr Gall,
 Incontinent a voice on me did call,
 Arise, Monsier, arise : then I awoke,
 And found it was Gall's voice unto me spoke,
 Which made me doubt if so could come to passe :
 Then answer'd Gall, altho' your bow were brasse,

That might be done ; and I'm the man will do it,
 What say you Gall ? quod I, then let us to it.
 Furthwith we dress'd us in our archer grath,
 And to the fields we came, like men in wrath :
 When we our nerves and tendons had extended,
 Incontinent our bowes were bravely bended :
 The skie was wondrous cleer, Apollo fair,
 Greatly delighted to behold us there :
 And did disperse the clouds, that he might see
 What matchless skill we prov'd in archerie.
 The cristal river Phœbus' beams reflected,
 As glad of us, them in our face directed :
 The flowerie plains, and mountains all the while
 That we were shooting merrilie did smile.
 Mean while, for honours praise, as we were swelting
 The sweat from off our brows and temples melting,
 Phœbus, as seeming to envie our skill,
 His quiver with some fierie shafts did fill,
 And from his silver bow, at us he darted
 These shafts, to make us faint and feeble-hearted :
 Whose mighty force we could not well oppose,
 Under a shade we therefore did repose
 A pretty while hard by a silver streame,
 Which did appeare some melodie to frame,
 Running alongst the snow-white pibble stones
 Mourning, did murmure joys, commix't with moanes.
 A cup I had with woodbind of the wall,
 And drinking said, this to you Mr Gall,
 Quoth he, Monsier, since that we have no better,
 With all mine heart, I will you pledge in water.
 This brook alongst the flowerie plain meanders,
 And in a thousand compasses it wanders ;
 And as it softly slides so many wayes,
 It sweetly sings as many roundelayes,
 And harmonie to keep, the honie bees
 Their trumpets sound amongst the flowers and trees.
 Their shadowes from their shaggie tops down sending
 Did bow, in token of their homage rendring :
 But in short while Phœbus his face withdrew,
 Then freshly fell we to't again of new ;
 Any Kyth most skilful and most pleasant game,
 While to the lands of Loncartie we came ;
 Then thus, quod I, good Gall, I pray thee show,
 For clearly all antiquities yee know :
 What mean these skonses, and these hollow trenches,
 Throughout these fallow fields and yonder inches ?
 And these great heaps of stones like pyramids,
 Doubtless all these ye knew, that so much reads ;

These trenches be, Gall answering, did reply,
Where these two armies, Scots and Danes, did ly
Incamped, and these heaps the trophies be,
Rear'd in memorial of that victory,*

* Luncarty is about four miles north from Perth, and is noted for the victory the Scots obtained over the Danes, in the reign of Kenneth III., towards the end of the tenth century. The field on which the battle was fought lies on the banks of the Tay. About sixty years ago it was covered with small tumuli; but there is no other memorial of the contest but two upright stones, one of which, four feet high, retains the name of Denmark. In this momentous conflict success was at first doubtful. Both the wings of the Scottish army had fled, leaving the centre exposed to the attacks of the enemy; and probably the Scots would have been defeated, had not assistance been providentially brought to them in their extremity by one man. The battle was observed by a man of the name of Hay, who with his two sons, all of them of great strength both of body and mind, were employed in a field on the opposite side of the river. His love of his country, for which he was remarkable, was touched by the danger of his countrymen; when, seizing on the yoke of his plough, and his sons on whatever they could find, and crossing the Tay at the shallow part of the river, they reached the field of battle at the critical moment of the flight, which, first by entreaties, and then by threats, they endeavoured to stop, declaring that they would put to death those who persisted. Then throwing themselves with fury upon the foremost of the pursuing Danes, they gave the Scots a moment to rally on an eminence, which still retains the name of Turn-again hillock. The battle was now renewed on somewhat different ground, when Hay, leading some of the clans down a deep ravine, took the Danes in flank and rear, which threw them into confusion. At this critical moment again, another circumstance occurred which completed their disorder. A great shout was raised by a number of grooms, and a rustic crowd of peasants, which appeared to the Danes to be a new army, and increased their panic. The fortune of the day was now, therefore, entirely changed, and the Danes were routed with such prodigious slaughter, that those who escaped the sword perished in the river. A despairing effort was, however, made to save their commander's life, by defending an eminence close to the banks of the river; but all their efforts were unavailing. For here the Danish General, according to Fordun, the King himself was slain; and the stone mentioned above, still marks the spot of his fall. Such was the celebrated battle of Luncarty, which, having been turned from defeat to victory by the undaunted valour of one man and his sons, laid the foundation of the fortune of Hay, who includes in it the three earldoms of Errol, Tweeddale, and Kinnoull. After this complete victory, the king wishing to march in triumph into Perth, directed that splendid robes should be brought for the gallant Hay and his sons, that they might make a suitable appearance, but he refused to put them on; and having only washed off the dust, and marching into the town, dressed in his every-day garments, and carrying the yoke with which he had done such service over his shoulder, he fixed the eyes of all men upon him, and received the whole credit of the fortune of the day. An assembly of states having been held shortly after, at Scone, it was there decreed to give the valiant Hay his choice of the greyhound's course or the falcon's flight, as a suitable reward for having delivered his country from so formidable an enemy. Hay having chosen the falcon's flight, the noble bird was unhooded on the top of a hill in the vicinity of the city, and stooped not in his flight till he reached the confines of the parish of Errol, where he alighted on a large stone, which still bears the name of the "Hawk's stone." All the intervening ground was given in property to the family of "Hay of Errol," though it has since that period been either apportioned to different members of the family, or alienated to different parties. In memory of these events, the family of Hay still wear as their arms, argent, three scutcheons, Gules, with the yoke inscribed, i.e. three golden shields in a silver shield; an indication, as Buchanan thinks, that the public safety was defended by the singular valour of three men, in an important battle.

Admir'd unlook'd for, conquest in that day,
 By th' only virtue of a hyndsman, Hay,
 And his two sons, from whence immortal praise
 He gain'd, and glory of his name did raise
 To all succeeding ages : as is said
 Of Briareus, an hundred hands who had,
 Wherewith he fought, or rather as we see
 A valiant Sampson, whose activitie,
 With his ass-bone kills thousands, or a shangar
 With his oxe-goad kills hundreths, in his anger :
 Even so this war-like wight with oxens yolk
 Beats squadrons down by his undaunted stroke,
 And did regain the victorie neere lost,
 Unto the Scots, by his new gathered host,
 Of fearfull fleers, in a woful plight,
 By his encouragements infusing might
 Into their nerves, new spirits in their arters,
 To make them fight in blood, unto the garters,
 Against their hatefull foes, who for to be
 Did fight, more than for price or victorie.
 Such cruelties their bloudie hearts possest,
 To have old quarrels on us Scots redrest,
 For utterly quell'd Fights, and for their own
 Armies by us so often overthrowen.
 This worthy chieftain's happy enterprize,
 Which sav'd this countrie from the tyrannies
 Of cruel Danes, and his two Mar's-like sons,
 Do for all ages wear the quernal crowns,
 Like Thrasibulus ; ever bluming bayes,
 Do add much splendour to the worthie Hayes.
 And always since, they for their weapons wield
 Three rubrick targets in a silver shield.
 Which shield the soaring falcon doth sustaine,
 To signifie these three men did obtaine
 The publick safetie, and the falcon's flight
 By mounting, shews their worth by lighting right
 Unto their lands ; for honours high regard ;
 Which in all ages should have due reward.
 Like all shall finde, who loyal to the state
 And countries well do prove, tho' small or great :
 Men shall them praise, God shall preserve their stemme
 Immortal fame shall canonize their names.
 Thence forward went we unto Campsie Lin,*
 From whence the river falling makes such din
 As Nilus Catadups : there so we sported,
 It is impossible for to report it :

* The Lin of Campsie about three milles above Loncarty is a shelve of rocks which lies across Tay, and forms an agreeable cascade, over which the salmon leep with great velocity.

Whether we walk'd, or did we sit, or stand,
 Quiver was tied to side, and bow in hand ;
 So that none thought us to be mortal wights,
 But either Phœbus or fair Phœbe's knights ;
 There we admir'd to see the salmond leap,
 And over-reach the waters mighty heap.
 Which from a mountain falls, so high, and steep,
 And tumbling down devals into the deep,
 Making the boyling waters to rebound,
 Like these great surges near by Greenland sound,
 Yet these small fish o'ercome these wat'rie mountains,
 And kindly take them to their mother fountains.
 * With what affection everie creature tenders
 The native soil ! hence comes, great Jove remembers
 His cradle Creet, and worthie more than he,
 Let th' idle Cretians at their pleasure lie,
 Even these most worthy Kings of mighty race,
 Come of great Fergus, long to see the face
 Of their dear Caledonia, whose soyle
 Doth make their kindly hearts within them boyle,
 To view these fields where martial men of arms,
 Great monuments have rais'd with loud alarms
 Of thundering trumpets, by a hundred kings
 And seven one queen ; what antient poet sings,
 The like descent of princes, who their crowns
 And scepters have bestow'd upon their sons,
 Or nearest kinsmen ? neither is it so
 That this continued line had never foe
 To interrupt the same, witness these standers
 That bear the Roman eagle, great commanders
 Of most part of the globe, and cruel Danes
 Victorious elsewhere, but not in our planes ;
 Fights and old Britans, more than these to tell,
 Who in the compasse of this island dwell,
 But praise be God, Britaine is now combine,
 In faith and truth, one King, one God, one minde.
 Let scoffers say that neither wine nor oyle,
 (Whose want stay'd conquest) grows within this soyle,
 Yet if gold, pearl, or silver better be,*
 As most men them account, it doth supplie ;
 Yea, things more needful for man's use it yeelds :—
 Herds, flocks, and cornes abound here in our fields,
 Will beasts in forests of all kinds in plentie ;
 Rare fowls, fruits, fishes, and what else is daintie ;

* Scottish gold dug out of Crawford Muir, and other places, was reckoned very fine, and was coined by our Kings. The pearl fishery on the Tay was once of great importance. From 1761 to 1764, L.10,000 worth were sent to London, and sold from 10s. to L.1 16s. per ounce. Some of the pearls taken weighed 33 grains. This fishery is long since exhausted.

Perpetual fire, to speak it in a word,
 The like no where is found, it doth afford.
 Thus Providence divine hath it ordained,
 That human commerce may be entertained,
 All soyls should have, yet none brings all things forth,
 Yea, grounds most barren oft have greatest worth
 Contained in their bowels, this to tell us,
*Non omnia producit omnis tellus ;**
 Hence comes that men their gold for yron change,
 And so, far from their native countrys rainge,
 Their softest silk for coarsest canvase give,
 Because by commerce men do better live,
 Then by such things their native grounds forth measure,
 By traffike they do find more gain and pleasure ;
 Yea, things more simple, much more useful are,
 And for man's well more profitable far.
 Thus yron serves for all brave arts, much more
 Than gold, let Midas heap it up in store ;
 And canvase serves for ventrous navigation,
 Where silks are only for cloths green sick fashion ;
 And tho' wine glad the heart, yet stirs it strife,
 But grain the staffe is which sustains our life :
 So humane fellowship to entertaine,
 Our fishes and our cornes bring oile and wine.
 But above all our soyle throughout all parts,
 Bears bravest Chieftains with couragious hearts :
 These be the bar of conquest and the wall,
 Which our most hateful foes could never scall.
 Would you behold one Hannibal o'erturne
 Fourscore of thousands, look to Bannockburne,
 Or would you see Xerxes his overthrow,
 And flight by boat ; Edward the second know ;
 Or Carthaginean towers with all their mights
 Destroyed ? View Camelon with faithlesse Pights.
 Or would ye know great Castriot whose bones
 Could martial virtue give, dig'd from the stones,
 Where he did buried ly ? take for that part
 The Bruce, and Douglas carrying his heart
 Through many lands, intending it to have
 Solemnly buried in the holy grave.
 This heart, though dead, within their hearts begetting
 Brave hearts, 'gainst dangers their bold hearts outsetting.
 Would you a King for zeal unto God's house
 Like Israel's David, our Saint David chuse ?
 Or know King James the First ? like Julius Cæsar,
 Or Gregorie ? like Alexander ; these are,

* No country produces every commodity.

With many more, the worthies, whose renown
 By martial deeds, have keep'd close this crown;
 Yea, more to speak of such heroick themes,
 Who knoweth not the worthy great King James
 Of Britain's union first? whose virtues great
 Were more than equal to his royal seat;
 Whose matchless wisdom, and whose learned quill,
 Did nectar and ambrosia distill;
 And ravish't with amasement all who heard him;
 But most for active prudence all admir'd him.
 Happie in all his life, whose worthie name,
 A peaceable Augustus did proclaime.
 Who conquer'd more by wit, than by the sword,
 And made all Europe much regard his word.
 And good King Charles the son of such a father,
 Thrice happie by thy virgine crown; yea, rather
 More happie, if more happinesse can be,
 In earthlie things, by thy high pedegrie;
 But most of all by Heaven, which hath appointed
 The maiden crown for thee, the Lord's anointed,
 The man of his right hand, and for thy seed,
 Which God not blesse, and all who shall proceed
 Forth of thy loines, and stablish in thy place,
 So long as sun and moone shall run their race;
 Then reigne, Great Charles, our nostrils sweetest breath;
 Long may thou reigne, Defender of the Faith,
 Enthron'd among these worthie peerlesse pearles,
 And let all say, God save our good King Charles;
 And deeplie in his heart imprint that zeale,
 To make the law supreme the people's weall.
 What shall we speak of martial Chiftans more?
 Of Gideons and of Sampsons we have store,
 Whom God did raise for to defend our state
 Miraculouslie, in times most desperate.
 What braver Hestor, or more brave Achilles
 In Greece, or Phrygia, than Sir William Wallace?
 And John the Grahame, his mate and brother sworn,
 Whose living fame his name doth much adorne.
 And if we lift this subject more to handle,
 What governour like good Earl Thomas Randal?
 Or doughty Douglass with courageous heart,
 Whose name wrought dreadful terror in each part?
 But this heroic theme, so passing great,
 Impossible it is all to relate;
 Our worthie rulers even unto thir days,
 They do not want their own deserved praise;
 Nor shall they for my part want due renown—
 Virtue t' advance and vice to trample down.

These be the wall of God's own work and framing
 Against our foes, and of his own mantaining ;
 Wherefor we bless his holy name that made us ;
 And pray that never foreign scepter lead us
 To impose hard laws, and tributaries make us,
 To chastise us with scorpions, and to rake us ;
 And likewise pray that Ajax like we would not
 Undo ourselves, while all our enemies could not.
 But, O dear Caledonia ! what desire
 Have all men who have heard thy fame t'admire
 Thy monuments ? how much more these who be
 Thy sons, desire thy maiden soil to see ?
 Thy maiden castle and fair Maidenburgh.*
 The stately winged city, which is through
 All ages much renown'd with streets so fair,
 And palaces so mounted in the air :
 That if the deepness of imagination
 Could limn a land-schape by deep meditation ;
 Scarce could it match where bravest youths abound,
 And gravest counsellours are alwise found ;
 Which justice joineth hand with true religion,
 And golden virtue keeps the middle region,
 As register, where these acts are enrol'd,
 Better than in Corinthian brass or gold.

Let poetaster Parasites who feign,
 Who fawn, and crouch, and crouch and creep for gain,
 And, where no hope of gain is, huffe and hur,
 And bark against the moon, as doth a cur ;
 Let such base curs, who nought but gobbets smell,
 With thee disgrac'd, and deeplie sunk in hell,
 Whither themselves do go ; yet shalt thou stand,
 And see them ruin'd, all who thee withstand :
 God shall befriend thy friends, and shall all those
 Array with shame, who causeless be thy foes :
 Thou art this antient kindoms bravest part,
 For wit and worth, thou art its hand and heart :
 And who the kingdoms compend brave would see,
 Needs do no more but survey take of thee :
 Hence these desires fair Caledonia's soil
 To view, when bravest stratagems with toil
 Have acted been, hence come these kindlie wishes,
 To see these fields, even like these kindlie fishes,
 Which we behold o'ercome this mightie lin,
 And seek the fountains where they did begin.

* Edinburgh Castle.

THIRD MUSE.

Thus as we did behold the salmon sporting,
 We spied some countrie clowns to us resorting,
 Who stricken were with sudden admiration,
 To see us graithed in such antique fashion,
 Their staring eyes grew blind, their tongues were dumb,
 A chilling cold their senses did benumb :
 Said we, What moves yon ghosts to look so griesly ?
 They scarcelv muttering, answered, and not wiselie,
 Oft have we heard of such strange wights as ye,
 But to this time we did them never see ;
 If ye be men or not, scarce can we tell—
 Ye look like men, yet none such here do dwell ;
 Then said good Gall, Monsier, these fellows stupid,
 Doubtless take me for Mars, and you for Cupid :^{*}
 Therefore let us begone, we will not tarie,
 Yon clowns will swear that they have seen the fairie ;
 When they come home at night, and by the fire,
 Will tell such uncouth tales, all will admire,
 Both man ane wife, the lads and all the lasses ;
 For be ye sure such clowns are very asses.
 Thence down the river bank as we did walk,
 And merrilie began to chant and talk,
 A pretty boat with two oars we espy'd,
 Fleeting upon the waters, then we cry'd,
 HOW,† boatmen, come ; two fisher men near by,
 Thus answer'd us again, and who doth cry ?
 Said we, good friends, to favour us delay not,—
 The day is very hot, and walk we may not ;
 Therefore your kindly courtesie implores,
 To let us have these little pair of oars ;
 For down the river we would make our way,
 And land at Perth ;—With all our heart, said they ;
 For we likewise at Perth would gladly be,
 Only we want such companie as yee.
 All men were glad of us, none did refuse,
 Whatever thing it please us, ask or chuse ;
 Then we embarked with two boys in train,
 Who recollect our shafts, and these two men,

* Gall was a tall and goodly man ; Mr George was a well favoured little man.

† This word is pronounced with a loud voice by the country people, when they call to one at a distance ; they sound the O long.

As down the river did we softly slide ;
 The banks most sweetly smil'd on either side :
 To see the flowres our hearts did much rejoice—
 The banwort, dazie, and the fragrant rose ;
 Favonius in our faces sweetly blew
 His breath, which did our fainting sp'rits renew ;
 Then with Sicilian muse, can we dissemble
 Our secret flames ? making our voices tremble ;
 While as we sweetly sung kind Amaryllis,
 And did complain of four sweet lovely Phyllis :
 So sadly, that the nymphs of woods and mountains,
 And these which also haunt the plains and fountains ;
 Barelegged to the brawns, arms bare,—and breast,
 Like whitest ivory,—bare unto the waste :
 The lillies and the roses of their faces,
 Running more pleasant made their waving tresses,
 Well curled with the winds : all these drew nigh,
 The waters brink, in song to keep reply,
 Treading the flowres, when Gall them so espy'd :
 O ! how he cast his eyes on either side
 And wish'd t'have smell'd on flow'r where they had trac'd.
 Judge what he would have given to have embraced.
 But chiefly echo fetter'd was in love.
 At everie work we spoke her tongue did move,
 Then did we call, sweet nymph, pray thee draw nigh :
 She answer'd us most willingly, said, I.
 Draw near, said Gall, for gladly would I please thee ;
 Do not deny to hear me, she said, ease thee :
 Then come, sweet nymph, thy face fain would I know,
 She quickly answered him again, said, No :
 Why so ? said he :—Here is there no Narcissus :
 To this her old love's name did answer, Kiss us ;
 Kiss us ! said she, with all my heart again.
 This is the thing I would : She answered, gain :
 Gain ! such a gain, said he, I crave alway ;—
 No countenance she shews, yet answers, ay ;
 And bashfully obscures her blushing face,
 Lest from Cephisus son, she finds disgrace ;
 But if that she had known Gall's tender mind,
 She had not prov'd so bashful and unkind :
 When ended were our songs with perfect close,
 We thought it best to merrie be in prose :
 Then seriously and truly to discourse,
 Of diverse matters grave, we fell by course,
 But chiefly of this blind world's practice had,
 Preferring unto learning any trade ;
 For these ill times had not in such account
 Men learned, as the former ages wont ;

But if the worth of learning well they knew,
 Good Gall, quoth I, they would make much of you,
 In poetry so skill'd, and so well read
 In all antiquitie, what can be said,
 Whereof you fluently can now discourse,
 Even like the current of this river's course :—
 Things absent, you can present make appear,
 And things far distant, as if they were near ;
 Things senseless, unto them give sense can yee,
 And make them touch, taste, smell, and hear and see :
 What cannot poets do ? they life can give,
 And after fatal stroke can make men live ;
 And if they please to change their tune or note,
 They'll make mens' names to stink and rot.
 Who did fix Hercules among the stars ?
 And Diomedes for his wit in wars
 Made equal to the gods ; but odious
 For vice Thersites vile, and Sisyphus ?
 Thus were the immortal Muses, who do sing,
 As vice and virtue do their subjects bring ;
 Therefore this counsel wisdom doth impart you,
 Flee filthie vice and entertain fair virtue :—
 Yet 'tis not so that everie spirit fell,
 Whose wicked tongue is set on fire of hell ;
 Nor everie Momus nor Archilochus,
 Whose mouths do vomit venom poysonous,
 Hath inspiration of the sacred Muses,
 Such wickednesse the Aonian band refuses ;
 But he who will most gravely censure can,
 And virtues praise advance in any man
 With perfect numbers, such one is a poet,
 But in thir days, alas ! few men do know it,
 Like my dear Gall who gravely did reply,
 A good Mœcanas lets no poets die ;
 Poets make men on gold-wing'd fame to flie,
 When lands with loss, life chang'd with death shall be.
 As we thus talk'd, our barge did sweetly pass
 By Scone's fair palace, sometime abbay was ;
 Strange change indeed ! yet is it no new guyse,
 Both spiritual lands, and men to temporize ;
 But palace fair which doth so richly stand,
 With gardens, orchards, parks on either hand,
 Where flowers, and fruits, the hart, and fallow-deer ;
 For smell, for taste, for venison and cheer,
 The nose, the mouth, and palate which may please,
 For gardens, chambers, for delight and ease—
 Damask't with porphyrie and alabaster ;
 Thou art not subject for each poetaster,

But for a poet master, in his art,"
 Which thee could whole describe, and everie part;
 So to the life as 'twere in perspective,
 As readers that they see thee might believe:
 Mean while our boat doth with the river slide,
 The countrie nymphs who in these parts abide,
 With many a shout moving both head and hand,
 Did us invite that we might come a land,
 Not now, said we, and think it not disdain;
 For we do promise for to come again,
 And view where sometime stood your cathedral,
 And mount, which *omnis terra* you do call.

Just by this time we see the bridge of Tay,
 Oh happy sight indeed was it that day;
 A bridge so stately with eleven arches,
 Joining the south and north, and common march is
 Unto them both, a bridge of squared stone,
 So great and fair, which when I think upon,
 How in these days it did so prouddie stand,
 O'erlooking both the river and the land,
 So fair, so high, a bridge for many ages
 Most famous; but, alas! now through the rages
 Of furious swelling waters thrown in deep,
 My heart for sorrow sobs, myne eyes do weep:
 And if my tongue should cease to cry and speak,
 Undoubtedlie my griefs swoln heart would break.
 But courage, Monsier, my good genius says,
 Remember ye not how Gall in those days
 Did you comfort, lest melancholius fits
 Had you opprest, your spleen so nearly sits,
 And told you in the year threescore thirteen,
 The first down-fall this bridge did e'er sustain,
 By ruin of three arches next the town,
 Yet were rebuilt, thereafter were thrown down
 Five arches in the year fourscore and two
 Re edified likewise, and who doth know
 Monsier, but ah, mine heart can scarcely tober!
 Even that great fal the fourteenth of October,
 Six hundred twenty one, repair'd may be:
 And I do wish, the same that I might see:
 For Britain's monarch will it sure repair,
 Courage, therefore, Monsier, do not despair!
 Is't credible to be believed or told,
 That these our Kings who did possess of old
 Scotland alone, should such a work erect,
 And Britain's mighty Monarch it neglect?
 Absurd it is to think, much more to speak it;
 Therefore, good Monsier, yee do far mistake it,

For never yet a King was more inclin'd,
 To do great works, nor of a braver mind,
 Providing he can have due information,
 His word will prove of powerful operation :
 For Kings are gods on earth, and all their actions
 Do represent the Almighty's great perfections.

Thus Gall's sweet words often do me comfort,
 And my good genius truly doth report
 Them unto me, else sure my splene would wholly
 Be evercome with fits of melancholie.
 Therefore I courage take, and hope to see
 A bridge yet built, although I aged be ;
 More stately, firm, more sumptuous and fair,
 Than any former age could yet compare.
 Thus Gall assured me it would be so,
 And my good genius truly doth it know :
 For what we do presage is not in grosse,
 For we be brethren of the rosie cross ;
 We have the mason-word and second sight,
 Things for to come we can foretell aright,
 And shall we show what misterie we mean,
 In fair acrosticks Carolus Rex is seen,
 Describ'd upon that bridge in perfect gold,
 By skilfull art this cleerlie we behold,
 With all the scutcheon of Great Britain's king,
 Which unto Perth most joyfull news shall bring.
 Loath would we be this misterie to unfold,
 But for King Charles his honour we are bold,

And as our boat most pleasantly did pass,
 Upon the crystal river clear as glass :
 My dearest Gall, quoth I, long time I spend,
 Revolving from beginning to the end ;
 All our records yet searching cannot finde,
 First when this bridge was built, therefore thy mind
 Fain would I know, for I am verrie sorrie
 Such things should be omitted in our storie
 Monsier, said Gall, things many of that kind
 To be omitted often do we find ;
 Yea, time hath also greatest works destroyed,
 Wherein the learn'dest pennes have been employed :
 But if that I should tell what I do know,
 An antient storie I could to you show,
 Which I have found in an old manuscript,
 But in our late records is overslipt :
 Which storie no less probable is than true,
 And my good Monsier I will shew it you.
 I leave to speak what Hollinshed hath told
 Of Cunidad, was Britane's King of old,

The time Uziah was of Judah King,
 And Jeroboam did over Israel reign ;
 Ere Rome a city was years forty-five ;
 Ere sons of Rhea did for masterie strive ;
 How that this heathen built three cells of stone :
 To Mercurie at Bongor built he one,
 His way for to direct : then to Appollo
 At Cornuel another did he hallow,
 For favourable response : the third to Mars,
 Where Perth now stands, for to assist his wars.
 But good Monsier this story is too old,
 Therefore I leave the rest of it untold.
 The time will not permit me to out read it,
 I'm sure in Hollinshed yee often read it.
 I will a storie of no less credit tell,
 In after ages truely what befell.

When mightie Romaines came into this soil,
 With endless labour and undaunted toil,
 After great conflicts and uncertain chance
 Of fortune's dye, they did in arms advance ;
 At length unto these parts where Perth doth stand,
 Under the conduct and victorious hand
 Of that most valiant chieftain of great fame,
 Brave Julius Agricola by name ;
 And there, hard by a river side, they found
 The fairest and most pleasant plat of ground,
 That since by bank of Tiber they had been,
 The like for beauty seldom had they seen,
 Of eighteen hundred paces good in length,
 From Muretown braes to foot of Carnac's strength,
 King of the Pights which stood on Moredun hill,*
 The foot thereof from Friers dwelt thereintill,
 Now named is, in breadth eight hundred paces,
 Painted with white, red, yellow, flowerie faces.
 So equal fair, which when they did espy,
 Incontinent they Campus Martius cry,
 And as an happie presage they had seen,
 They fix their tents amidst that spacious green,

* From Muirton to Moncrieff Hill is a little more than three miles. The summit of the latter is at an elevation of 756 feet above the level of the sea. On the top there is a circular fossé, sixty yards in circumference, in the centre of which stood "Carnac Fort." This stronghold belonged to the Pietish monarchs, who in the fifth and sixth centuries fixed their capital at Abernethy, which, with its round tower, may be distinctly seen, about three miles distant, a little to the south east. The prospect from this hill has been much and deservedly admired. The fertile Carse of Gowrie, the Firth of Tay, with the populous town of Dundee, the City of Perth, and the beautiful valley of Strathearn, are all distinctly seen from this eminence. Pennant calls this view the "Glory of Scotland."—Ed.

Right where now Perth doth stand, and cast their trenches,
 Even where Perth's fowsies are, between these inches,
 The south and north ; and bastiles they make,
 The power and strength of Scots and Picts to break,
 Who presentlie would fight, by wise cunctation,
 They frustrate all their hope and expectation :
 For well this most victorious Roman knew,
 T' abate his enemies rage and courage too,
 Finding the place even to their hearts desire,
 With grass for pasture stored, and wood for fire.
 The river likewise very opportune,
 For lighter vessels to pass up and down,
 And correspondence with their navy make,
 As soldiers wise, they all occasions take.
 And do conclude to winter in that place,
 To foil their foes by voluntarie chace.

Mean while courageouslie they do advise,
 A bridge to build, for further enterprise ;
 Then furthwith fall they with redoubled stroaks,
 To fell the tall fir trees, and aged oaks,
 Some square the timber with a stretched line,
 Some do the tenons and the morties joine,
 Some frame an oval, others make a cub,
 Some cut a section, other some go grub,
 Some with great compasse semicircles forme,
 Some drive the wages, painfullie some worne,
 Some do hoise up the standers, others fixe them ;
 And some lay goodlie rafters o'er betwixt them ;
 What strength or skill can work from point to point,
 They cunninglie contrive with angular joint,
 And do most stronglie bind these contignations,
 To make them stand against all inundations.
 All men are set to frame, all hands are working,
 And all engines are busied without irking :
 Thus in short space, a bridge they stronglie make,
 With passage fair, and for their safties sake,
 A mightie strength to be ; they frame withall,
 On either end, a bridge to lift and fall,
 That soldiers might within it keep at ease,
 Admitting or repelling as they please,
 Thus fortified, lest that they should neglect
 Due honour to their gods, they did erect,
 To Mars a temple—rather did restore
 The temple built by Cunidad before ;
 For time on all things worketh demolition,
 And heathen men maintaine like superstition.
 Then did this valiant chieftaine name the river
 In Italies remembrance New Tiber,

Which afterwards it kept for many a day—
 How long I know not ; now 'tis called Tay ;
 Likewise an house of mighty stone he framed,
 From whence our Castle-gavil as yet is named ;
 And if Domitian had not call'd him home,
 I think he should have built another Rome.*

But all these monuments were worn away,
 Ere did King William Perth's foundations lay,
 Only Mar's temple stood upon that greene,
 And th' house built by Agricola was seene,
 And some characters cunninglie incise,
 With Julius Agricola imprisde
 In solid marmor ; and some print was found,
 Where camped had an armie, and the ground
 Where there had been a bridge : all which did yield
 Occasion to King William for to build
 After old Bertha's overthrow, that city,
 These antient walls, and famous bridge ; ah ! pitie
 If they were as ! but what doth not the rage
 Of men demolish, and consuming age ?
 For good King William seeing where had beene
 Of old a passage, forthwith did ordaine
 A mightie bridge of squared stone to be,
 These famous walls and fowsies which we see,
 Perth his chief strength to make, and seat of power,
 Did with most ample priviledge indue her.

These be the first memorials of a bridge,
 Good Monsier, that we truely can alledge.
 Thus spoke good Gall, and I did much rejoyce
 To hear him these antiquities disclose ;
 Which I remembering now, of force must cry—
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?

* The similarity between Perth and Rome, both built on the banks of rivers, the one having the celebrated Campus Martius, and the other the two fine lawns, called Inches, which gave birth to Adamson's fable of Agricola's design of building a new Rome where Perth stands, after he had overthrown the Scottish army under Galgacus, at the foot of the Grampians.

FOURTH MUSE.

This time our boat passing too nigh the land,
 The whirling stream did make her run on sand ;
 Aluif, we cry'd, but all in vain, t'abide
 We were constrain'd till flowing of the tide.
 Then Master Gall, quod I, even for my blessing
 Now let us go, the pretious pearles a fishing :
 Th' occasion serveth well, while here we stay
 To catch these muscles you call toyts of Tay ;
 It's possible if no ill eye bewitch us,
 We jewels findè, for all our days t'enrich us ;
 The waters here are shaild, and clear, and warme,
 To bath our arms and limbs will do no harmè,
 For these sweet streams have power to bring back
 Our spirits, which in outward parts make slack
 Our natural strength ; but when these sp'rits retire,
 They multiply our heat and imbred fire,
 Helping our vital, and our natural parts,
 Our lungs, our livers, stomachs, and our hearts,
 And mightilie refrigerate our reins,
 But above all they do refresh our spleens ;
 For such a bathing bravely doth expell,
 Melancholie, which makes the spleen to swell
 More than it should, causing an atrophie,
 That we like skellets rather seem to be
 Than men, and Atropos appears to laugh,
 Thinking we look more like an epitaph
 Than marriage song ; likewise it doth us make,
 Both support and collation freshlie take.
 Content said Gall ; then off our shoes we drew
 And hose, and from us we our doublets threw,
 Our shirt-sleeves wreathing up, without more speeches,
 And high above our knees we pulling our breeches,
 In waters go ; then streight mine arms I reach
 Unto the ground, whence cleverlie I fetch
 Some of these living pearled shells, which do
 Excell in touching and in tasteing too,
 As all who search, do by experience try,
 And we ofttimes ; therewith I loudlie cry,
 Good Master Gall, behold I found a pearle,
 A jewel I assure you for an Earle.
 Be silent, said good Gall, or speak at leasure,
 For men will cut your throat to get your treasure,

If they its worth did know so well as I ;
 Harpocrates my patience would try,
 Said I again, for I am not like such,
 Who hurd their treasure and their speech as much ;
 But Gall, to stay long no wayes would be moved,
 This element, said he, I never loved—
 To land ; on goeth our clothes ; alongst the way,
 Then did we go, and taking cleare survey,
 How proper Perth did stand, one might have drawn
 In landskip fair, on paper or on lawn.

Good Gall said I, oftimes I heard of old,
 To be of truth these things are while you told :
 But of these walls I doubt that which you said,
 That good King William their foundations layd ;
 Their founding is more late, I you assure ;
 That we from strangers rage may be secure,
 They builded were, even then when James did reigne
 The second, and in minor age was King,
 Upon a bloodie slaughter, I hear tell,
 Which 'twixt our town and Highlandmen befell ;
 For taking, as the costume was, a staig
 At Midsummer, said Gall, Monsier, you vaig,
 Which word indeed my spleen almost did move ;
 Then Gall, said I, if that I did not love
 You most entirely, I would be offended.
 Said he, good Monsier, would you have it mended ?
 'Then I that storie will you truly tell,
 And if I faile so much as in a spell,
 Speak all your pleasure, I my peace will hold,
 And grant my tongue in speaking was too bold :
 Therefore Monsier, be not so much annoy'd,
 These walls have oft been built, and oft destroy'd,
 And stratagems of war have acted been ;
 As worthy as the world hath heard or seene,
 By sojourns as good as the earth hath born ;
 This boldly to avow I der be sworn :
 England's first Edwards three can shew the same,
 And Scotland's Wallace, Bruce, and Stewart's fame,
 Whose prowes within this isle were not confined ;
 The Netherlands and France scarce them contain'd,
 Nor other parts of Europe, and 'tis cleare
 What great exploits they bravely acted heere ;
 These stories are well known ; I must not slack,
 For by and by the tide will call us back.

When Edward Lang Shanks Scotland did surprise,
 The strengths first did he take as Chiftian wise ;
 But his chief strength to keep both south and north,
 Lowlands and Highlands on this side of Forth,

Perth did he chuse, and strongly fortifie
 With garrisons of foot and cavalerie.
 And what the former times could not outred,
 In walls and fowses, these accomplished.*
 Thereafter worthy Wallace first expelled them,
 And for to leave these walls by force compell'd them.
 Whom after foughten was that fatal field,
 Wofull Falkirk, envie did force to yield
 Up his government ; to Perth then came,
 And in the Nobles presence quatte the same.
 Lean fac'd envie doth often bring a nation
 To civil discord, shame, and desolation :
 Such bitter fruit we found, all to confusion
 At once did run, was nothing but effusion
 O guiltlesse blood : Our enemies did take
 Our strength again, and all things went to wrake :
 Such was our woefull state, unto the time
 That brave King Robert Bruce came to this clime,
 Most happily, yet small beginnings had,
 For many yeers before this land he fred
 From enemies rage, till wisely he at length
 By soft recoiling recollected strength ;
 Then came to Perth, and did the same besiege
 And take ; who through pursuit and cruel rage,
 Kill'd Scots and English all were in it found ;
 Brake down the walls, them equal'd to the ground.
 But after this victorious King did die,
 And brave Earle Thomas Randolph, by and by,
 All things perplexed were, the Baliol proud,
 With English forces both by land and flood
 In Scotland came, arrived at Kinghorne,
 And through the country mightily did sorne.
 Our governors the Earles of Marche and Marre,
 Sufficient armies levying for warre,
 This pride for to repress, did fire their tents ;
 At Dupline camped Marre : Mine heart it rents
 To tell the woefull event—in the night
 This Earle and all his hoste surprisde by flight,—
 Yee know the storie, all to death near brought,
 The Englishmen on Scots such butcheries wrought ;
 Thus Baliol proud to Perth did make his way,
 The city all secure ere break of day

* After the unfortunate Battle of Falkirk, A.D. 1298, Edward I. reduced all the fortresses in Scotland, and fortified Perth, and rebuilt the walls in a strong manner. Perth was often the residence of his deputies ; his son, Edward, who succeeded him, resided at Perth for some time, and was succeeded by Sir Aymer de Valence, who beat Robert Bruce at Methven. in 1306.

For to surprise, naked of walls and men,
 As prey most easie did obtain ; and then
 To fortifie the same, in haste did call,
 Go cast the fowsie and repair the wall.
 The Earle of March, hearing the woefull chance,
 Incontinent his armie did advance
 To Perth, hoping the same he might regaine,
 Did straightly it besiege, but all in vaine,—
 He forced was to retire ; Baliol to Scone
 Then went, was crown'd—rather usurp'd the crown.
 By these fair fortunes having gain'd a faction,
 Not for the country's peace, but for distraction,
 Did oversawey the ballance ; none with reason
 Durst call the Baliol's interprise a treason,
 Because it had good success—so doth reele,
 Th' inconstant course of giddie fortune's wheele,
 Constant in changes of blindfolded chance ;
 Mean while King David Bruce did flee to France,
 As yet a child, his tender life to save,
 From tirranizing Baliol's bloodie glave.*

Baliol install'd, in guarding leaves the town
 To some true traitours not true to the crown.†
 Hereafter nobles and commons all combinde,
 Whose kin were kill'd at Dupline‡ in one minde,
 Aveng'd to be, did come in awfull manner
 Unto the citie with displayed banner,
 And strongly it beseige three months and more,
 Till strong assault and famine urging sore,
 Forc'd them to yield, the traitours openly kill'd,
 The walls were raz'd again and fowsies filled.

Yet Baliol once more did obtain the same,
 And with new fortunes much advance his name ;
 But who doth not find fortune's fickle chance,
 Whom ere while she so highly did advance,
 To hold a scepter and to wear a crown,
 Now tyranizing proudly pesters down :

* Sword. There are several obsolete, though significant words in this poem, some of them derived from the French language, which was well understood among the Scotch in these days, when there was great friendship and much intercourse betwixt the two nations. There is a good glossary and interpretation of old Scotch words at the close of Gavin Douglass's *Virgil*, printed at Edinburgh A. D. 1710, and at the close of the 2d V. of Ramsay's *Evergreen*.

† M'Duff, Earl of Fife, who was made prisoner at the battle of Dupplin, and who submitted to Baliol, was appointed governor of Perth ; but on the reduction of the city by the Brussian party, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Kildrummy.

‡ We may observe that Dupplin, which was so fatal to the illustrious house of the Hays, now gives the title of Lord Viscount to the Earl of Kinnoull ; a descendant of that ancient and noble house.

King Edward came with fiftie thousand brave,
 To Perth the Baliol led as captive slave :
 Trust not in Kings, nor kingdoms, nor applause
 Of men—the world's a sea that ebbs and flows—
 A wheel that turns a reel that always rokes—
 A bait that overswallowed men choakes ;
 Seditions rise again, this Edward Windsor,
 With greater forces came, and made a wind sore
 To blow through Scotland, minding a new conquest,
 Did all things overwhelm even as a tempest,
 Castles ov'rcome, strongly beligger Perth,
 It take, rebuild her walls all thrown to earth,
 Upon the charges of six abbacies,
 With bulwarks, rampiers, rounds, and bastalies
 Of squared stone, with towres and battlements,
 Houses for prospect and such muniments
 For strong defence, clouses, and water-falls,
 With passage fair to walk upon the walls,
 And spacious bounds within sojourns to dreel,
 To march, to string, to turne about and wheel :
 These were the abbacies Couper, Landores,
 Balmerinloch, Dumfermling, Saint Androes
 And Aberbrothok, who these works did frame
 For merit and for honour of their name :
 Such zeal had they, though blind ; ah, now a days,
 Much knowledge is profest, but zeale decayes.

Thus was the citie strongly fortified,
 Till Robert the first Stewart first assayed
 With foure great armies, yet by force repell'd,
 And after three months siege with grief compell'd
 To sound retreat ; Douglas mean while in Tay,
 Most happ'ly did arrive, then they assay
 To reinforce the charge, and with munition
 For batterie new prepar'd, and demolition,
 Most furiously assault, a month and more ;
 Yet nothing could availe their endeavours,
 Untill the Earl of Rossie with new supplie
 Did fortifie the leaguer, and drew by
 The water, which the wall did compasse round,
 By secret conduits, and made dry the ground.
 Then after sharp assault, and much blood spended,
 Bravely pursued, and no lesse well defended ;
 Finding themselves too weak who were within,
 More to resist, to parlie they begin,
 And treat of peace ; both parties jump in one,
 With bag and baggage that they should be gone,
 And so it was : The citie they surrender ;
 No English since hath been thereof commander.

Read George Buchanan, Boece, Master Mair,
 These histories they word for word declare.
 After the siege the walls some part were throun down,
 But were not wholly raz'd, to keep the town
 In some good fort, ready for peace or war,
 If not a bulwark, yet some kind of bar ;
 Thus did they stand, untill the Highlandmen
 Amidst their furie kill'd a citizen ;
 A citizen to kill, an odious thing
 It then was thought : no sacrifice condigne
 Could expiat the same, though now each knave
 Dar to account a citizen a slave ;
 No such conceat in all the world againe,
 As proudly poor such fondlings do maintaine.

This sudden slaughter made a great commotion :
 The burgesses without further devotion,
 As men with war inur'd, to arms do flie,
 Upon these Highlandmen aveng'd to be,
 Which they perform, chaffed in mind like beares,
 And do pursue them unto Houghman's-staires ;
 In memorie of this fight it hath the name,
 For many men lay there, some dead, some lame ;
 On which occasion they 'gan fortifie
 And build those walls againe, as now we see ;
 Though not so bravely as they were before,
 For that did farr surpass their endeavour,
 Yet some resemblance they do keep and fashion,
 For they be builded neere the old foundation.

These are the walls, Monsier, as I have shown,
 Which often have been built, oft times thrown down
 With stratagems of war ; fame hath renowned them,
 And if not Mars, yet martiall men did found them ;
 But now, good Monsier, needs none more at all
 Them to destroy—they of themselves will fall.
 So said good Gall, and humbly begged leave
 For that offence so rashly he did give.
 Oh ! if he were on life to say much more,
 For so he was disposde sometimes to roar.

THE FIFTH MUSE.

YET bold attempt and dangerous, said I,
 Upon these kinde of men such chance to try,
 By nature inhumaine, much given to blood,
 Wilde, fierce, and cruel, in a desperate mood.
 But no such danger, answer'd Master Gall,
 As fearfullie you deeme, was there at all :
 For Perth was then a citie made for war,
 Here men were soldiers all, and bold to dar
 Such motion attempt, a soldier keene
 The smallest outrage hardly can sustain.

Many such stratagems declare I might,
 Which Perth hath acted in defence of right :
 How Ruthven's place, and Dupplin, in one day
 Were burn'd, or battlie of the Bridge of Tay,
 With manly courage fought, where kill'd were many,
 Upon the day sacred to Magdalene,
 Five hundreth fourtie foure, for which she mournes,
 And many times her cristall tears she turnes
 In floods of woes, rememb'ring how these men
 Were justly by their own ambition alaine,
 Thinking to sack a town ; some through despaire,
 Did overleap the bridge, and periah there :
 Some borne on spears, by chance did swim a land,
 And some lay swelting in the flykie sand ;
 Agruif* lay some, others with eyes to skyes,
 These yielding dying soba, these mournfull cryes ;
 Some by their fall were fixed on their spears ;
 Some swat'ring in the flood the streame down bears ;
 By chance some got a boat, what needs more worda !
 They make them oars of their two handed swords :
 Some doubting what to do, to leap or stay,
 Were trampled under foot as mirie clay ;
 Confusedly to fight and flee they trimble,†
 The shivering spears do through their bodies tremble,
 And strongly brangled in splents do quickly flee,
 The glistening sword is chang'd in crimson dye ;
 To wrak they go, even as the raging thunder,
 Rumbling and rolling roundly, breaks asunder
 A thick and dampish cloud, making a shower
 Of cristall gems, on earth's dry bosome powre ;

* Flat or groveling.

† To press or squeeze.

So broken was that cloud, the purple bloud
 In drops distilling, rather as a floud,
 The dry and dusty ground doth warmly draine;
 And dying bodies in their own blood staine,
 Or as the comets, or such meteors driven,
 Or stars which do appear to fall from heaven.
 So tumbling headlong, spears in hand they traile,
 As fire dragons, seem to have a taile;
 Or Phaeton, or some sulfurious ball,
 So from the bridge in river do they fall.
 I pray thee Gall, quoth I, that storie show,
 Some things I heard of it, and more would know,—
 Tell it I pray. No, no, Gall did reply,
 Lest I offend our neighbour-town neere by,*
 When they shall hear how malice did provoke them,
 Ambition them guide, and avarice choak them;
 Thinking upon our spoyles triumph to make,
 And on th' occasion given our town to wrak,
 With full commission purchast for the same,
 T' intrude a provost, else with sword and flame
 All to destroy, given by the Cardinall,
 At whose devotion then was govern'd all:
 So in that morning soon by break of day,
 The town all silent did beset; then they
 To clim the bridge begin, and port to skall;
 The chains they break, and let the drawbridge fall;
 The little gate of purpose was left patent,
 And all our citizens in lanes were latent;
 None durst be seene, the enemies to allure,
 Their own destruction justly to procure;
 Thus entering, though well straitly, one did call—
 All is our owne! come fellow soldiers all,
 Advance your lordlie pace; take and destroy!—
 Build up your fortunes! Oh: with what great joy
 These words were heard! Then did they proudly step,
 As men advanc'd on stilts, and cock their cap;
 With roaling eyes they looke, and hand in side,
 Throwing their noses, snuffe, and with great pride,
 Self looking at their brawnes, themselves admire,
 And doubting at their own hearts closely, speare
 If it be they; thus wondering do they pause
 a pretty while; anon they quickly loose
 With swifter pace, and turning round, they move
 If there be any gazer to approve
 Their great conceit; thus inly filled with glee,
 They wish their wife or mistres might them see;

* Dundee is here meant; Lord Gray's house and estate lay in the neighbourhood, and probably his lordship had brought some people from Dundee to the battle of the Bridge of Tey.

Scorning Alcides, they his strength would try,
 And in their braine the world they would defie.
 With such brave thoughts they throng in through the port,
 Thinking the play of fortune bairnely sport ;
 And as proud peacocks with their plumes do prank,
 Alongst the bridge they merche in battle rank,
 Till they came to the gate with yron bands,
 Hard by where yet our ladies chappell stands ;
 Thinking to break these bars, it made some hover—
 Too strong they were, therefore some did leap over,
 Some crept below ; thus many pass in by them,
 And in their high conceat they do defie them ;
 Foreward within the town a space they go ;
 The passage then was strait, as well ye know,
 Made by a wall ; having gained so much ground
 They can exult : Incontinent did sound
 A trumpet from a watch-tower ;—then they start,
 And all their bloud do strike into their heart !
 A wondrous change !—even now the bravest fellows
 In their own fansies glasse, who came to quell us,
 The vital spirits their artires do containe,
 Their panting hearts now scarcely can sustaine.

Our soldiers then, who lying were a darning,
 By sound of trumpet having got a warning,
 Do kyth, and give the charge ; to tell the rest—
 Ye know it well, it needs not be exprest ;
 Many to ground were born, much blood was shed—
 He was the prettiest man that fastest fled :
 Yea, happie had they been, if place had served
 To flee, then doubtlesse more had been preserved ;
 Within these bars were kill'd above threescore,
 Upon the bridge and waters many more ;
 But most of all did perish in the chace,
 For they pursued were unto the place
 Where all their baggage and their cannon lay,
 Which to the town was brought as lawfull prey.

What shall I more say ?—if you more would have,
 I'll speak of these three hundreth soldiers brave,
 Like these renown'd Lacedemonians,
 Courageous Thebans, valiant Thespians,
 Resolved to die, led by Leonidas,
 Stopt Xerxes armie at Thermopylas :
 Such were these men who for religion's sake
 A cord of hemp about their necks did take,
 Solmenly sworn to yield their lives thereby,
 Or they the gospel's veritie deny :
 Quitting their houses, goods, and pleasures all,
 Resolved for any hazard might befall,

Did passe forth of the town in armes, to fight
 And die or they their libertie and light
 Should lose ; and whosoever should presume
 To turn away, that cord should be his doome.

Hence of Saint Johnston's ribband came the word
 In such a frequent use, when with a cord
 They threaten rogues ; though now all in contempt
 They speak, yet brave and resolute attempt,
 And full of courage, worthy imitation,
 Deserving of all ages commendation,
 Made these men put it on, symbole to be
 They ready were for Christ to do or die :
 For they were martyrs all in their affection,
 And like to David's worthies in their action ;
 Therefore this cord should have been made a badge
 And sign of honour to the after age,
 Even as we see things in themselves despised,
 By such rare accidents are highly prised,
 And in brave skutsheons honourable born,
 With mottoes rare these symboles to adorn :
 Thus some have vermine, and such loathsome swarmes,
 Yet honourably born are in their armes ;
 And some have mice, some frogs, some filthy rats,
 And some have wolves and foxes, some have cats ;
 Yet honourable respect in all is had,
 Though in themselves they loathsome be and bad ;
 Thus Millaine glories in the baneful viper,
 As none more honour, misterie no deeper :
 The antient Gauls in toads—in lilies now
 Metamorphos'de : the Phrygians in their sow :
 Athens their owle with the eagle will not barter,
 And *honisoit*, who thinks ill of garter ?
 What shall be said, then, of this rope or cord ?—
 Although of all men it be now abhorr'd,
 And spoke of in disdain, their ignorance
 Hath made them so to speake ; yet may it chance
 When they shall know the truth they will speak better,
 And think of it as of a greater matter,
 And truly it esteem an hundred fold
 Of much more honour than a chain of gold ;
 Thus may you see, Monsier, men of renown
 Of old time have possess't this antient town,
 And yet this may we boast, even to this day,
 Men of good wit and worth do not decay ;
 For to this houre some footsteps still remaines
 Of such couragious hearts and cunning braines.
 Good Master Gall, quoth I, I know that well
 Whereof you speak, and clearly can it tell ;

For I did see these men, (being then of age
 Some twelve or thirteen years—a pretty page,
 As easely you may guesse,) and can you show
 Some partial poynts whereof you nothing know,
 Nor are they writtan. Then answered Master Gall—
 A witness such as you is above all
 Exception; therefore show what you did see
 Or hear, good Monstier, your antiquitie
 Is of much credit. Master Gall, quoth I,
 Much did I see, and much more did I try;
 My father was an man active and wight
 In those dayes, and who helped for to fight
 The battle of the bridge; within few years
 Thereafter was I borne; then all our quires
 And convents richly stood, which I did see
 With all their pomp; but these things told to me,
 First will I shew a storie of much ruth,
 How that our martyrs suffered for the truth
 Of Christ's blest gospel, on Paul's holy day,*
 Before the fight was of the bridge of Tay;†
 In that same yeere the silly governor,
 Led by the crafty cardinall, with power
 Held judgment on these men, and under trust
 Condemn'd them; nothing their bloudie lust
 Could satiat. The citizens, made sure
 Their neighbours should not lose, nor skaith endure,
 Go to their homes; forthwith the cardinall
 Causde lead them unto execution all;
 And from the Spey Tower window did behold
 Doome execut, even as his cleargie would:
 Which treacherous fact did so enrage the town,
 No credit more to black, white, nor gray gown
 After these dayes was given. Thus in the place
 Where malefactors end their wicked race,
 These innocents do make a blessed end,
 And unto God their spirits they recommend,
 In witness of the faith, for which they die,
 And by the sp'rit of truth did prophesie
 These words, looking and pointing with the hand
 Towards our monasteries, which then did stand,
 Most sumptuously adorn'd with steeples, bells,
 Church ornaments, and what belongeth else:—
 “These foxes which do lurke within these holes,
 Delighting in the earth like blinded moles,
 Drown'd in their lusts, and swimming in their pleasures,
 Whose God their belly, whose chief joy their treasures,

* 25th January.

† 22d July, 1544.

Who caused have our death, shall hounded be
 Forth of these dens !—some present here shall see
 The same ere it be long ; then shall ye say,
 It's for God's truth that we have dyed this day ;
 And all these sumptuous buildings shall be cast
 Down to the earth—made desolat and waste ;
 This to performe God's zeale shall eat men up,
 To fill the double potion in their cup ;
 The apples then of pleasure, which they loved
 And lusted after, shall be all removed ;
 Yea, scarcely shall they finde a hole to hide
 Their heads (thus by the sp^rite they testified) ;
 And in that day true pastors shall the Lord
 Raise up to feed his flock with his pure word,
 And make Christ's people by peculiar choice
 Dignosce the shepherds from the hyreling's voice."

Which as they did foretell did come to passe,
 Some sixteen years, or thereby, more or lesse ;
 Thus with clear signes, by God's own sp^rit exprest,
 In full assurance of heaven's blesse they rest.
 Meanwhile, Saint Catherine's chaplain standing by,
 Wringing his eyes and hands, did often cry—
 Alace ! alace ! for this unhappie turn,
 I feare for it one day we shall all mourn,
 And that by all it shall be plainly said,
 That we blind guides the blinded long have led ;
 Some churchmen there had pack him heretic,
 Else certainly they should cause burne him quick.
 This done, friends take their bodies, and with mourning
 Do cary them towards the town, returning
 With heavy hearts, them to this chapel bring,
 But no soule masse nor dirge durst sing ;
 Yet this good priest did lay them on the altar,
 And all night read th' epistle and the psalter
 With heart devout and sad ; from th' evening vapours
 Placing upon the altar burning tapers
 Unto the dawning ; exequies thus ended,
 Their bodies to the earth are recommended.

This chappel sometime stood by our theater,
 Where I my self sprinkled with holy water,
 After these dayes did often here the messe,
 Albeit I knew not what it did expresse ;
 But this I saw : a man with shaven crown,
 Raz'd beard and lips, who look't like a baboun,
 Perfumed with odours, and in priestly vestures,
 Did act this mimic toy with thousand gestures ;—
 A misterie indeed, nor which no fable
 Acted on stage to make you laugh more able.

After these innocents were martyred thus,
 As you have heard, churchmen were odious;
 And when occasion served, so did they finde:
 For so soon as did blow a contrare winde
 The hour was come, and then our Knox did sound—
 Pull down their idols!—throw them to the ground!
 The multitude, even as a speat, did rush then,
 In powder beat, and call'd them all Nebushtan;
 Our Blackfriars church and place, Whitefriars, and Gray
 Profaned, and cast to the ground were in one day;
 The Charterhouse, like a citadale, did hold
 Some two dayes more, untill these news were told:
 We should be raz'd, and sack't, and brought to ground,
 Not so much as a footstep should be found
 Where was such citie—neither sex nor age
 Should saved be, until the cruell rage
 Of fire and sword should satiate that moud,
 Quenching the fire with citizen's owne bloud,
 And with destruction's besome sweep from station,
 And sow with salt perpetual desolation;
 To signify these news made great commotion:
 The fear full people ran to their devotion;
 Doctrine and prayers done; chief men advise
 To take in hand first what great enterprise;
 Said one, This place hard by our town doth stand,*
 A mighty strength, which early may command,
 And wrecke our citie, therefore let us go
 In time, and to the ground it overthrow:
 For sure our enemies will possesse the same,
 And us from thence destroy with sword and flame,
 Even at their pleasure. Then they all conclude
 In arms to rise; and rushing as a floud
 Which overflows the banks, and headlong hurles
 The strongest bulwarks with devouring whirls,
 Swallowing the mighty ships—them overwhelme,
 Nothing avails his skill that guides the helme:
 Even so the multitude in armes arise,
 With noise confusde of a mirth and mourning cryes,
 For that fair palace, then six score nine years†
 Which had continued; turning of the spheres
 The fatal period brought—to ground it must,
 And all its pomp and riches turne to dust.
 Even as these martyrs truly did fortell,
 In every point the judgement so befell:
 Towres fall to ground—monks flee to hide their heads,
 Nothing availe their rosaries and beads;

* Chartreux Monastery.

† The monastery was built in the year 1429, seven years before the murder of James I., and stood 129 years, when it was destroyed.

Then all men cry'd, Raze, raze, the time is come,
 Avenge the guiltlesse blood, and give the doome!
 Courage to give was mightily then blown
 Saint Johnston's hunt's up*—since most famous known
 By all musicians, when they sweetly sing
 With heavenly voice, and well concurring string;
 O how they bend their backs and fingers tirl!
 Moving their quivering heads, their brains do whirl
 With divers moods; and as with uncouth rapture
 Transported, so doth shake their bodie's structure:
 Their eyes do reele, heads, arms, and shoulders, move;
 Feet, legs, and hands, and all their parts approve
 That heavenly harmonie: while as they threw
 Their browes, O mighty strain! that's brave! they shew
 Great fantasie; quivering a brief some while,
 With full consent they close, then give a smile;
 With bowing bodie, and with bending knee,
 Methink I heare, *God save the companie.*

But harmonie which heavens and earth doth please,
 Could not our enemies' furious rage appease;
 Cruell Erinnis reignes, destruction shoring,†
 Ten thousand soldiers, like wild lyons roaring,
 Against our towne do merche. Fame, desolation
 Proclaimes; the church, then nam'd the congregation,
 Makes for defence: but ah! the burgh's distractions!
 Papiests and Protestants make divers factions;
 The town to hold, impossible they finde,
 The fields to take they purpose in their minde,
 Factions within, munition, victual scarce,
 Hardly to hold eight days they finde by search.

Amid these doubts these valiant fellows come
 In arms array'd, and beating of the drum,
 With cords about their neck, Come, come, they cry,
 We be the men who are resolv'd to die.
 First in this quarrel; we to death will fight,
 So long as courage will afford us might,
 And whoso yields alive, this tow portends,
 Streight must he hing where did our dearest friends
 Who suffered for the truth, nothing we skunner,‡
 This certainly we count our chiefest honour.
 Thus as Manassas half tribe, Reuben, Gad,
 Do leave their cattle and mount Gilead,
 Before their brethreu over Jordan go,
 In arms to fight against the cursed foe;
 So these three hundred do abandon quite
 Their citie, houses, goods, and chief delight,

* A song now unknown; the poet describes the war-dance by the motions of the body, practised yet among the Highlanders.

† Threatening.

‡ To turn the stomach, to loathe.

Resolv'd to die all for the gospel's light,
 Armed before their brethren march to fight ;
 And having gain'd a place meet to abide,
 Their enemies to resist, courage they cry'd,
 Be merrie fellows all, leave sad complaints,
 Dine cheerfully, for sup we shall with Saints.
 Fame spreads the brave attempt, all martial hearts
 Inflam'd with divine zeal flock to these parts
 From places most remote, in arms they rise
 T' assist the matchless happie enterprise.
 God giveth hearts to men, and mightiest things
 By weakest means he to confusion brings :
 Our enemies ears are fill'd that all our fear
 Was into courage turned from despair ;
 Their firie rage is quencht, their hearts do fail,
 Where God forsakes, nought doth man's strength avail.
 Then what their open force could not work out,
 By flight they endeavour to bring about,
 They treat of peace : Peace flees with joyful wings,
 But under it was hatcht most lewd designs
 Whentimeshould seive : but he whose thought doth rule
 This world's great fame, their madness did controule ;
 And gratusly through his abundant pitie
 Preserv'd our innocents, and sav'd our citie.

When bysmall means they found themsels confounded,
 Even to their very heart-roots they were wounded :
 Then they began to raile, and shew their passion,
 Saying, such ribbands meet for such profession.
 And in contempt, when any rogue they see,
 They say, *Saint Johnston's ribband's meet for thee ;**
 Or any fellow resolute in mind
 For some great act, this ribband fit they finde
 For such a one. Thus time made all men use
 This word, and ignorance through time t' abuse
 For every bad conceit which for religion
 Was stoutly undertaken in this region :
 Which I did see and heare, and well do know,
 And for your life the parallel me show
 In all the world ; except Leonidas
 The rest without a third I overpasse.
 Thus our Saint Johnston's ribband took the name,
 Whereof we have no reason to think shame.

Our skipper herewith called—HOW, trn aback,
 The waters flow, and tide doth quickly make ;

* This proverb is well understood in Perth, and through the shire. It is applied to people who deserve to be hanged. Perth is called St Johnston from John Baptist, its tutelary saint in days of popery

Therefore of this to speak was no more leisure,
 For wind and tide, you know, stay no man's pleasure.
 With post-haste to our berge we make our way,
 The day far spent, longer we might not stay,
 Our ship now fairly fleeting comes a land,
 Two skilful rowers take the oars on hand,
 We re-embarked, down the river slide,
 Which was most pleasant with the flowing tide,
 The bridge draws nigh where contrare streams do run,
 Take heed, skipper, said we, these dangers shun,
 The whirling stream will make our boat to coup,*
 Therefore let's pass the bridge by Wallace loup;†
 Which when we did behold, 'mongst other things
 We much admired who lent his feet such wings:
 Empedocles may leap in Ætna burning,
 In Tiber leap may Cocles home returning:
 Th' one burns in flame, the other falls in flood,
 But Wallace overleaping makes all good.

When we these heaven-like arches had survey'd,
 We admir'd in th' air these hinging stones what stay'd;
 Then thus, said Gall, these on their centers stay,
 As on their bases fixt, and all their sway
 They press toward the same—a wondrous thing,
 Albeit the centre in the air doth hing;
 Yea, divers circles, sections divers ways,
 Tend to their proper centres, as their stays;
 So these two sections do conjoin in one
 To make the arch, and finished in a cone;
 As everie peace these bowing arches bends,
 It rightly pointing to the centre tends:
 So heavens respect the earth, and all their powers
 Together in her bosome strongly powres,
 Which is their center, roote, and sure pedestall—
 The steadfast base whereon this world doth rest all:
 Thus man's ingine God's works doth imitate,
 And skilfull art doth nature emulat;
 As Archimedes in a sphere of glasse
 The world's great fabrick lively did expresse,
 With all the stars fixt in the azure heaven,
 And all the motions of the planets seven,
 Moving about a fixed point or center,
 Observing houres, dayes, monthes, summer and winter,
 Even so the arches of this bridge proclaime,
 And shew the building of the starrie frame;

* Overset or tumble.

† Wallace's leap over a branch of the river Tay near to the bridge of Perth, must be numbered among the fabulous legends, retailed by old women and children, concerning Wallace.

But now all lost, needs Archimedes' skill,—
 Oh! if it were supplied by Master Mylne! †
 Thus having past the bridge, our oars we bend
 To shore, so this day-voyage made an end.

* The bridge which was destroyed in 1621, was but lately finished before its destruction. It was built under the direction of Mr Mylne, a celebrated architect, whose progenitor was distinguished by James III. who was a great patron and encourager of masonry. Mr Mylne's tomb lies in the Greyfriars burying-ground, with the following inscription, without a date:—

This stone entombs the dust of famous Mill,
 Renowned chiefly in his time for skill
 In architecture, his learned art did lay
 The spacious arches of the bridge of Tay,
 Which as demolish'd by a mighty spate,
 So was his fabric by the course of fate:
 Six lustres since, and more his progenie,
 Succeeding to that art, their sire outvy;
 And this assigned, his worth deserved one
 Of jet or marble—not of common stone.
 Seven foot of ground, clay flour, clay wall,
 Serve both for chamber and for hall
 To Master Mill, whose squarbuile* brain
 Could ten scurialls well contain,
 Whill he breath'd life, yet in his sonne,
 And sonn's sonue, he lives two for one;
 Who, to advance Mill's art and fame,
 Made stocks and stones speak out his name.

One of his descendants removed to Edinburgh, and built Milne's Court, Milne's Square, and other buildings about the Abbey. Two very celebrated architects, Mr Robert Mylne, in London, and his brother, Mr Mylne, at Edinburgh, were descended from him. The reputation of these two brothers, and their abilities in architecture, are well known. An extract of a letter from a gentleman at Rome to his friend in Edinburgh, published in the Scots Magazine for October 1759, reflects great honour on Robert. We may give it to the curious reader.

"In the late concourse held by the celebrated Academy of St. Luke, Mr Robert Mylne, Architect from Edinburgh has gained great honour, by carrying off the first prize in the highest class of Architecture. The subject given out, was the plan, elevation, and section, with a perspective view of a building for holding statues, inscriptions, &c. of great men, and a place adorned in the most magnificent manner, for the use of the public Academies; the whole to take up 3000 brachio's* of ground, and the competitors were allowed seven months to perform it in. On the 6th of September the drawings were given in, on the 7th, the competitors made their provas †; in a few days after, the drawings were adjudged in presence of Cardinal Camerlingi; and the first prize was unanimously given to Mr Mylne. On the 18th the great sale in the Senators's palace, in the capitol, was superbly decorated for the occasion. There were present sixteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambassadors, most of the nobility, and a vast number of ladies and gentlemen of the first dis-

* A French word adopted into the old Scottish language, and used in the northern counties to signify an ingenious artist who understands every science,

† A brachio is near three English feet.

‡ A prova is a drawing made in presence of the judges, in order to prove that what each person gives in is his own performance. The piece given on this occasion to the competitors of the first class was an altar, adorned with composite columns, which they were obliged to perform in two hours.

inction from all quarters. Nothing could be more august and solemn, more beautiful and elegant, than this assembly; nor could any thing be more conducive towards striking an awe into the breast of our young candidate and his fellow præmiati, who were placed on a kind of throne, higher and more conspicuous than any of the rest. After an excellent oration, the præmiati were called each by his name, and that of his country; and medals, struck for the occasion, were delivered to them by the Cardinals. Two large silver medals of about five crowns value each, with the effigies of the present Pope, on the one side, and on the reverse, St. Luke painting the Madonna, were presented to Mr Mylne by Cardinal Sacropanti, who paid him a very high compliment on the merit of his performance. Then the Cardinals, and the nobility and Gentry, paid him their respective compliments, as the first Briton that ever gained the prize. The Acadian poets rehearsed Sonettos, in honour of the victors, and the whole was accompanied by the finest symphonies of music. The concourse of St. Luke is extremely grand; like the famous Olympic games, it is held but once in four years; like them too the great men from all quarters assemble to compete for the prizes, which, like the celebrated rewards of ancient Greece, are valuable, not for their intrinsic worth, but as they indicate the highest merit in the persons who acquire them. What a glorious thing is it for a young man, stranger, unknown, unsupported, to carry off the highest prize, in the highest class of the noble branch of the arts and sciences, from the representatives of the whole world assembled to dispute it with him! and that in Rome too, where all the arts and architecture in particular flourish in the greatest perfection!—Such a recent instance of merit rewarded, must engage youth to exert themselves, and infuse into them a noble ardour to excel, as they see, that merit alone, unassisted, frequently gains the ascendant over interest, prejudice, and envy."

It is to be observed to the honour of Mr Mylne, and the person who gained the 2nd prize, that he was the first to own the equity of the decision, and to congratulate Mr Mylne on the justice that was done him. It is also remarkable that the predecessors of this gentleman, have been Master Masons to the King of Scotland by patent since the reign of James III.

The candid reader will be pleased to indulge my inserting a fine congratulatory poem inscribed to Mr Mylne by his friend G. W. dated at Rome, September 23d, only five days after he gained the first prize in the highest class, from the 21st vol. of the Scots Magazine for January.

Accept, dear Mylne, nor like a critic view
The verse to merit and to friendship due;
For were I equal to the pleasing theme,
Thro' distant realms the Muse should wing your fame;
Nay, the whole world your praises should resound
Loud as Rome's capitol where you was crown'd.
There nations saw your drawings with amaze,
And jarring tongues united in your praise.
Contending artists own'd these praises true,
And were content to be surpass'd by you.
On the smooth sheet I see with wondering eyes,
The shadowy fabric in proportion rise;
See the ambitious columns soar on high,
And the bold arches from those columns fly;
View all the modest ornaments around,
View the high pile with breathing sculpture crown'd
Admire how the proportion'd ports combine,
To raise the beauty of the whole design;
And how the whole by your unbounded art,
Reflects a lustre on each single part;
Such was the taste of antient Greece and Rome,
Such will be Britain's when she calls you home.
And lo! Britannia stretches forth her hand,
Recalls her son to grace her native land;

To free her people from that trifling taste,
By which the nation has been long disgrac'd ;
That trifling taste fit only to engage
The dullest mortal of the darkest age ;
To drive the gothick genius from her shore,
And modest nature to her realms restore ;
Shew the Chinese in its true monstrous shape,
As like a beauty as to man an ape,
Such Mylne must be your task before you can
E'er hope to build upon a better plan.
To cure the nations, taste be first your care ;
Then Britain will for long lost arts declare.
Will raise the structures by your hand design'd,
Will rival Rome, leave Rome perhaps behind ;
Will do you justice and inroll your name,
First in the book of ever-living fame.

In the following year the celebrated academy of St. Luke, unanimously received Mr Mylne a member of their body, as a further reward of his superior merit ; on this occasion the young Prince Altieri distinguished for his great knowledge in the fine arts, obtained from the Pope the necessary dispensation ; Mr Mylne being a Protestant.

After his return to his native country, his plan of Black-Friars bridge at London was approved and accepted ; and that elegant bridge was built by his direction.

THE SIXTH MUSE.

As we arrived at our Lady's Steps,
Incontinent all men reversed their caps,
Bidding us welcome home, and joining hand,
They ask from whence we came, and from what land ;
Said we, some curious, catching every wind,
Do run through sea and land to either Inde,
And compassing the globe, in circuit roll,
Some new-found lands to search beneath each pole ;
Or Memphis wonders, or the Pharian tower,
Or walls which show the Babylonian power,
Or hung in th' air the Mausolean frame,
Or stately temple of the Trivian dame,
The Rhodian Colossus, and the grove
Where stood the statue of Olympian Jove,
With endless toil and labour pass to see ;
Or if in all this world more wonders be,
They search the same, and so they stoutly boast,
Yet both themselves and pains are often lost :
For going men, if they return, perhaps,
Strange change, in swine transformed are their shapes !
Albeit some, though rare, who go from hence
Return, like him of Ithaca was prince ;
But we, more safely passing all alongs,
Are not bewitched with such Syren songs :
In little much, well travelled in short ground,
Do search what wonders in the world are found ;
Treading these mountains and these pleasant valleys—
Elisian fields had never braver alleys ;
Then we imagine, and for wonders rare,
More than the Carian tomb, which hings in air,
Do we conceive. Of travels let them talk—
We in the works of learned men do walk,
And painfully their learned paths do tread,
For sure he's travel'd far who is well read ;
Yea, whoso views my cabinet's rich store
Is travel'd through the world, and some part more.
Let this suffice, we travel to content us,
And of our travels think ne'er to repent us ;
Yea, in our Muses we do travel more
Than they who coast and sound the Indian shore.
Yet think not so brave travels we condemn,
If with false conscience we may use the same ;

Nor do we speak void of experience,
 For both of us have travelled been in France,
 And France for all ; and if that will not ease you,
 We think then all this world will never please you.*

Then went we home to get some recreation,
 But bye and by befell a new tentation :
 Our neighbour archers, our good sport envying,
 A challenge to us sent, our patience trying,
 And did provoke us, if we shot for gold
 Or honours praise, betimes, to-morrow would,
 Or for our mistress, if we had a mind ;
 Doubtless, said Gall, thereto we are inclined,
 But for the present we have taen in hand
 To view our fields by river and by land ;
 Boast not, therefore, for nothing will disheart us,
 Nor from our present progress will divert us ;
 But of our journey having made an end,
 Our lives in such brave quarrels will we spend.

This answer when they heard they did comper
 With ardent hearts some further news to spear,
 And what brave sport we found—what pastime rare ;
 Forthwith in lofty verse Gall to declare
 Began, his breast when Phœbus once did warm,
 Their ears and hearts his heavenly voice did charm ;
 And I, to keep a consort with full voice,
 As fell by turn, did make them all rejoice
 With sweetest rhymes : for both of us inclined,
 Even as Democritus did truly mind †
 Of poets all, when once that sacred fire
 With divine fury did our breasts inspire ;
 And thus with heavenly rapture, as transported,
 That whole day's journey Gall to them reported,
 Till Hesperus appeared, and in despite
 Of heavens which hearkened, forced to bid good night :
 Which when I call to mind, it makes me cry—
 " Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ? "

The night was short ; Phœbus did touch the line
 Where crooked Cancer makes him to decline ;
 No sleep could close mine eyes, but wake must I,
 Till fair Aurora did enlight the sky ;
 Then got I up, and where poor Gall did lie,
 With mighty voice and chanting did I cry—
 " Good Master Gall, arise, you sleep too long ; "
 With " Hey the day now dawns, " ‡ so was my song ;

* The intelligent reader will observe from the above strictures on travelling, that Mr Adamson had studied mankind as well as books.

† ——— Et excludit sanas Helicone Poetas
 Democritus. Horat. de arte poetica. l. 296.

‡ A celebrated old Scotch song.

"The day now dawns,—arise, good Master Gall,"
 Who answering, said, "Monsieur, I hear you call :"
 And up he got. Then to our barge we go,
 To answer to our boatmen, wondrous slow,
 When we did call, thrice lifting up his head,
 Thrice to the ground did fall again as dead ;
 But him to raise, I sung "Hey the day dawna,"
 The drowsy fellow wak'ning, gaunts and yawns ;
 But getting up at last, and with a blow
 Raising his fellow, bade him quickly row.
 Then merrily we launch into the deep ;
 Phœbus, meanwhile, wakened, rose from sleep
 At his appointed hour, the pleasant morning
 With gilded beams the crystal streams adorning ;
 The pearled dew on tender grass did hang,
 And heavenly quires of birds did sweetly sing ;
 Down by the sweet South Inch we sliding go ;
 Ten thousand dangling diamonds did show
 The radiant repercussion of Sol's rays,
 And spreading flowers did look like Argus eyes.*

Then did we talk of city toils and cares,
 Thrice happy counting him shuns these affairs,
 And with us have delight these field to haunt,
 Some pastoral or sonnet sweet to chaunt ;
 And view from far th' ambitious of this age,
 Turning the helms of states, and in their rage
 Make shipwreck of the same on shelves and sands,
 Running by lawless laws and hard commands,
 And often drown themselves in floods of woes,
 As many shipwrecks of this kind well shows.
 We pass our time upon the forked mountain,
 And drink the crystal waters of the fountain,
 Dig'd by the winged horse ; we sing the trees,
 The cornes, and flocks, and labours of the bees ;
 Of shepherd lads and lasses' homely love,
 And some time strain our oaten pipe above
 That mean : we sing of Hero and Leander,
 Yea, Mars, all clad in steel, and Alexander ;
 But Cynthius, us pulling by the ear,
 Did warning give to keep a lower air ;
 But keep what air we will, who can well say
 That he himself preserve from shipwreck may ?
 In stormy seas, while as the ship doth reel
 Of public state, the meanest boy may feel

* The scene is truly picturesque, as it is laid at the summer solstice. Any person of taste will see all the beauties in sailing down the river by the edge of the South Inch, when the tide turns, on a summer morning. We could almost imagine that we were in the boat with Mr Ruthven and his friend Gall.

Shipwreck, as well as he the helm who guides,
 When seas do rage with winds and contrare tides :
 Which, ah ! too true I found, upon an oar
 Not long ago, while as I swim'd to shore,
 Witness my drenshed clothes, as you did see,
 Which I to Neptune gave in votary,
 And sign of safety. Answered Master Gall,
 " Monsieur, your table hung on Neptune's wall,
 Did all your loss so lively point to me,
 That I did mourn, poor soul, when I did see ;
 But you may know in storms, thus goeth the matter,
 No fish doth sip in troubled seas clean water :
 Courage, therefore, that cloud is overgone,
 Therefore, as we were wont, let us sing on,
 For in this morning sounded in mine ear
 The sweetest music ever I did hear
 In all my life." " Good Master Gall," quod I,
 " You to awake I sung so merrily."
 " Monsieur," quoth he, " I pray thee ease my spleen,
 And let me hear that music once again."
 With " Hey the day now dawns" then up I got,
 And did advance my voice to Ela's note,
 I did so sweetly flat and sharply sing,
 While I made all the rocks with echoes ring.

Meanwhile our boat by Freertown Hole doth slide,
 Our course not stopped with the flowing tide ;
 We need not card, nor crosstaff for our pole ;
 But from thence landing clam the Dragon Hole,
 With crampets on our feet, and clubs in hand,
 Where it's recorded Jamie Keddie fand
 A stone enchanted, like to Gyges' ring,
 Which made him disappear—a wondrous thing,
 If it had been his hap to have retained it ;
 But losing it, again could never find it :
 Within this cove oft times did we repose,
 As being sundered from the city woes.

From thence we passing by the Windy Gowle,*
 Did make the hollow rocks with echoes yowle,
 And all amongst the mountains of Kinnoull,
 Where did we shoot at many fox and fowl.†

* The Windy Gowl, as it is named, is a steep and hollow descent betwixt two tops of Kinnoull Hill. When the wind blows strong from the north, it blows fiercely down this opening. In certain positions near to this place, a repetition of an echo above nine times can be heard.

† Hawks, kites, ravens, and hooded crows, build their nests in the inaccessible places of the rocks. The face of the hill, pointing to the river, is all ragged rock.* Huge stones sometimes tumble down with great velocity ; a number of years ago one of them broke through the back-wall of a farm house at a considerable distance from the bottom of the hill, and killed a woman within.

* The lower part of the hill is now covered with all sorts of trees, which adds greatly to its romantic beauty.—Ed.

Kinnoull, so famous in the days of old,
 Where stood a castle and a stately hold
 Of great antiquity, by brink of Tay ;
 Woods were above, beneath fair meadows lay,
 In prospect proper Perth, with all her graces,
 Fair plantings, spacious greens, religious places ;
 Though now defaced through age and rage of men,
 Within this place a lady did remain,
 Of great experience, who likewise knew,
 By spirit of prophecy, what should ensue :
 Who saw wight Wallace and brave Bruce alive,
 And both their manhoods lively did describe
 Unto that noble prince, first of that name—
 Worthy King James, who hearing of her fame,
 Went to her house these histories to learn,
 When as for age her eyes could scarce discern.

This lady did foretell of many things—
 Of Britain's union under Scottish kings ;
 And after ending of our civil feads,
 Our spears in scythes, our swords should turn in speads ;
 In sign whereof there should arise a knight,
 Sprung of the bloody yoke, who should of right
 Possess these land, which she then held in fee,
 Who for his worth and matchless loyalty
 Unto his prince should greatly be renowned,
 And of these lands instyled, and earl be crowned,
 Whose son, in spite of Tay, should join these lands
 Firmly by stone, on either side which stands.

Thence to the top of Law Tay did we hie,
 From whence the country round about we spy ;
 And from the airy mountain looking down,
 Beheld the stance and figure of our town :
 Quadrat, with longer sides, from east to west,
 Whose streets, walls, fowfies in our eyes didst cast
 A pretty show ; then 'gan I to declare
 Where our old monasteries, with churches fair,
 Sometime did stand : placed at every corner
 Was one, which with great beauty did adorn her :
 'The Charter-house toward the southwest stood,
 And at southeast the Friars, who wear grey hood ;
 Toward the north the Blackfriar's Church did stand,
 And Carmelites upon the western hand,
 With many chapels standing here and there,
 And steeples fairly mounted in the air ;
 Our Lady's Church, St Catherine's, and St Paul's,
 Where many a mess was sung for defunct souls ;
 The Chapel of the Rood, and sweet St Anne,
 And Loret's Chapel, from Rome's Vatican

Transported hither, for a time took fasing,
(You know the cloister monks write nev'r a lessing);
For what offence I know not, or disdain,
But that same chapel borne hence is again,
For it appears no more—look whoso list,
Or else I'm sure its covered with a mist;
St Leonard's cloister, mourning Magdalene,
Whose crystal fountain flows like Hypocrene;
St John's fair church as yet in mids did stand;
A braver sight was not in all this land
Than was that town, when thus it stood decord,
As not a few yet living can record;
And to be short, for this we may not tarry on,
Of that old town this nought is but the carion.
"Monsieur," said Gall, "that for a truth I know,
These kirks and cloisters make a goodly show;
But this as truly I dare well allege,
These kirkmen used the greatest cousenage
That ever was seen or heard." "Good Gall, quoth I,
"How can that be?" "Monsieur, if you will try,
Too much true shall you find." "Pray thee, good Gall,
Your speech to me seems paradoxical,
Therefore I would it know." "Monsieur," quoth he,
"And shall I show what such idolatry
Hath brought upon that town? The many cloisters,
Where fed there was so many idle fosters,
Monks, priests, and friars, and multitude of patrons,
Erected in their queires; the old wives and matrons
Gave great heed to these things which they did say,
And made their horned husbands to obey,
And mortify so much unto this saint,
And unto that, though they themselves should want:
Yea, twenty saints about one tenement,
Each one of them to have an yearly rent;
And all to pray for one poor wretched soul,
Which Purgatory fire so fierce should thole.
So these annuities—yearly taxations,
Are causes of these woful desolations
Which we behold—the ground of all these evils.
What to these saints they gave was given to devils;
God made them saints—men set them in God's stead—
Gave them God's honour—to them idols made;
Thus Satan served is: what men allow
On idols in his name, to him they do;
And now these friar's destroyers may be seen,
And of that city's wreck the cause have been:
For none dare buy the smallest piece of ground,
So many annual rents thereon are found;

And if he build thereon, doubtless he shall
Spend in long suits of law his moyen all.
If some good salve cure not this sore, I fear
It shall be said sometime—a town was there ! ”

“ Good Gall,” said I, “ some melancholious fit
Molests your jovial sprite and pregnate wit ;
I would some Venus-heir might cure your sadness,
Repell your sorrows, and repledge your gladness ;
Therefore I’ll quickly go a herbarising,
To cure that melancholic mood by snising.”*

Herewith we turn our pace, and down again,
Pass by the Windy Gowl unto the plain ;
And herbarising there a preety while,
Gall’s lustie face again began to smile ;
Guess then how blythe was I ;—if I had found,
I would not been so blythe, a thousand pound.
Thus recreat, to boat again we go,
And down the river smoothly do we row,
Nearby Kinfauns, which famous Longueville†
Sometime did hold, whose ancient sword of steel
Remains unto this day, and of that land
Is chiefest evident ; on the other hand
Elcho‡ and Elcho Park, where Wallace haunted,
A sure refuge, when Englishmen he daunted ;
And Elcho nunnery, where the holy sisters
Supplied were by the fratres in their misters.
By Sleepless Isle§ we row, which our good kings
Gave to our town with many better things,
Before there was in that near neighbouring station,
Or friar or nun to set there their foundation.
On the other side we looked unto Balthayock,*
Where many peacock calls upon his mayock ;

* There are several officinal herbs to be found on the face of Kinnoull Hill, in the clefts of the rock, among which are agrimony, hoar hound, lady’s thistle, and spleen-wort. On the top of the hill, lesser-centaury, mountain-flax, wild thyme, &c. These are also to be found on Moredun Hill, on the opposite side of the river ; there are also many plants of dwarf elder and mercury.

† Longueville’s large two handed sword is preserved in Kinfauns Castle. The Blairs possessed this estate for many years. Lord Gray married the heiress, and Kinfauns is now the chief residence of that family. The best salmon fishings on the river Tay belong to the estate of Kinfauns.

‡ Elcho is a large castle on the south side of the river, about a mile below Kinfauns. It belongs to the Earl of Wemyss, and gives the title of lord to the eldest son of that family.

§ Sleepless Isle, opposite Kinfauns, belongs to that estate, but the town of Perth has the privilege of a salmon fishing on it.

¶ Balthayock stands on an eminence about a mile north-east of Kinfauns Castle. By what remains of the old castle it appears to have been very strong. We have only a peep of it sailing up or down the river. The estate belongs to an ancient family of the Blairs.

Megginch,* fair place, and Errol's pleasant seat,
 With many more, which long were to relate.
 Right over against is that wood, Earnside,
 And fort, where Wallace oft times did reside;
 While we beheld all these the tide did flow;
 A lie the rudder goes—about we row;
 Up to the town again we make our course,
 Sweetly convoyed with Tay's reflowing source.

There we beheld where Wallace ship was drowned,
 Which he brought out of France, whose bottom found
 Was not long since, by Master Dickeson's art,
 That rare ingenieur, skill'd in every part
 Of mathematics. Queth I, "Master Gall,
 I marvel our records nothing at all
 Do mention Wallace going into France;
 How that can be forgot I greatly scance,
 For well I know all Gascony and Guien
 Do hold that Wallace was a mighty gian',
 Even to this day; in Rochel likewise found
 A tower, from Wallace name greatly renown'd;
 Yea, Longueville's antiquities, which there
 We do behold, this truly do declare
 That Wallace was in France; for after that
 The public place of government he quat,
 Were full four years and more, before he shed
 His dearest blood—ah! dearest! truly said;
 And think you then that such a martial heart,
 Yielding his place, would sojourn in this part,
 And lazily lie loitering in some hole?
 That any so should think I hardly thole;
 Therefore I grieve our men should have forgotten
 Themselves, and left so brave a point unwritten,
 Or should it contradict, there being so many
 Good reasons for this truth as is for any."

"Monsieur," said he, "that's not a thing to grieve at,
 For they did write his public life, not private;
 For sure it is, after his public charge
 Grief made him go to France, his spirit t' enlarge,—
 His noble spirite, that thraldom suffered never,
 For he to liberty aspired ever;

* Megginch is a delightful seat in the middle of the Carse of Gowrie. The estate belonged to a branch of the Hays of Erroll, and is now the property of Admiral Sir Adam Drummond, a descendant of the house of Perth. It is said with good reason that the channel of the Tay was anciently on the north of the Carse, and Earn on the south, and that the ground between them was a peninsula. Several places in the Carse lead us to this way of judging—Meg's-inch, Inch-martin, Inch-ture, Inch-Michael, &c. It is said that the charters of Megginch make the Tay the northern boundary of the estate.

And turning home, his ship caused sunken be,
 To stop the river's passage, that from sea
 No English ship should come Perth to relieve,
 For any chance of war fortune could give ;
 But now this ship, which so long time before
 In waters lay, is fairly hauled ashore ;
 What cannot skill by mathematic move,
 As would appear things natures reach above. ?
 Up by the Willowgate we make our way ;
 With flowing waters pleasant then was Tay.
 The town appears : the great and strong Spey Tower,
 And Monk's Tower, builded round, a wall of power
 Extending 'twixt the two ; thence goeth a snout
 Of great square stones, which turns the streams about ;
 Two ports with double walls ; on either hand
 Are fowfies deep, where gorged waters stand,
 And flow even as you list ; but over all
 The palace kythes, may named be Perth's Whithall,
 With orchards like these of Hesperides ;
 But who shall show the Ephemerides
 Of these things, which sometimes adorned that city ?
 That they should all be lost it were great pity,
 Whose antique monuments are a great deal more
 Than any inward riches, pomp, or store ;
 And privileges would you truly know—
 Far more, indeed, than I can truly show ;
 Such were our king's good wills, for to declare
 What pleasure and contentment they had there ;
 But of all privileges this is the bravest—
 King James the sixth was burgess made and provost,
 And gave his burgess oath, and did enrole
 With his own hand within the burgess scrole
 And Guildry book his dear and worthy name,
 Which doth remain to Perth's perpetual fame,
 And that king's glorie ; thus was his graciouspleas ure
 Of his most loving heart to shew the treasure ;
 Writing beneath his name these words most nervous,
Parcere subject is, et debellare superbos :
 That is, It is the Lyon's great renown
 To spare the humble, and prouddings pester down ;
 Which extant with his own hand you may see :
 And, as inspir'd, thus did he prophesy—
 " What will you say if this shall come to hand :
 Perth's provost London's mayor shall command ! "
 Which words, when we did hear, we much admired,
 And every one of us often inquired
 What these could mean ; some said he meant such one,
 That London—yea, all England—like had none ;

Some said, he minds his dignity and place,
 Others his gifts of nature and of grace,
 All which were true indeed ; yet none could say
 He meant that England's scepter he should sway,
 Till that it came to pass some few years after,
 Then hearts with joy and mouths were fill'd with laughter ;
 Happy King James the sixth, so may I say,
 For I a man most jovial was that day,
 And had good reason, when I kiss'd that hand
 Which afterwards all Britain did command.

"Monsieur," said Gall, "I swear you had good reason
 Most glad to be that day : for you of treason
 Affoiled was of your unhappy chief."

"Pray thee, good Gall," quod I, "move not my grief."

Said Gall, "Monsieur, that point I will not touch ;
 They'll tine their coals that burns you for a witch."

"A witch, good Gall," quod I, "I will be sworn,
 Witchcraft's the thing that I could never learn ;

Yea Master Gall, I swear that I had rather
 Ten thousand chiefs been kill'd, or had my father :

The king is *pater patriæ*, a chief

Oft times is borne for all his kin's mischief ;

And more, I know was never heart nor hand

Did prosper which that king did ever withstand ;

Therefore, good Gall, I pray thee let that pass,

That happy king knew well what man I was."

While we thus talk our boat draws nigh the shore ;

Our fellows all for joy begin to roar

When they us see, and loudly thus 'gan call,

"Welcome, good Monsieur, welcome, Master Gall ;

Come, come a-land, and let us merry be :

For as your boat most happily we did see,

Incontinent we bargained to and fro ;

Some said it was your barge, and some said no ;

But we have gained the prize and pledges all,

Therefore, come, Monsieur, come, good Master Gall,

And let us merry be while these may last—

Till all be spent we think to take no rest ;

And so it was : no sleep came in our head

Till fair Aurora left Tithonus' bed ;

Above all things so was good Gall's desire,

Who of good company could never tire ;

Which when I call to mind it makes me cry—

"Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?"

THE SEVENTH MUSE.

UP springs the sun, the day is cleer and fair,
 Ætesie, sweetly breathing, cool the air ;
 Then coming to my cabin in a band,
 Each man of us a gabion hints in hand,*
 Where me their serjeant-major they elected,
 At my command that day to be directed,
 "What pretty captain's yon?"—so said some wenches.
 "Ladies," quoth I, "men are not mete by inches :
 The Macedonian monarch was call'd great,
 Not from his bodies quantitie, but state
 And martial prowess ; good ladies, then to heart you,
 You shall well know that talenesse is no virtue.

Thus march we all along unto Moncrieff,†
 Where dwells that worthy knight, the famous chief
 Of all that ancient name ; and passing by
 Three trees sprung out of one root we did espy,
 Which when we did behold, said Master Gall,
 "Monsieur, behold these trees, so great and tall,
 Sprung of one root, which all men brethren name,
 The symbol which true concord doth proclaim."

O happy presage, where such trees do grow,
 These brethren three the threefold Gerion show,
 Invincible, remaining in one mind,
 Three hearts as in one body fast combined :
 Scilurus bundle knit,‡ doth whole abide,

* Messrs Ruthven and Gall are to make a new excursion to the south, by land. They assemble with their retinue in Mr Ruthven's closet, and are furnished with proper weapons for their journey from his arsenal ;—probably with bows and arrows, swords, and hunting-horns. The curiosities of all kinds with which this strange closet was stocked he called by the name of "gabions,"—a quaint word peculiar to himself ; therefore everything in his closet is a gabion. We will be deceived if we seek for the meaning of it under the modern word gabion.

† It is reported that when King James returned to Perth, on the 5th August, 1600, he met with Sir Thomas Moncrieff, ancestor of the present baronet, near the Bridge of Earn, and told him of his miraculous escape from the Gowries' conspiracy. Sir Thomas, after having heard the king's account of it, replied, "May it please your majesty, it is a strange story indeed, *if it be true.*"

‡ The story of Scilurus, recorded by Plutarch, has an excellent moral. He had eighty sons, whom he assembled at his bed-side before his death, and called for a bundle of arrows. He desired one after another to endeavour to break the bundle, which, when none of them could do, he untied, and broke them all successively, and gave them his last advice to cleave to one another, so they would be invincible. The poet reads the same lectures from the sight of the brethren-trees, which grew from one root at Moncrieff, and stood long.

But easily is broke when once untied ;
So these three trees do symbolize most clearly
The amity of hearts and minds, inteirly
Kythes in that happy race, and doth presage
To it more happiness in after age ;
Love's sweetest knot, which three in one doth bring
That budding gem shall make more flourishing ;
Fair brethren trees, and sith so is your name,
Be still the badge of concord, and proclaim
All health and wealth unto that happy race
Where grace and virtue mutually embrace.

To Moncrieff eastern, then to Wallace town,
To Fingask of Dundas ; thence passing down
Unto the Rynd, as martial men we fare ;—
What life man's heart could wish more void of care ?
Passing the river Earn, on the other side,
Drilling our sojers, vulgars were afraid.

Thence to the Picts' great metropolitan,
Where stands a steeple, the like in all Britain
Not to be found again—a work of wonder,
So tall and round in frame—a just cylinder ;
Built by the Picts in honour of their king,
That of the Scots none should attempt such thing
As over his big belly to walk or ride,
But this strong hold should make him to abide,
Unless on Pegasus that he would flee,
Or on Jove's bird should soar into the sky,
As rode Bellerophon and Ganymede :
But mounted so must ride no giddy head.

Thence we marched directly unto Dron,
And from that stead passed to the rocking-stone,
Accompanied with infantry a band ;
Each of us had a hunting staff in hand,
With whistles shrill, the fleeing fowls to charm,
And fowlers nets upon our other arm :
But as for me about my neck was borne,
To sound the chase, a mighty hunting horn ;
And as I blew with all my might and main,
The hollow rocks did answer make again ;
Then every man in this clear company,
Who best should wind the horne began to try ;
Among the rest a fellow in the rout
Boldy began to boast, and brave it out,
That he would wind the horn in such a wise,
That easily he would obtain the prize ;
But to record what chance there followed after,
Gladly I would, but grief forbiddeth laughter,
For so it was the merry man was mar'd :
Both tongue and teeth, I wot, were tightly tar'd :

Then no more stay, fellow, good night, quod we ;—
Th' old proverb says, *Dirt parts company*.

By this we were just at the rocking-stone ;
Amongst the world's great wonders it is one
Most rare—it is a Phoenix in its kind ;
The like in all the world ye shall not find :
A stone so nicely set upon its kernels—
Not artificial, but natural kernels—
So huge, so great, that if you please to prove it,
A hundred yoke of oxen will not move it ;
Yet touch it with your fingers smallest knocking,
Incontinent it will fall to a rocking,
And shake and shiver, as if obedient
More by request than by commandment.
Then up I clam this rock, as I was wonted,
And like *Ægeon* on whale's back I mounted,
And with *Etites* rattling stone I knocked,
And as I rattled, even so was I rocked ;
So faire a cradle and rare was never seen ;—
Oh ! if my cabinet could it contain !

Next at the Bridge of Earn we made our station,
And there we took some little recreation ;
Where in *Heroick's* Gall fell to declaring
All circumstances of that day's wayfaring ;
And there so merrily we sung and chanted,
Happy were they our company who haunted ;
Which when I call to mind it makes me cry—
“ Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ? ”

THE EIGHTH MUSE.

WHAT blooming banks, sweet Earn, or fairest Tay,
 Or Almond doth embrace ! These many a day
 We haunted, where our pleasant pastorals
 We sweetly sung, and merry madrigals.
 Sometime bold Mars, and sometimes Venus fair,
 And sometimes Phœbus' love, we did declare ;
 Sometimes on pleasant plains, sometimes on mountains,
 And sometimes sweetly sung beside the fountains.

But in these banks where flows St Conil's well,*
 The which Thessalian tempe doth excel,
 Whose name and matchless fame for to declare
 In this most doleful ditty must I spare ;
 Yet thus dare say that in the world again
 No place more meet for muses to remain ;
 For shadowing walks, where silver brooks do spring,
 And smelling arbors, where birds sweetly sing,
 In heavenly music, warbling like Arion,
 Like Thracian, Orpheus, Linus, or Amphion,
 That Helicon, Parnasus, Pindus fair,
 To these most pleasant banks scarce can compare :
 These be the banks where all the muses dwell,
 And haunt about that crystal brook and well ;
 Into these banks chiefly did we repair,
 From sunshine shadowed, and from blasting air,
 Where with the muses we did sing our song,
 Sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for our wrong :
 For in those days none durst approach their table
 But we to taste their dainties ;—this no fable.

From thence to Methven Wood we took our way,
 Soon be Aurora fair did kythe the day ;
 And having rested there some little space,
 Again we did betake us to our chace,
 Raising the does and roes forth of their dens,
 And watry fowls out of the marshy fens ;
 That if Diana had been in that place,
 Would thought in hunting we had stained her grace.

To Methven Castle, where Gall did declare,
 How Margaret Tudor, queen, sometimes dwelt there,
 First daughter to King Henry seventh, who closes
 York, Lancaster in one—England's two roses :

* This well, dedicated to St Conwal, whose anniversary was celebrated on the 18th May, is near to Ruthven Castle, now Huntingtower. It has a copious supply of excellent water. In days of superstition this well was much resorted to.

A happy union after long debate;
 But union much more happy and more great;
 Even by that same queen springs, and by her race,
 Whereby all Britain joys long-wished peace;
 Hence came King James his title to the crown
 Of England, by both parents of renown;
 Hence comes our happy peace: so be it aye
 That peace with truth in Britain flourish may.
 Right over to Forteviot did we hie,
 And there the ruin'd castle did we spy
 Of Malcolm Kenmure,* whom Macduff, then Thane
 Of Fife (so called), from England brought again,
 And fiercely did pursue Tyrant Macbeth,
 Usurper of the crown, even to the death;
 Their castle's ruins when we did consider,
 We saw that wasting time makes all things wither.
 To Dupplin, then, and shades of Aberdalgie,
 From thence to Mailer, and came home by Craigie;
 Soon by that time, before three days were done,
 We went to see the monuments of Scone;
 As was our promise, Scone's nymphs see we must,
 For in such vows we were exceeding just;
 And there with Ovid thus did we declare,—
 Here is a green, where stood a temple fair,
 Where was the fatal chair and marble stone,
 Having this motto rare inside thereon:
 "This is the stone, if fates do not deceive,
 Where'er its found the Scots shall kingdom have,"
 Which Longshanks did transport to Troynovant,
 As Troy took in the horse by Græcia sent;
 So we who sprung were of the Grecian crew,
 Like stratagem on Trojans did renew.
 Oh! if this fatal chair transported were
 To Spain, that we like conquest might have there;
 From thence to Italy, to Rome, to Greece,
 To Colchos, thence to bring the golden fleece;
 And, in a word, we wish this happy chair
 Unto the furthest Indies transported were,
 That mightiest kingdoms might their presents bring,
 And bow to Charles as to their sovereign king.
 Nearly we view that famous earthen mount,
 Whereon our kings to crowned be were wont:

* The ruins of this palace are at Forteviot, on the banks of the Earn, almost opposite to Dupplin. Duncan I. and Macbeth were both grandchildren of Malcolm I. by his two daughters, Beatrix, the mother of Duncan, and Douada, the mother of Macbeth; Duncan succeeded his grandfather in 1034, and was traitorously slain by his cousin, Macbeth, in the 6th year of his reign. Macbeth succeeded, and reigned seventeen years.

And while we do consider there we found,
 Demonstrate was the quadrate of the round ;
 Which *Euclid* could not find nor *Pater Erra*,
 By guess we did it find on *Omnis Terra* ;
 And if you geometers hereof do doubt,
 Come view the place and ye shall find it out ;
 A demonstration so wondrous rare,
 In all the world I think none may compare :
 Thence need we must go see the Muir of Scone,
 And view where Picts were utterly undone
 By valiant Scots, and brought to desolation,
 That since they never had the name of nation ;
 Seven times that fight renewed was in one day—
 Picts seven times quell'd—Scots were victorious aye ;
 Hence it is said, when men shall be undone,
 We shall upon them bring the Muir of Scone ;
 King Donskine, with his remnant Picts, near Tay
 All killed, did crown the victory of that day ;
 Then valiant Kenneth went to Camelon,*
 And threw to earth King Donskine's ancient throne :
 So greatest kingdoms to their periods tend,
 And everything that grows must have an end ;
 Where is that golden head that reigned so long ?—
 The silver arms and belly of brass most strong,
 The iron legs, divided now in toes,
 Are mixed with clay, and so the world it goes :
 Thus nations, like to stars in multitude,
 Like sand on shore, or fishes in the flood :
 Yea, rooted in the earth so deep, so long,
 As on the mountains grow the cedars strong ;
 Yet time hath overturned them, and their names
 Are past, as letters written on the streams ;
 To tell us here we have no constant biding,
 The world unto decay is always sliding ;
 One kingdom ever doth remain, and all
 'Gainst it who rise to powder turn they shall.
 Near this we did perceive where proud Macbeth,
 (Who to the furies did his soul bequeath)
 His castle mounted on Dunsinane hill,
 Causing the mightiest peers obey his will,
 And bow their necks to build his Babylon ;
 Thus, Nimrod-like, he did triumph upon
 That mountain which doth overtop that plain,
 And as the starrie heaven he should attain
 A lofty tower, and Atlas caused build,
 Then tyrannising, rag'd as Nimrod wild ;

* Abernethy.

Who had this strange response : that none should catch him
That born was of woman, or should match him,
Nor any horse should overtake him there ;
But yet his spirit deceived him by a mare,
And by a man, was not of woman born :
For brave Macduff was from his mother shorn ;
Macduff, call'd Thane of Fife, who home did bring
King Malcolm Kenmure, was our native king,
Kenmure great head—a great head should be wise,
To bring to nought a Nimrod's enterprise ;
Up to Duusinane's top then did we climb,
With panting heart, weak loins, and wearied limb,
And from the mountain height, which was well windy,
We spy where Wallace's cave was at Kilspindie ;
But there we might not stay : thence to the plain
With swifter pace we do come down again ;
Descent is easy any man can tell,
For men do easily descend to hell.

When we had viewed these fields both here and there,
As wearied pilgrims 'gan we home to fair ;
Home ! happy is that word,—at home in heaven,
Where Gall now rests above the planets seven,
And I am left this wretched earth upon,
Thy loss with all my gabions to bemoan ;
Thence mourn with me, my gabions, and cry—
“ Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?”

THE NINTH MUSE.

WHAT could there more be done, let any say,
 Nor I did to prevent the doleful day ?*
 For when I saw Gall's fatal constellation
 Would not permit him in this earthly station
 Long to abide, then did I give a trial,
 To make impartial fate sustain denial,
 By herbarizing, while I proved my skill
 On top of Law Tay, and stay Moore-downe hill,
 Collecting vegetables in these parts,
 By all the skill of Appolonian arts,†
 If possible 't had been fate to neglect him,
 By heavenly skill immortal for to make him ;
 But sith that Phœbus could not stem the blood
 Of Hyacinthus in his swooning mood,
 How then should I, a mortal—ah ! too shallow
 In wit and art !—press to outreach Appollo ?—
 Far be the thought ; I therefore must absent me,
 And never more unto the world present me ;
 But solitary with my gabions stay,
 And help them for to mourn till dying day !
 Then farewell, cabin ! farewell, Gabions all !
 Then must I meet in heaven with Master Gall ;
 And till that time I will set forth his praise
 In elegies of woe and mourning lays ;
 And weeping for his sake, still will I cry—
 “ Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?”

* The poet sends Mr Ruthven to the hills of Kinnoull and Moredun, to collect herbs for the relief of Mr Gall, who was dying of consumption, but found all means of his recovery vain. He died young, lamented by his friends. His memory lives in this poem—a gentleman. humane. learned, and universally beloved.

† Mr Ruthven was a chirurgion and apothecary in Perth.



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